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THE
AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

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THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Peace of Luneville—League of Armed Neutrality—Battle of Copenhagen—Battle of Aboukir—Surrender of Alexandria—Peace of Amiens—Bonaparte Elected First Consul for Life—England's Ultimatum—War Proclaimed against France—Preparations for War—Trafalgar—Napoleon assumes the title of Emperor—Austerlitz—Peace of Tilsit—Attempt to ruin British Commerce—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Surrender of Danish fleet—Blockade of European ports—Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland; Jerome, of Hanover and Hesse Cassel—Abdication of Charles IV.—Joseph Bonaparte made King of Spain—Surrender of a French Army at Baylen—Defeat of Junot at Vimiera—Retreat of Sir John Moore—Corunna—Talavera—Wagram—Failure of Expedition against Antwerp—Busaco—Fuentes d'Oñore—Albuera—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Badajoz—Salamanca—France declares War against Russia—Moscow—Napoleon's Disastrous Retreat—Vittoria—St. Sebastian—Bayonne—Toulouse—Leipsic—Capitulation of Paris—Napoleon exiled to Elba—His Escape and Restoration—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—March of the Allied Armies into Paris—American War—Invasion of Canada—Peace Proclaimed.

THE war which France, on the overthrow of her monarchical system, had waged for the purpose of 'liberating the peoples' of the Continent, and compelling them by force to adopt her republican institutions, came to a close at the end of the eighteenth century; and the Peace of Luneville left Bonaparte her real ruler, under the title of First Consul, and at liberty to devote his whole energies to a decisive struggle for supremacy with Great Britain, on which his mind had for some time been set. His first step was to enter into a league of 'Armed Neutrality,' as it was called, with the northern powers, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, which would give him the command of their fleets to dispute Britain's naval supremacy. Deprived of the command of the seas, his hated rival would, he believed, be easily invaded and conquered by his veteran troops, who

had now no foe to contend with on the Continent. But the promptitude of the British ministry averted the impending danger. On the first of April, 1801, a fleet of eighteen men-of-war, commanded by Nelson, forced the passage of the Sound, appeared before Copenhagen, and at once attacked the city and the formidable fleet by which it was covered. After a desperate resistance on the part of the Danes six line-of-battle ships and eight praams were taken, and the Crown Prince was forced to conclude an armistice, engaging to suspend all proceedings under the Treaty of Armed Neutrality which Denmark had entered into with Sweden and Russia. The murder of the Russian emperor Paul, which took place nine days before the battle of Copenhagen, at once put an end to the Confederacy of the North. This triumph of

the British arms and policy was speedily followed by the overthrow of Bonaparte's scheme for an attack on India through Egypt. An army of 15,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was despatched to that country, which was still held by a powerful force under General Menou. A battle took place at Aboukir, on the 21st of March, and after a fierce and sanguinary contest victory declared in favour of the British, though saddened by the death of their gallant general. This conflict decided the fate of Egypt. Alexandria and Cairo, into which the French troops had withdrawn, were immediately invested. The latter surrendered about the end of June. Alexandria held out till the 2nd of September, and the French rule over Egypt was brought to a final close.

Bonaparte was bitterly mortified at this failure of his long-cherished scheme; but he saw clearly that the continuance of the war in such circumstances would only serve to extend and strengthen the resources of his adversary, and at the close of 1801 he entered into negotiations for peace. His overtures were promptly accepted by the British Government, and in March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens, as it was called, was concluded between Great Britain and the three allied powers of France, Spain, and Holland. France agreed to withdraw its troops from the territories of Rome and Naples, and to leave to themselves the republics it had established in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. Britain on her part consented to restore all her conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad, to acknowledge the Ionian Islands as a free republic, and to make over Malta to its old masters the Knights of St. John. Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity, and the Ottoman Porte was to recover possession of Egypt.

The close of the protracted struggle with France gave great satisfaction to the British nation, and large numbers hastened to visit a country from which they had been so long excluded. On the other hand, Frenchmen

came over in multitudes to England, and were cordially welcomed by all classes of the people. But it soon became evident that the First Consul had agreed to the peace merely for the purpose of organizing his resources to renew the struggle. His aim was to be master of the Western world, and he was well aware that it was impossible for him to attain the object of his ambition so long as the power of Britain remained unshaken. On his election as First Consul for life, feeling himself secure at home, he set about his preparations for a renewal of his aggressive schemes. He sent an expedition of 25,000 men to reduce under his power the island of St. Domingo. In direct violation of the pledges given in the treaty of Amiens he annexed Piedmont and the duchy of Parma and Placentia to France, and occupied Switzerland with a powerful army. He demanded that the British Government should expel the French exiles who had been living peaceably in England since the Revolution, and that they should punish the writers who had attacked him in the English newspapers. He was eager to obtain possession of the island of Malta, and was furious at the refusal of the British Government to surrender it till some security should be given that it would not once more be seized by the French fleet. Meanwhile armaments were preparing on the part both of France and Spain; and it was evident that Bonaparte was determined to renew his attempt to deprive Great Britain of the command of the seas, and that he had made peace merely for the purpose of obtaining time to complete his preparations for the contest. But the British ministry were at no loss to comprehend his object, and to perceive that prompt action was necessary both for the protection of their country and the defeat of Bonaparte's nefarious schemes. They therefore presented an ultimatum, demanding the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, and on its rejection by the First Consul they proclaimed war against him on the 16th of May, 1803.

Their first step was to establish a close blockade of the ports of France, so as to prevent the egress of any hostile armament, and the admission of foreign goods into that country. Bonaparte, on the other hand, seized and mercilessly plundered Hanover, and formed a camp of 100,000 men at Boulogne for the invasion of England. He collected a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats for the conveyance of his troops across the Channel, and devised a scheme for dividing the British fleet and uniting his own ships with the Spanish navy in order to crush the squadron which blockaded the French ports, and thus to allow the armament that he had collected to cross unmolested to the English coast. 'Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours,' he said, 'and we are masters of the world.' But this could not be gained. The battle of Trafalgar (21st of October, 1805), in which the great English admiral, Nelson, was killed, annihilated the French and Spanish navies, vindicated the supremacy of Britain at sea, and secured her from all danger of a French invasion.

Meanwhile, a new coalition had been formed between Russia, Austria, Naples, and Sweden, to wrest Italy and the Low Countries from Napoleon, who had now assumed the rank of Emperor of France; and Britain, as usual, had to furnish the sinews of war. But the incapacity of the Austrian general, Mack, and the promptitude and military skill of Napoleon, speedily brought the coalition to ruin: 30,000 men under Mack were compelled to surrender at Ulm three days before the battle of Trafalgar, and the road to Vienna was thus laid open to the enemy. On the 2nd of December the combined armies of Austria and Russia were defeated at Austerlitz, and Austria was obliged, in consequence, to sue for peace and abandon her allies. A few months later Napoleon fastened a quarrel on Prussia, and annihilated her army at Jena on the 14th of October, 1806. He then marched into Poland, to assail the last opponent on the Continent that still with-

stood his arms. The Russian forces offered a stubborn resistance to the invader, especially at Eylau; but the decisive victory of the French at Friedland in the summer of 1807 brought the Czar to consent to the Peace of Tilsit.

Having now established an unquestioned supremacy over the states of continental Europe, Napoleon resumed his struggle against Britain with increased hopes of success. His first step was to renew the 'Continental System,' which had broken down with the failure of the Northern League. On the 21st of November, 1806, he issued from Berlin a decree which placed the British Islands in a state of blockade, prohibited all commerce or communication with them, declared all English goods found in France, or in the territories of her allies, liable to confiscation, and closed their harbours not only against vessels coming from Great Britain, but against all that had touched at her ports.

It was soon seen that Napoleon, with all the immense resources at his command, was utterly unable to enforce this decree. He had not a single ship to carry it out; and though he stationed an army of inspectors along the coast to guard against any attempt to introduce British manufactures, their vigilance was completely baffled by the daring and energetic efforts made by the smugglers to land their contraband goods in France itself. The Dutch were naturally unwilling to aid in enforcing measures which were ruining their own trade; while the Russian and Prussian officials were induced by liberal bribes to connive at the violation of the Berlin decrees.

The harsh and cruel measures to which Napoleon had recourse in the vain hope of ruining British trade and commerce, roused a strong feeling of indignation against him throughout the Continent. No severity was spared against those in whose possession any articles of British manufacture, or that had even touched British hands, were found. The possession of English goods was, indeed,

treated as a capital crime. 'In the great trading towns a system of permanent terrorism was put in force against the merchants. Soldiers ransacked their houses; their letters were opened, and spies dogged their steps.' The inhabitants of the entire Continent were subjected through this impolitic and oppressive system to galling privations, which they bitterly resented. 'The French were themselves compelled to extract sugar from beetroot, and to substitute chicory for coffee. The Germans, less favoured by nature and less rapid in adaptation, thirsted and sulked. Even in such torpid communities as Saxony, political discontent was at length engendered by bodily discomfort. Men who were proof against all the patriotic exultation of Stein and Fichte felt that there must be something wrong in a system which sent up the price of coffee to five shillings a pound, and reduced the tobacconist to exclusive dependence upon the market-gardener.' To crown all, even the French emperor himself found it impossible to dispense with the productions of his hated rival, and was compelled by 'the pressure of facts' to neutralize his own decree by granting an immense number of licenses. It is asserted on good authority that the French army which marched to Eylau was clad in great coats made at Leeds, and shod with shoes made at Northampton.

Napoleon was not satisfied to carry on his contest with Britain merely by his commercial system; he was still bent on an attempt to land a French army on her shores. He had secured the friendship of the Russian Czar by promising to assist him in the conquest of Turkey; and Alexander at this time not only enforced the Berlin decrees as far as possible throughout his vast dominions, but compelled Sweden, the one ally that Britain still retained on the Continent, to renounce her alliance. The fleets of Russia and Sweden were thus virtually at the disposal of Napoleon, who counted on securing in addition the Danish fleet, consisting of

sixteen sail of the line. These combined naval armaments, he confidently expected, would enable him to overthrow the naval supremacy of Britain, and to obtain the command of the 'silver streak' of the sea, which formed the main defence of the country. The British ministry had been secretly made acquainted with this design, and foiled it by prompt and decisive, though not justifiable, action. A powerful armament of twenty-seven sail of the line and 20,000 troops, fitted out ostensibly against Flushing and Antwerp, was directed in July, 1807, to proceed to the Sound and to demand the delivery of the Danish fleet into the hands of Britain under a solemn pledge that it would be restored at the end of the war. On the refusal of the Danish court to agree to this demand, Copenhagen was invested by sea and land, and after a fortnight spent in preparations, the city was bombarded for two days. The Danes, finding that further resistance was hopeless, agreed to surrender their whole fleet, which, with a great mass of naval stores, was immediately conveyed to England.

This bold though reckless and indefensible proceeding was followed up by the issue, in November, 1807, of fresh Orders in Council, which declared the whole coast of France and its allies in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for their harbours as liable to seizure, unless they had touched at a British port. The French emperor retaliated by issuing another decree at Milan in December, declaring every vessel of whatever nation, coming from or bound to Britain or any British colony, to have forfeited its character as a neutral, and to be held subject to seizure.

The failure of his attempts to destroy the trade and commerce of Britain made Napoleon only the more resolute in carrying out his gigantic scheme of a union of the whole continent of Europe against his great rival. He changed the republic of Holland into a monarchy, and conferred its crown on his brother Louis. He transformed the electorates of Hanover and Hesse Cassel

into a kingdom, of which he made another brother, Jerome, the sovereign. He picked a quarrel with Portugal, as a step towards bringing the whole Peninsula under his control, and demanded that the court of Lisbon should detain the British resident and confiscate British property in Portugal. On their refusal he marched a French army towards Lisbon. On its approach the house of Braganza adopted the spirited measure of abandoning their European dominions and taking refuge in Brazil, and Lisbon was immediately occupied by French troops (November, 1807). Napoleon had previously made a secret agreement with the Spanish court to divide Portugal between them. He had no intention, however, of carrying out this scandalous paction. On the contrary, he had resolved to dethrone the Spanish sovereign, though he was his subservient ally, and to seize his kingdom, in the hope that by developing its resources and obtaining command of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in Southern and Central America, as well as of the whole Peninsula, he might wrest from Britain the empire of the seas.

In pursuance of this nefarious policy he induced Charles IV., who at this juncture had abdicated the throne, and Ferdinand VII., his son and successor, to meet him at Bayonne, where they were placed in confinement and compelled to resign their claims to the Spanish crown. A French army immediately took possession of Madrid, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain.

This high-handed and infamous procedure, however, ultimately proved one main cause of Napoleon's ruin. The proud-spirited and passionate Spaniards felt keenly the ignominious treatment to which they had been subjected, and rose as one man against the royal puppet thus thrust upon them. Their patriotic outburst of hostility against the French was cordially welcomed by the British Government and people, and men of all parties were united

in the opinion that 'never had so happy an opportunity existed for Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world.' 'Hitherto,' exclaimed Sheridan, 'Bonaparte has contended with princes without dignity, numbers without ardour, or peoples without patriotism. He has yet to learn what it is to combat a people who are animated by one spirit against him.' The British Cabinet immediately resolved to postpone their petty projects for operations in South America for a vigorous warfare in the Peninsula, and sent, with injudicious precipitation, supplies of money and arms to the Spanish insurgents. An armament of 10,000 men sailed in July for Spain, and offered to co-operate with the Spaniards in Galicia. It was deemed expedient, however, to direct them against the French forces in Portugal.

Meanwhile, the surrender at Baylen in July, 1808, of a French army which had invaded Andalusia greatly encouraged the patriots, and gave the first blow to the ambitious projects of the French emperor. This was quickly followed by a serious disaster to his arms in Portugal. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having landed at Mondego Bay, marched towards Lisbon, and defeated at Vimiera (21st of August) the French army under Junot, which, if the English general had been left to his own discretion, would have been completely destroyed; but through the incapacity and mismanagement of Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, who unluckily arrived at this critical moment and replaced him, the favourable opportunity was lost, and the French obtained, by the convention of Cintra, permission to return to France on board the British ships. Sir John Moore, who now succeeded to the command of the British troops in Portugal, advanced from Lisbon to Salamanca to support the Spanish armies; but he speedily found that the impressions which had been formed in England respecting the condition of the insurgents were altogether erroneous. They were indeed fiercely hostile to the French,

but they were without supplies of arms and provisions, unaccustomed to organization, and incapable of combination. Before Moore could reach Salamanca (November 13), the Spaniards had been crushed at Burgos, and their defeat was quickly followed by the fall of Madrid. The victors marched from different points—one body under Napoleon himself—to intercept and surround the British forces, thus left without support from the Spaniards, and reduced to great straits, owing to the want of a proper supply of provisions. Moore was in consequence compelled to fall hastily back on the coast. The troops suffered great privations, during their march of 200 miles in the depth of winter, from the severity of the weather and the scarcity of supplies, hard pressed all the way by the enemy. But they did not lose a standard, or sustain a single check in action. On reaching Corunna they inflicted a signal defeat on the French under Soult (16th January, 1809), but with the loss of their gallant general, and as the result of their victory, they were enabled to embark in safety and return to England.

The cause of the Spanish patriots now seemed utterly lost. The whole of northern and central Spain was held by the French in overwhelming force, and all resistance to the invaders appeared to be at an end. But the British Government were determined to continue the struggle. They entered into a treaty of alliance with the Junta which governed Spain in the absence of its king, who was still detained a prisoner in France; and they sent 13,000 fresh troops to reinforce the British army at Lisbon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was appointed to the command, gave it as his deliberate opinion that 'Portugal might be defended against any force which the French could bring against it.'

At this critical moment a diversion was made on behalf of the Peninsula, by a renewal of the war between France and Austria; and Napoleon was in consequence obliged to devolve the management of the

Spanish war on his generals, and to repair in person to the theatre of operations in Germany. A powerful force under Victor was threatening Lisbon from the east, while Soult was advancing against it from the north. Sir Arthur resolved to attack the latter, and, suddenly crossing the Douro, by a masterly manœuvre he drove Soult from Oporto with great loss. Then, turning southward, he compelled Victor to make a precipitate retreat. Shortly after, having effected a junction with a numerous Spanish force, the British general adopted the bold resolution to move forward towards Madrid by the valley of the Tagus. The army of Victor, however, had by this time received reinforcements, and attacked the allied British and Spanish forces at Talavera (27th of July, 1809). The battle was fiercely contested, and the losses on both sides were very heavy; but at the close the French were obliged to fall back, leaving the prestige of success with the allies. But the fruits of the victory were lost by the march of the army in the north-west of Spain, under Soult, in a direction which would soon have brought them on the rear of our forces. Sir Arthur was therefore obliged to fall back on Badajoz, where he remained in a position which covered that fortress during the rest of the year. Meanwhile serious disasters had overtaken Austria, and Vienna was a second time entered by Bonaparte. He received a severe check at Aspern, which compelled him to march into the heart of Germany, several hundred miles from the coast, with an immense body of troops. But the decisive victory which he gained at Wagram constrained the emperor of Austria once more to sue for peace, which was only granted on terms highly favourable to France.

The feeling of disappointment which the failure of Austria to shake off the yoke of France produced on the mind of the British nation was embittered by the disastrous result of an expedition despatched against Antwerp in July, consisting of

nearly forty sail of the line and 38,000 troops. It was placed under the command of the Earl of Chatham, elder brother of William Pitt, an indolent, dilatory, and inexperienced officer, totally unfit to undertake the charge of such an enterprise. It was in every way most grossly mismanaged; and, after losing a great number of men, owing to the unhealthy atmosphere of the island of Walcheren, where the troops were encamped during several months in a state of inactivity, the incapable commander returned home without accomplishing anything, except the destruction on his departure of the dockyards of Flushing.

The discreditable failure of this expedition led to a quarrel and a duel between George Canning, the Foreign Secretary of the Government, and Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary for War, who was responsible for the scheme. Both of these ministers had to resign their offices, along with the Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the Government. He was succeeded in the office of premier by Spencer Perceval, 'an industrious mediocrity of the narrowest type,' while the Marquis of Wellesley took the place of Canning as foreign secretary. The Ministry was acknowledged on all hands to be weak, and few if any of its members were entitled to be regarded as far-seeing or efficient statesmen. But, though the public had become exceedingly disheartened respecting the state of matters in Spain, and the city of London had even petitioned Parliament to withdraw the British army from the Peninsula, the cabinet were resolute to continue the war.

The aspect of affairs, however, became darker and darker. Andalusia, the only province of Spain which remained independent, was invaded in 1810, and, with the exception of Cadiz, was reduced by the French. Massena, at the head of 80,000 men, was ordered by Napoleon to march upon Lisbon and 'drive the leopards into the sea.' The position of affairs seemed so desperate that Perceval

at last lost all hope of maintaining our ground in the Peninsula, and threw upon Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had been created Viscount Wellington, the whole responsibility of continuing the struggle. 'I conceive,' answered that great general, 'that the honour and interest of our country require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible, and, please God, I will maintain it as long as I can.' The position of affairs, indeed, looked very alarming. But for the preparations for his marriage to the Emperor of Austria's daughter, Napoleon would have put himself at the head of the nine powerful corps, mustering not less than 200,000 effective men, under his best generals whom he now poured into Spain with the hope of crushing his enemies at a blow. To meet the shock of this formidable array Wellington had not more than 55,000 disposable troops, independent of garrisons and detachments, and including the Portuguese levies (now 30,000 strong), who had been well-disciplined and were excellent soldiers. He had been compelled to abandon all hopes of assistance from the Spaniards; and indeed in the month of November both of the Spanish armies were defeated and almost annihilated, as Wellington said, 'through the ignorance, presumption, and mismanagement of their leaders.' The attention of the British general was, therefore, now directed to the defence of Portugal, the conquest of which was the great object of the French campaign of 1810. The Portuguese not only detested the French, but, unlike the Spaniards, they were loyal to their sovereign and had confidence in the British army and nation. They were therefore secure and effective allies of Britain, though the Government was capitious, troublesome, and inefficient; and Wellington, fully accepting the responsibility thrown upon him, expressed his conviction that, with the aid of the Portuguese troops, the country might be defended by a British force of 30,000 men. With prescient eye he had already decided upon the

proper mode of meeting the storm which was about to burst upon him, and had advised the erection in front of Lisbon of the far-famed lines of Torres Vedras, which furnished an impregnable fastness and a secure retreat, as well as a safe base of operations when he should resume the offensive. By the patriotism of the Portuguese these immense works were kept a profound secret from the French, and Wellington having thus silently made all requisite preparations, calmly took post on the Coa, and waited the approach of the enemy.

After a delay of some weeks Massena put his army in motion. His first enterprise was the siege of the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, which surrendered on the 20th of July. He next attacked the Portuguese fortress of Almeida, which speedily surrendered in consequence of the explosion of the magazine. Having thus made his flanks and rear secure, the French general commenced his march into Portugal. As he advanced, Wellington slowly retired to his inaccessible stronghold; but for the purpose of inspiring his men, and to show to the world that his retreat proceeded neither from weakness nor fear, he deliberately halted at Busaco and offered battle. The attack of the French (on the 27th of September), though made with great gallantry, was defeated with immense loss, and having thus given his pursuers 'a knock-down blow,' the English general retired to his defences, which he entered on the 8th of October. Massena followed, expecting to find a level country all the way to Lisbon, and to see his opponent taking refuge in his ships, when to his astonishment and dismay he found himself arrested in his march by the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, which stretched from the Tagus to the sea, inclosing a mountainous country accessible only by passes that were guarded by batteries and held by our troops. The country around had been laid waste, the crops destroyed, and the villages burned, in order to deprive the enemy of all supplies on the spot; and

while the British forces, through the foresight of their commander, were enjoying the utmost comfort and abundance within their lines, the French army in front was reduced to the greatest extremities by destitution and disease. At the end of a month Massena abandoned his position, finding it impossible to penetrate the British lines, and with greatly diminished forces effected a masterly retreat to Santarem, which he occupied during the remainder of the winter, in the hope that he might be joined by the army of Soult, which was advancing from the south-east of Spain. But a long expected supply of biscuit from France having been intercepted by the guerillas, Massena was compelled to commence a retrograde movement about the beginning of March 1811; and though closely followed and harassed by the British forces, he made good his retreat to the Portuguese frontier. Wellington immediately availed himself of the opportunity to invest the fortress of Almeida, one of the keys of Portugal. The French general, anxious to preserve this important place, retraced his steps and made a vigorous attack on the British army at a village called Fuentes d'Onore, which was repeatedly taken and retaken; but in the end the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter, and Almeida was left to its fate.

Wellington having thus successfully repulsed the invaders from Portugal in spite of the feeble support which was afforded him by the British Government, and the continued annoyance which he received from the Portuguese regency, resolved in the next campaign to carry his arms into Spain. Before, however, that he could proceed with offensive operations in that country, it was necessary to possess himself of the strong fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz. Beresford was therefore directed to commence the siege of the latter. Soult marched rapidly to its relief, but was defeated in the sanguinary battle of Albuera (16th May, 1811). Wellington himself soon after took the command of the besieging army; but the neglect of the Government

had left him without proper means for conducting such operations. He had no trained artificers, no sappers and miners, and no transport. The trenching tools snapped in the hands of the workman, and his guns were of small calibre, old-fashioned, weak, and worthless. Two unsuccessful assaults were made against Badajoz, and having learned that the whole of the French forces in the centre and south of Spain, to the number of 60,000, were advancing against him, the British general resolved to relinquish the siege, and return to the northern frontier of Portugal. He had, however, only delayed, not abandoned, his determination to obtain possession of these indispensable strongholds. Foiled by Marmont, who had replaced Massena, in an attempt to blockade Ciudad Rodrigo into submission, he resolved to carry it by assault. During the latter months of 1811 he secretly prepared a battering train and adequate stores, constructed a portable bridge, formed a commissariat waggon train, and rendered the Douro navigable forty miles higher than boats had ever before ascended it. Meanwhile Marmont, completely thrown off his guard, had dispersed his army into cantonments, when Wellington suddenly pushed his bridge across the Agueda on the 8th of January, 1812, and invested Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 19th he carried it by storm in the face of a most determined resistance, before Marmont could muster his forces.

After this sanguinary exploit, which cost him a thousand men, Wellington turned to Badajoz, which likewise fell on the 7th of April, after a siege of twenty days, before Soult, who commanded in Andalusia, could get half-way to the relief of the place. But nearly 5000 men were killed and wounded in the assault, one of the most sanguinary ever delivered.

Having thus secured his flanks and rear, Wellington at length broke up from his cantonments on the 18th of June, and advanced into Spain at the head of 40,000 men. Marmont retired as he advanced, evacuating Salamanca, and leav-

ing its forts to be captured by the British forces. He speedily, however, obtained strong reinforcements, and resuming the offensive, made a vigorous attempt to cut off his enemy from Ciudad Rodrigo. But in his manœuvring for that purpose he allowed a gap to intervene between his left wing and his centre. Wellington in a moment detected the mistake, and ordering an immediate attack, in forty minutes, as he himself said, he defeated an army of 40,000 men (22nd July). The French lost 6000 men in killed and wounded in this fierce and bloody encounter, besides nearly 7000 taken prisoners, with eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, four standards, and a great number of ammunition waggons. The battle of Salamanca was by far the most decisive which had as yet been fought in the Peninsula. Wellington himself told a friend that he looked upon it as one of his three greatest battles, the other two being Vittoria and Waterloo. It relieved the whole south of Spain, and at once changed the character of the war.

The defeat of the French at Salamanca laid open the road to Madrid, which Wellington entered in triumph on the 12th of August. But the pressure of their common danger induced the French marshals to lay aside their jealousies, and to act in concert against their formidable adversary; and Wellington became aware that he must prepare to meet a combined attack from the forces that were rapidly concentrating from different parts of the country. He made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to obtain possession of Burgos, which he considered absolutely necessary for the security of his army. But his means were so inadequate, and the fortress was so vigorously defended, that after spending five weeks before it, he was obliged to raise the siege and retire.

It was indeed time; for the French generals were straining every nerve to bring up their forces against him from all parts of the Peninsula, and he was on the point of being crushed by a concentration of the

armies of the north, of the south, and of the centre, amounting to 114,000 men, while he had only 33,000 under his command. By one of the most masterly retreats ever executed, however, he succeeded in extricating himself from this perilous situation, and in regaining the frontier of Portugal on the 20th November, though his soldiers suffered severely during the retreat from fatigue, privation, and the inclemency of the weather. Having distributed his troops in their former quarters, he brought this eventful campaign to a close.

While hostilities were thus proceeding in Spain, events of the most momentous character had occurred in another part of Europe. The gigantic and restless ambition of the French emperor, and his domineering disposition, made it impossible for any country to remain long in friendly relations with him. In 1811 he successively annexed Holland (compelling his brother Louis to abdicate its sovereignty), the Hanseatic towns, part of Westphalia, and the territories of the Prince of Oldenburg, the Emperor of Russia's brother-in-law—steps which excited great apprehension on the part of the other European powers, though they were unable to prevent them. Alexander, the Czar of Russia, was watching with alarm the advance of the French empire in northern Europe, and his relations with Napoleon had become cold, if not unfriendly, ever since the marriage of the French emperor to an Austrian archduchess. This feeling was shown by his relaxing the operations of the 'Continental System' in his dominions, which, indeed, was not only destroying the trade of his subjects, but also ruining the landowners. Towards the close of 1810 he abolished it altogether, and thus sundered the last tie remaining between France and Russia.

The most gigantic preparations were made for the struggle, which both sides evidently felt was to be one of life or death. Napoleon raised in France every man that the conscription laws could supply, and drew the best of his soldiers from Spain

and the frontier of Poland. Holland, Italy, and the confederate states of the Rhine, were ordered to provide their contingents. Austria agreed to furnish 40,000 men; and even Prussia, though smarting under her recent losses and sufferings, was compelled, by dire necessity, to yield up the remains of her army and her fortresses for the service of her conqueror. Russia, on the other hand, formed an alliance with Sweden and with Great Britain, but her main dependence was on the vast extent and inaccessible nature of her territory, and the patriotism of her people.

On the 9th of May Napoleon set out for Dresden, which had been appointed as the rendezvous of his allies. He there collected around him an assemblage such as Europe had never before witnessed. The emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia waited on the new Charlemagne, and a crowd of other tributary kings and princes, whose contingents were to swell the French army, assembled to pay homage to their conqueror. War was formally declared against Russia on the 22nd of June, 1812, and at the head of an army, the finest and most formidable which France had ever equipped, consisting of nearly 400,000 men, with 1200 pieces of artillery, Napoleon set out on his fateful expedition. The Russians retired as the French advanced, but they waited the attack of the invaders at Smolensk (17th August), and at Borodino (7th September). In both encounters, which were of the most sanguinary description, the French were victorious, though their successes cost them an enormous loss of men. The weakened host entered Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, on the 14th of September; but the Russians themselves set fire to the city, and burned it to the ground. Napoleon was thus deprived at a blow of the fruits of his dearly purchased victories, and was left without safe winter quarters for his army, or a position from which he could collect means for further aggression. No sign of submission was made on the part of the Russians, and no abatement of confidence and resolu-

tion appeared. Napoleon lingered among the ruins of Moscow for more than a month; and as no reply was given to his proposals of peace, he was compelled to commence, on the 15th of October, his memorable retreat, the most disastrous recorded in history. The intense cold, assisted by the attacks of the enemy, completed the destruction of the French forces, and eventually sealed the fate of Napoleon, who reached Paris on the 18th of December, leaving Ney to bring back the remains of the magnificent army which the wicked ambition of the despot had led to destruction.

The terrible reverses of Napoleon in the Russian campaign had not only compelled him to supply the place of many regiments of veteran soldiers with battalions of raw recruits, but had also wrought a remarkable change in the feelings of the Spaniards, who were now as elated as if the disasters which had overtaken their enemy had been brought about by their own efforts. Soult, too, the ablest of the French generals in Spain, had been sent by the emperor to another quarter; and the troops, depressed and cowed by their frequent defeats now shrank from encountering an enemy by whom they had been so often beaten.

In these circumstances the campaign of 1813 was opened by Wellington about the middle of May with every prospect of success. He had under his command nearly 200,000 men, of whom 40,000 were British. The French, who were still numerically superior, had made great preparations to defend the passage of the Douro, expecting that he would direct his movements either by Salamanca or Talavera. But Wellington had resolved to follow a different route, and by an unexpected and masterly movement he turned in rapid succession all the positions occupied by the French armies of the centre, the south, and north. They were in consequence compelled to evacuate one town after another, and even Burgos, which had so gallantly resisted and baffled his attack in the last campaign, was hastily blown up

at his approach. Driving every thing before him, he overtook the retreating army on the plains of Vittoria, and inflicted upon them the most decisive defeat ever sustained by the French arms since the battle of Blenheim. They were beaten, as he said, 'before the town, in the town, about the town, and out of the town.' 'The troops,' as the French general Gazan admitted, 'lost all their baggage, all their cannon, all their military chest, all their ammunition, all their papers.' The rout at Vittoria not only freed the Peninsula altogether from the French invaders, but, as Wellington remarked, 'it broke up the armistice at Dresden, and so led to Leipsic and the deliverance of Europe.'

Pressing on his retreating foes, and giving them no time to rally, Wellington drove them in the utmost confusion to the recesses of the Pyrenees. Soult, who was despatched by Napoleon to arrest the progress of the British forces, made a stubborn resistance, but was defeated with heavy loss in a succession of sanguinary engagements. St. Sebastian, after a gallant defence, was carried by storm on the 31st of August. On the 7th of October the British army, by a most masterly strategic operation, succeeded in crossing the Bidassoa in the face of the French army posted in a very strong position. On the 31st Pampeluna surrendered, and on the 9th of November Wellington passed his last night, during the war, on Spanish ground. Crossing the Nivelle in spite of the most strenuous resistance on the part of Soult, the British army, which four years before was compelled to take refuge in a corner of Portugal, behind the lines of Torres Vedras, having now swept the invaders completely out of the Peninsula, encamped in triumph on the soil of France. In the following month, they defeated the French in a series of sanguinary actions under the walls of Bayonne, drove them across the Gave in January, 1811, routed them again at Orthez on the 29th of February, and finally, after a fierce struggle, carried Soult's entrenched camp at Toulouse, and compelled him to abandon the town,

leaving behind him his wounded, his heavy artillery, and his stores. The tidings of Napoleon's abdication, which arrived at this juncture, terminated the Peninsular war.

The terrible calamities which had overtaken the French armies in their invasion of Russia, emboldened the nations who had suffered so severely from the domination of Napoleon to make another and more united and vigorous effort to throw off his galling yoke; and from the Oder to the Rhine, and from the Baltic to the Julian Alps, the people with one accord rose up in arms against the scourge of Europe. Prussia at once abandoned the falling cause of the French emperor. But Napoleon, with a fresh army of 200,000 men, marched in May against the allied armies of Prussia and Russia, defeated them first at Lutzen, and drove them out of Saxony, and then by a second victory at Bautzen, threw them back on the Oder. At this critical moment he was overreached, and induced to consent to an armistice, which gave his enemies time to reorganize and recruit their forces, and afforded Austria, under the guise of neutrality, an opportunity to complete her preparations to take part in the struggle against him. The terms which she proposed as a mediator between the belligerent forces having been rejected by the French emperor, Austria declared war against France, and notified officially her adhesion to the coalition, which now included Great Britain and Sweden, as well as Russia and Prussia. Attacked on all sides by overwhelming numbers, the French army, after a succession of reverses at the Katzbach, Kulm, and Donnewitz, met with a total overthrow at Leipzic, and was forced to fall back across the Rhine.

The career of Napoleon was now drawing rapidly to a close. His defeat at Leipsic completed what the Russian campaign had commenced. All Europe was in arms against him, while his veteran armies had been annihilated, and newly-raised battalions of raw recruits alone were left for the defence of France. The fabric which he had reared

at such an immense cost of blood and treasure fell to pieces at once. Germany threw off his yoke. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. Hanover resumed its connection with England. Ferdinand VII. was released from his confinement, and acknowledged king of Spain. Holland was evacuated by the French troops, and passed at once under the government of the Stadtholder; and the conclusion of an armistice between Denmark and Russia lost Napoleon his last ally in the North. Even in France itself his prestige was passing away, and his power shaken. The Republicans began to intrigue against him in the capital, while the Royalists were stirring up the provinces; and even the National Assembly, though composed of his own creatures, ventured to express a hope that abuses would now be reformed, and a peace concluded on the basis of the limitation of France within the frontiers of the Rhine and the Alps.

Meanwhile 1,100,000 armed men were advancing from various points to the invasion of the French territory, while Napoleon had only 360,000 men, most of them new levies, to resist the attacks of his enemies. At no former period did the transcendent military genius of the French emperor display itself so conspicuously as in the mode in which he maintained to the last a hopeless contest, and kept his enemies at bay, inflicting upon them repeated and severe defeats. But the struggle was too unequal for even Napoleon to carry on successfully to the end. Paris capitulated on the 31st of March, and on the 11th of April he signed an abdication of his throne, and his dynasty expired.

Elba was assigned as a residence to the fallen emperor, and he landed on that island on the 3rd of May. He appeared to occupy himself entirely with plans for the improvement of his petty dominions; but throughout the autumn and winter he kept up an active correspondence with his partizans in France, and was carefully informed of the dis-

content which was excited by the foolish and unpopular proceedings of the restored Bourbon dynasty. He was, no doubt, also made acquainted with the dissensions which had already broken out among his conquerors at the Congress of Vienna, and with the resistance which Great Britain, Austria, and France had been constrained to offer to the rapacious and unprincipled demands of Prussia and Russia.

It was alleged that Napoleon had also been informed that the representatives of the negotiating powers were secretly considering the propriety of removing him from Elba and confining him in the island of St. Helena, or some other distant part of the world. This apprehension may have hastened his movements, but there can be no doubt that, in any case, Napoleon had determined to make an effort to recover his throne. On the 1st of March, 1815, he landed on the coast, near Cannes, and followed only by nine hundred men, he marched over the mountains of Dauphiné upon Grenoble and Lyons. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and the generals and soldiers sent against him at once went over to his side, and swelled the cortege which accompanied him in his triumphal march through France. In twenty days from the time of his landing (20th March), he took possession of the Tuilleries, from which Louis XVIII. had fled the night before to Ghent.

While the 'vultures and foxes' were quarrelling over their spoil at Vienna, they learned with surprise and alarm that the eagle had broken loose from Elba, eager for prey and vengeance. The news of Napoleon's escape from his island retreat, and his unopposed restoration to the imperial throne, came like a thunder peal on the wrangling congress. Suspending at once their selfish and discreditable contentions, they signed a new treaty of alliance on the 25th of March, pledged themselves to support Louis XVIII. on the French throne, declared Napoleon beyond the pale of the law of nations, and proceeded to

adopt vigorous measures to put down at once their formidable and dreaded antagonist.

On the 29th, the Duke of Wellington set out, at the urgent request of the allied sovereigns, to assume the command of the British and Dutch forces stationed in the Netherlands, the post of danger and honour. The Prussian army, under Marshal Blucher, was already in cantonments in that quarter. It was resolved that no attempt should be made to enter France until the arrival of the Austrian, Russian, and Bavarian armies; and meanwhile the Prussian and British contingents took up a position in front of the Belgian capital. The former occupied the country between Charleroi and Liege, and thus protected the valley of the Sambre, while the allied British and Dutch forces under Wellington had their left at Braine-le-Compte and Nivelles, their right at Ath, and their reserves in and around Brussels, thus keeping open their communications with England and Holland.

While his enemies were thus preparing to overwhelm him, Napoleon was exerting himself to the utmost to place France in an attitude of defence. By almost superhuman efforts, he succeeded within three months in collecting and equipping an army of 400,000 men. With such a force at his command, he resolved to forego the manifest advantages of a purely defensive system of warfare, which Wellington regarded as Napoleon's safest course, and to strike an immediate blow at the allied armies stationed in Belgium, in the hope that he might thus for a time paralyse the energies of the whole body of his enemies. Crossing the frontier on the 15th of June, at the head of 120,000 veteran soldiers, in the highest state of efficiency, he drove in the Prussian outposts, and, after an obstinate struggle, carried Charleroi. On receiving information of this movement, Blucher concentrated his troops at Ligny, in a very ill-chosen position, where, as Wellington predicted, they received from the French, on the 16th, a terrible beating.

Meanwhile a body of about seven thou-

sand Anglo-Netherland troops had taken up their position at Quatre Bras, which they stoutly maintained against the greatly superior numbers of the French, under Ney, till one reinforcement after another having arrived, they in turn became the assailants, drove back the enemy, and, at the close of the day, were considerably in advance of their original ground. The defeat and retreat of the Prussians, however, having made it necessary that Wellington also should retire, in order to keep open his communications with his allies, he withdrew, on the afternoon of the 17th, to a position near the village of Waterloo, which he had marked out the previous year as a place where an army could be advantageously posted. Here he resolved to await the attack of the French. He had under his command about 65,000 men of all arms, of whom only 33,000 were British; and not a few even of these were militia and young soldiers, who had never seen a shot fired in earnest. The remainder of his army, 'the worst he had ever commanded,' was made up of Brunswickers, Hanoverians, Germans, Belgians, and Dutch, who had long served under Bonaparte, were now serving against their will under another flag, and could not be induced by any means to stand the attacks of the French.

Napoleon, on the other hand, was at the head of 71,000 active troops, in the highest state of efficiency as regards equipment, discipline, and experience, all belonging to the same nation, animated by the same spirit, having unbounded confidence in their leader, and flushed with the victory which they had just gained over the Prussians at Ligny. Napoleon himself confidently believed that he would be successful in the impending contest. When he reached the eminence of La Belle Alliance, and found that the enemy, who he feared would not await his attack, had halted in its retreat, and evidently meant to give battle, he exclaimed, 'I have these English at last!'

The British general, however, had no fears as to the result. The battle, which took place on the 18th, was obstinate and sanguinary. Napoleon made several serious and unaccountable mistakes; but his troops fought with their usual bravery, and made a succession of furious attacks, now with infantry, now with cavalry, and now with both arms united, always covered in the advance with a murderous fire of artillery, on the right, the centre, and the left of their opponents. They entirely failed, however, to break the allied line. At four o'clock the first division of the Prussians, under Bulow, began to trouble the French right, and gradually gained ground round Planchenoit. At dusk Napoleon threw his last desperate stake for victory, and lost it. The memorable attack of the famous Old Guard was repulsed with great slaughter, and Wellington, perceiving that the favourable moment had at last come, ordered his whole line to advance. Nothing could withstand that steady, stern movement, led by the British general in person. The remains of the French masses threw away their arms and fled. The emperor himself turned away his horse and galloped from the field, exclaiming, 'All is lost! let those save themselves who can.' The opportune arrival of Blucher, to whom Wellington intrusted the task of pursuing the fugitives, changed the defeat of Waterloo into an irretrievable rout, and Napoleon's sun set for ever. 'History,' says M. Mauvel, 'cannot show two battles of Waterloo. It was not only a defeat, it was an extermination—it was the shipwreck of a people. On the 18th of June, between sunrise and sunset, the French empire expired. At eight o'clock in the morning, it stood erect with all its hopes; at nine o'clock in the evening, it was only a name and a recollection gathered with the past.'

The abdication of Napoleon, the march of the allied armies to Paris, and the capitulation and occupation of the French capital, speedily followed 'the crowning mercy' of Waterloo. The government of

Napoleon, which lasted exactly a hundred days, cost his country 600,000,000 of francs, and the loss of 60,000 soldiers. The emperor proceeded to Rochefort with the view of embarking for America; but the coast was so strictly blockaded by British cruisers, that he found it impossible to carry out his design. He was, therefore, obliged to go on board the *Bellerophon* and claim the protection of the Prince Regent. But his appeal was disregarded; and it was deemed necessary for the safety of Europe that he should be transferred to St. Helena, there to reside during the remainder of his life.

While these momentous events were taking place on the Continent, a serious misunderstanding had unfortunately arisen between Great Britain and America connected with Napoleon's Continental System. One effect of that system was to cause the transfer of goods from British to American ships, in which as neutrals they would be less liable to seizure. The injury thus inflicted on the commerce of our country made the merchant class clamour for protection, and an Order in Council was issued by the Ministry in 1807, declaring all the ports on the coast of France and her allies in a state of blockade, and any neutral vessel trading between them to be a good and lawful prize, unless it had previously touched at a British port, and paid customs duties to the British government. Neutral vessels were thus arbitrarily excluded from the coasting trade of most of Europe. America suffered severely from these measures, and she retaliated by closing her ports against the flags both of France and of Great Britain. Thus, on the one hand the two belligerent powers had each prohibited all neutral trade with its opponent, and the chief neutral state had set its seal on this prohibition by shutting itself out from all commercial intercourse with the belligerents. The French decrees, however, as we have seen, were practically unexecuted, while Britain's command of the seas enabled her to carry her orders into effect. Consequently, it was against

her that the indignation felt by the American traders was mainly directed, and this hostile feeling was strengthened by the conduct of her Government in asserting a right to seize British seamen found on board American vessels. The United States at this period took no less than ten millions annually of our goods, but the unwise and unjust policy of our Government at once closed this—the main outlet for the manufactures of Great Britain—and brought great distress and, indeed, ruin on large numbers of the commercial classes for whose benefit it was devised. At the commencement of 1809 the American Government removed the general embargo on trade with Europe, and replaced it by an Act of Non-intercourse with France and England alone. But this was found ineffectual, and was repealed in May, 1810. As the Americans had at this period neither an army nor a navy, they were obliged to submit to the injury thus inflicted on their trade and commerce; but they proclaimed that if either of the two offending powers would recall its hostile edict, it would prohibit intercourse with the other.

The Whigs were strongly opposed to the Orders in Council as both unjust in principle and most injurious to our own commercial interests; and Mr. Brougham, who took up the question with great energy and zeal, night after night, on presenting petitions complaining of the ruinous effect of these orders, and calling for their repeal, exposed their real character, and showed that they were the main cause of the prevailing distress among the manufacturing classes. He succeeded at last in carrying a motion for inquiry into the subject, and adduced evidence from competent witnesses, which convinced all intelligent and impartial persons that his allegations were well-founded. The Ministry, however, obstinately clung to their mistaken policy, in the belief that America was unable to execute her threats of revenge. 'America,' wrote Lord Sidmouth, 'is a bugbear; there

is no terror in her threats.' But that weak and shortsighted statesman speedily found that he was as completely mistaken in his estimate of the resources of America, as he was of the position and feeling of his own country. The forbearance of America was at length exhausted, and despairing of redress, her Congress, on the 18th of June, 1812, proclaimed war against Great Britain.

At this crisis the assassination of Mr. Perceval had brought about a reorganization of the Government. Lord Liverpool became prime minister; and Lord Castlereagh, the new Foreign Secretary, saw the danger to which the country was exposed through the operation of the Orders in Council, and resolved at once to avert it by their repeal. But unfortunately this judicious step came too late. The news did not reach America until six weeks after war had been declared.

Fortunately for Great Britain, her formidable continental enemy was not at this time in a condition to take advantage of the strife which his policy had kindled between two kindred nations. He commenced his disastrous march into the heart of Russia only six days after the American President, Madison, had issued his declaration of war. Peace might still have been maintained, and the American grievances redressed, if her Government had been disposed to come to terms. But they had become heated with the long-continued controversy, and embittered by the sufferings of their commercial classes, and most unjustly attributing the change in the policy of the British ministry to the dread of losing Canada, they rejected all offers of accommodation. The impartial verdict of history on the conduct of the parties responsible for this unnatural and unjustifiable war is in entire accordance with the opinions expressed by Francis Horner at the time. 'As to the American war,' he wrote to John Archibald Murray, 'the historical truth I take to be that we goaded that people into war by an unjust extension to them, while neutrals, of all the unmitigated evils of maritime war; and still more by the insulting tone of our

newspaper and government language, and that when the English nation came to its senses about the Orders in Council, and the minister was dead who had insanely made it a point of honour to adhere to them, by that time the American Government believed that the Continental System of Bonaparte had ruined the resources of this country, that he was to become lord of the ascendant, and that it was as well for them to be on the best terms with the winning side. What passed prior to the repeal of the Orders in Council may fairly be regarded now as matter of history only, and it is in that view of it that I consider the Americans as now aggressors in the war; the grounds of complaint they had we have relinquished; their pretensions against our maritime rights are matter of aggression. It is a sad thing for America that they have not had for president of their Republic, during this important epoch of their history, a man of a higher cast of talent and public sentiment than Madison; he has involved them, without necessity, in war, and has debased very much the tone which a people destined obviously for such greatness ought to maintain.'

The hostilities thus wantonly commenced were not conducted in a manner that reflected much credit on either country. The British Government neglected every precaution that common sense dictated for the protection of the Canadian frontier, and for carrying on war on the lakes, and with all their immense superiority at sea, they entirely failed to protect their national commerce. The officers whom they placed at the head of their forces proved utterly incompetent to the task assigned them, and were indebted for their promotion to court favour or aristocratic influence rather than to merit. On the other hand, the American operations by land were unskilfully planned and badly conducted, and ended in somewhat ignominious failures.

No fewer than three attempts, made by them during the summer and autumn of 1812, to penetrate into Canada, which they

seemed to think would be conquered without difficulty, were repulsed with heavy loss, and a body of 2300 Americans, regulars and militia, stationed at the fort of Detroit, were forced to surrender to their assailants. Another detachment, which in January, 1813, made an attempt to retake that fort, were also made prisoners by a British force. On the other hand, in three successive engagements between English and American frigates, the former were compelled to strike their flag. These unexpected defeats were undoubtedly owing to the great superiority both in the number of their crews and the weight of their guns on the part of the American vessels, as was shown in the victory gained by the British frigate, the *Shannon*, over the *Chesapeake*, when the two encountered (June 1, 1813) on equal terms.

In 1813 the Americans made another attempt upon Canada with a more powerful force and on a different plan of action. They took York (now Toronto), the chief town in Upper Canada, with its stores and part of the garrison, and captured a small flotilla on Lake Erie, but made no great progress in making themselves master of the country, though their invading force exceeded 20,000 men.

In 1814 Upper Canada was again invaded; but the American army, after defeating a detachment of the British forces at Chippewa in July, was itself overthrown a few weeks later, after a stubborn engagement, and compelled to take refuge within its own frontier. An enterprise on a large scale was undertaken by the British against Plattsburgh, a fortified town on Lake Champlain. But the flotilla which accompanied it was defeated and captured, and on seeing this Sir George Prevost, the English general, made a sudden retreat, much to the surprise and disappointment of the public at home. Admiral Cochrane, with a powerful fleet, sailed up the Potomac, and, after destroying a flotilla in that river, landed 4000 men, under General Ross, who drove off the force which protected Wash-

ington, and captured the city. Private property was respected by the invading army; but they burnt not only the arsenal, the dockyard, and the war-office, but the hall of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the residence of the President, and even the bridge across the Potomac. This act of Vandalism, which has been universally condemned, was perpetrated under strict orders from the Government at home. A similar attempt on Baltimore, in which General Ross was killed, proved unsuccessful. Unimportant expeditions were directed, one against Alexandria, on the Potomac, another against the American stations adjoining the British province of New Brunswick, and were attended with success. But an enterprise undertaken on a much larger scale, against New Orleans, proved a disastrous failure. An American force, under General Jackson, posted in a most advantageous position, repulsed the assailing troops with the loss of 2000 men killed and wounded, including three principal officers. The capture of Fort Mobile was the last operation of the British by land, and their final exploit at sea was the capture of the American frigate *President*, of fifty-four guns and 490 men.

Both parties, however, had now become desirous to bring to a close a war in which neither had reaped any profit or honour. The close of the long contest with Napoleon had left Great Britain free to throw her whole strength into the struggle with America, and the war party in the United States were now sensible of the danger of continuing the contest, to which a powerful body, especially in Massachusetts, had been from the first strongly opposed. In Britain, on the other hand, the war had all along been unpopular, and the opposition to its continuance was daily gathering strength. In this state of affairs it was not difficult to negotiate a peace, which was finally concluded at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, on terms which, as had happened sometimes before, left the original causes of the quarrel wholly untouched.

CHAPTER II.

Secret Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, and France—Attempt by the various Powers to increase their Territories—Poland Seized by Russia—Second Treaty of Paris—The Holy Alliance—The British Ministry—Earl of Liverpool—Viscount Sidmouth—Charles Bragge Bathurst—Lord Grenville—Lord Grey—Samuel Whitbread—George Ponsonby—George Tierney—Henry Brougham—Francis Horner—Sir Samuel Romilly—William Wilberforce.

THE battle of Waterloo sealed the downfall of Napoleon, reinstated the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of France, stripped that country of all its conquests, and restored peace to Europe. But the great Powers, who had called a million of men to arms for the purpose of resisting the incessant attacks of the French emperor on the territories of other sovereigns and restoring the balance of power in Europe, quarreled among themselves as soon as their common enemy was overthrown, and were on the eve of turning their arms against each other. Prussia, with its hereditary unprincipled greed, was bent on annexing Saxony; Russia was equally determined on the total subjugation of Poland; and these two powers made common cause in their efforts to secure possession of these coveted territories. On the other hand, the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, and France, at the Congress of Vienna, were united in demanding the independence of Poland and the restoration of the kingdom of Saxony to its native monarch. The schemes of spoliation entertained by Russia and Prussia had become so glaring and dangerous, that on the 3rd of February, 1815, while Napoleon was still at Elba, a secret treaty was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and France, by which they engaged to act in concert, each with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to carry into effect the provisions of the Treaty of Paris; convinced that the powers who had to complete the dispositions of that treaty ought to be maintained in a state of security and perfect independence, and holding it necessary, in consequence of pretensions

recently manifested, to look to the means to resist every aggression. The sudden escape of Napoleon from Elba, and his return to Paris, put an end for a time to the discreditable intrigues and selfish schemes of Russia and Prussia; but as soon as peace was restored by the victory of the allies at Waterloo, the attempts on the part of these two powers to increase their own territories at the expense of their neighbours were resumed. The ultimate result was that Russia was allowed by the Congress to seize the kingdom of Poland with four millions of inhabitants, while Prussia obtained one-half of Saxony and a part of the Duchy of Warsaw, with a million of people. Austria, too, gained largely from the spoils of the French empire. It is true that she lost the Netherlands, which were united to Holland; but she was recompensed for her cession of Belgium by the acquisition of Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, Dalmatia, and some other minor acquisitions, which carried her frontier to the Alps and made her mistress of the Adriatic. The kingdom of Italy created by Napoleon, with its six millions of inhabitants, was broken up and divided among various powers. Genoa was annexed to Sardinia; Tuscany and Modena were handed over to Austrian archdukes; the States of the Church were re-established under papal rule; Naples and Sicily were compelled to receive back their Bourbon autocrats; and, finally, Norway was united, much against her inclination, to Sweden.

France was not only stripped of all her conquests and driven back into her old boundaries, but she was compelled to pay

by gradual instalments the sum of seven hundred millions of francs as an indemnity for the past; and, as a guarantee for the future, to submit to the presence of an army of occupation for a term of years, supported at her expense and garrisoning her fortresses, under the command of the Duke of Wellington. 'The second peace of Paris,' says Metternich, 'differed from the first only in this, that the Powers desired to teach France a lesson by taking away some places on the frontier; by restoring to foreign countries the art treasures seized in the wars of the Revolution; by imposing a contribution; and by the temporary occupation of some of the departments in order to secure internal peace and the safety of the ancient throne of France.' Great Britain alone declined to ask or receive any share of the spoils of the fallen despot, or to plead the enormous sacrifices she had made to bring about his downfall, as an excuse for aggrandizing herself at the expense of weaker powers. 'So silly a treaty,' said Napoleon at St. Helena to O'Meara, 'as that made by your ministers for their own country was never known before. You give up everything, and gain nothing.' The disinterested policy of Great Britain at this juncture presented, indeed, a marked contrast to that pursued by the great continental powers, and was incomprehensible to a man like Napoleon, who was the very incarnation of selfishness. It redounded greatly, however, to the honour of our country, and contributed not a little to increase its moral influence with other nations that, instead of seeking compensation for her lavish disbursement of loans and subsidies, she demanded from France nothing but the immediate abolition of the infamous slave trade, and from the other high contracting powers a declaration that they would concert, without loss of time, 'the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious.'

The continental sovereigns, delivered from the despotic and irresistible control of the French emperor, apparently thought that

they might with perfect impunity return to the arbitrary system of government which they had wielded before the outbreak of the French Revolution. They disposed of the territories of the smaller states at their pleasure, and evidently never for a moment deemed it necessary to consult the wishes of the people whose fate for the time was at their disposal. In their estimation the people were only born to be governed, or in the words of a celebrated republican, they seem to have imagined that the masses came into the world ready bridled and saddled, and that themselves were destined by the will of heaven to mount the saddle and to check, or stimulate, or guide them with bridle and whip and spur at their pleasure. The War of Liberation was a noble and touching episode that history records on the part of the people; but they were recompensed by the most disgraceful treachery on the part of their sovereigns. The people rose in arms, and shed their blood like water, not only that they might deliver their country from the yoke of the French despot, but that they might, in the shape of constitutional freedom and liberty of the press, obtain the deliverance which was promised them from the arbitrary domination of their own rulers. They were, however, cruelly disappointed. No sooner did the sovereigns find themselves secure on their thrones, strengthened as these thrones had been by the sacrifices of blood and treasure made by their subjects, than they set about the restoration of their old arbitrary and oppressive forms of government, and the invidious and unjust class distinctions, which were so injurious to the rights of the common people. The time of retribution, though long delayed, came at last, though sooner than was expected by Prince Metternich, prime minister of the Emperor of Austria, and the very incarnation of the system of despotism which he did so much to organize and maintain. He was so well aware of its instability, and foresaw so clearly its ultimate overthrow, that he frequently gave utterance to the well-known

remark, 'After me the deluge.' But he lived to see the utter destruction of his own handiwork, and the thrones which he had propped up by the bayonets of half a million of armed men topple over like a house of cards; while the Emperor of Austria was driven from his capital, and Metternich himself had to take refuge in England.

No apprehensions of changes or reverses, however, entered the minds of the men—'the paltry creatures,' Gentz terms them, 'who govern the world,' and were now busily engaged in reconstructing the map of Europe. The rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered into a treaty of 'Holy Alliance,' as they termed it, in which they solemnly engaged to 'remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and that considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance.' Prince Metternich, however, designates this famous treaty a 'loud-sounding nothing,' a union of religious and political-liberal ideas, developed under the influence of Frau von Krudener and Monsieur de Bergasse over the Emperor Alexander. The original draft, he says, presented to him by the Czar, was nothing more than a philanthropic aspiration clothed in a religious garb, which supplied no material for a treaty between the monarchs, and which contained many phrases that might even have given rise to religious misconstructions. His views of the projected treaty, he says, coincided with those of the Emperor Francis, and when the document was shown to the king of Prussia he expressed a similar opinion regarding it. In consequence of this agreement of opinion, Metternich was charged by both monarchs to go to the Emperor Alexander as their common representative, and to submit to him their views. In a conversation of several hours he succeeded, not without great difficulty, in persuading the author of the document of the necessity of changing several sentences and omitting some passages entirely. 'This,' he adds,

'is the history of the "Holy Alliance," which, even in the partial feeling of its originator, had no other object than that of a moral demonstration, whilst in the eyes of the other persons concerned, the document had no such meaning, and therefore does not deserve the interpretation which was afterwards put on it by party spirit.' 'The most unanswerable proof,' he avers, 'of the correctness of this statement exists in the circumstances that never afterwards did it happen that the "Holy Alliance" was made mention of before the cabinets, nor, indeed, could have been mentioned. Only the parties hostile to the monarchs used it as a weapon for the calumination of the purest intention of their opponents. The "Holy Alliance" was not an institution to keep down the rights of the people, to promote absolutism or any other tyranny. It was only the overflow of the pietistic feeling of the Emperor Alexander, and the application of Christian principles to politics.' 'Whatever may have been the real motives which induced the two emperors and the king of Prussia (all three, as Gentz remarks, noted for their 'mediocrity and ineptitude') to enter into this 'Holy Alliance,' it was generally regarded at the time and long after as a confederacy of the absolute Powers of the Continent against the rights and liberties of their subjects; and their refusal to fulfil their promises to grant constitutional privileges to their own people, and the mode in which they employed their arms to overthrow the Spanish constitution adopted by the Cortes with the approval of the king, and to support the petty rulers of the Italian duchies in their arbitrary and oppressive proceedings, showed that the general opinion as to their policy was well founded.

The ministers who at this juncture held the reins of power in Great Britain were not unnaturally elated at the triumph of the British arms at Waterloo, and the downfall of the formidable adversary who had so long threatened the security of their own country, and employed his absolute power

over the nations of the Continent to injure British commerce. These ministers had, in reality, no great title to the credit which they claimed in bringing this protracted conflict to a prosperous termination. But they seemed to have imbibed something of the spirit of the continental sovereigns with whom they had acted in concert, and to have resolved, as far as possible, to carry out a similar policy. They were soon made to feel that they had made a great mistake, both as regarded their own ability and the general feeling of the country.

The head of the Government was Robert Banks Jenkinson, second earl of Liverpool, a nobleman of highly respectable character, but of moderate abilities. He had passed the greater part of his life in the service of the public. In 1793, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he was appointed a member of the India Board, and since that time he had held under successive ministries the offices of Master of the Mint, Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary, and Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. He became prime minister on the death of Mr. Perceval in 1812; but no one regarded him as the real head of the cabinet, or the main-spring of its policy. He was a sensible speaker and a good man of business; but he had no pretensions to the character of a great statesman, and no claim to the merit either of conducting the war or prescribing the terms of peace. He had no sympathy with popular claims or wishes, but employed all his influence to preserve unaltered the constitution as it existed. No repressive law was abolished, no popular change was accomplished at his own instance, during his long administration. But the authority of the executive was greatly and needlessly strengthened, the obnoxious Six Acts were passed, and arbitrary measures adopted to repress popular discontents during his tenure of office.

The important post of Home Secretary was at this time held by Viscount Sidmouth, another and even inferior mediocrity, though

he had for twelve years filled the Speaker's chair in the House of Commons, and had for three years—from 1801 to 1804—held the office of prime minister. But the two members of the ministry who had the greatest weight within the cabinet and in Parliament were the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, and Lord Castlereagh, the leader of the House of Commons. Lord Eldon had held his high office, with the exception of an interval of a single year, since 1801, and retained it till 1827—a period quite unprecedented in judicial history. He sat in the cabinet as Chancellor with five prime ministers, and was throughout the mainspring of their domestic policy. He was universally admitted to be a most accomplished and excellent judge and a profound lawyer, remarkably painstaking and industrious in the discharge of his duties, and anxious to do justice. Unfortunately for his own reputation and the interests of suitors, his hesitation to give judgment led to enormous arrears, till the business of his court became hopelessly encumbered with the vast accumulation of undecided cases; and the ruinous delays of the Court of Chancery became a standing byword and a reproach. It was admitted, however, even by those who most severely blamed the chancellor's dilatory habits, that they did not arise from indolence or negligence, but from excessive caution, and an earnest desire to consider each case in all its bearings before pronouncing judgment. He was possessed of genial manners and a cheerful affectionate disposition, which endeared him to his family and his friends; but he insisted on maintaining the extreme penalty of death for the most trivial offences which, now-a-days, would be thought deserving of no higher punishment than a few weeks' imprisonment. He resisted to the utmost every attempt to remove any public abuse, or religious disability, or commercial restriction, or to intrust any share of political power to the great body of the people. He was the mainstay of the extreme Tory party in the ministry and the country, and to him more than to any other man was

owing the dogged resistance of the Government to every proposal for the reform of the representative system, and the extension of equal rights and privileges to all sects and classes. It has been justly remarked that Lord Eldon 'confounded every abuse that surrounded the throne or grew up within the precincts of the altar with the institutions themselves, and was alike the determined enemy of all who would either invade the institution or extirpate the abuse.'

Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the representative of the Government in the Lower House, was the eldest son of the first Marquis of Londonderry, and had been the chief instrument in carrying through the Union of Ireland with Great Britain. His intellect was narrow and his education imperfect; but he was possessed of great courage and resolution, as well as of untiring industry. He was, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, 'a man of sense, presence of mind, and fortitude, which carried him through many an affair of critical moment when finer elements would have stuck in the mire. He had been indifferently educated; and his mode of speaking being far from logical or correct, he was sometimes in danger of becoming almost ridiculous, in despite of his lofty presence, which had all the grace of the Seymours (his maternal ancestors), and his determined courage.' His reputation as an administrator did not stand high; and the Walcheren expedition, for which he was responsible, was from first to last grossly mismanaged, and not only wasted a large amount of blood and treasure, but brought ignominy on the British arms. The triumphant campaigns of Wellington in the Peninsula had by this time, however, obliterated the recollections of Walcheren, and Lord Castlereagh's influence in Parliament was now at its height. His intellectual endowments were not of a high order, his policy was generally believed to be of an arbitrary character, and his parliamentary oratory though fluent was disjointed in argument, and his half-formed sentences, proverbial awkwardness of expression, and

confusion of metaphor, were the constant theme of the raillery of Moore and other satirists. But in spite of these defects Lord Castlereagh's irreproachable private character, consistency, intrepidity, and firmness of purpose, gave him great weight both in the country and in the House, and enabled him to hold his ground against the powerful debaters of the Opposition.

The other members of the cabinet, Vansittart, Bathurst, and Pole, who had seats in the House of Commons, added little weight to the Government. 'I look on Bathurst, Vansittart, Robinson, and Pole as nothing,' wrote Mr. Wilbraham to Lord Colchester. 'Van. does not speak much but upon his own business. Bathurst is not much listened to, and is conscious of it. Pole rarely speaks, but when he does it is always in a passion; and as to Robinson, he seems to do nothing but occasionally answer a question on trade. It is therefore cruel of the Opposition (as Walter Scott once told Morritt) to plague "poor dumb creatures."' Vansittart, who filled the important office of Chancellor of the Exchequer for eleven years, was not fitted, either by his talents or his financial knowledge, to preside over the finances of the country at this critical period. He had no perception either of what taxes might properly be abolished, or which should be continued or imposed. Hence his rule at the exchequer is associated only with a futile attempt to retain obnoxious imposts which the Parliament and the country would no longer tolerate. He was an ineffective debater, and had no weight in the House:—

'Vansittart, Vansittart, for little thou fit art,'

wrote a contemporary satirist, and posterity has indorsed the opinion.

Charles Bragge Bathurst, who was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, had held in succession the offices of Treasurer of the Navy, Secretary of War, and Master of the Mint. 'Brother Bragge,' as Canning styled him, was indebted for his success in life

largely to his marriage with the sister of Lord Sidmouth, whom the witty statesman calls upon, along with 'Brother Hiley,' to cheer, when he 'hobbled vilely' and his 'faltering spirits flagged.' But Perceval affirmed that Bathurst was a man of sterling worth as a man of business as well as a gentleman. His feebleness and inefficiency in debate, however, rendered him of little use to the Government. Frederick Robinson, who occupied the situation of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, was a weak, good-natured man, who owed his position to the fact that he was the son of Lord Grantham, rather than to his abilities or attainments. Yet, strange to say, he was afterwards promoted to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ultimately became prime minister on the death of Canning. Lord Palmerston, Peel, and Huskisson filled subordinate offices in the administration, and a long time elapsed before any of the three obtained admission into the cabinet.

The Opposition were at this time not only a small minority in Parliament, but they were not at one respecting the policy which ought to have been pursued towards Napoleon—one section opposing the renewal of the war on the return of the French emperor from Elba, the other contending that it was impossible to maintain peace with Bonaparte. Earl Grey was at the head of the former, Lord Grenville was the leader of the anti-Gallican section of the party. This distinguished statesman, the ablest member at this period of the celebrated and influential family of the Grenvilles, had held office for a number of years as one of the Secretaries of State in the ministry of his kinsman, Mr. Pitt, along with whom he quitted office in 1801 rather than abandon Catholic emancipation. But when that great statesman was recalled to the head of affairs in 1804, Lord Grenville peremptorily refused to resume office, unless a ministry should be formed wide enough to include Mr. Fox and some other members of the Whig party.

Pitt himself was anxious that Fox should be admitted into the cabinet; but in deference to the feelings of the king, he submitted to the exclusion of the great Whig leader. Lord Grenville, on the other hand, was of opinion that the king should be compelled to give in to the wishes of the prime minister and of the country. A separation thus took place between these two statesmen, and the breach was never healed. After the death of Pitt, Lord Grenville became the chief of the ministry of 'All the Talents,' which carried the abolition of the slave trade, and were dismissed from office because they refused to bind themselves not to press the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities on their narrow-minded though conscientious sovereign. There can be no doubt that Lord Grenville's firm adherence to his principles in regard to the Catholic question alone prevented him from holding the office of prime minister of Great Britain during, at the least, twenty years of his life. As the head of the Whig party he had rendered most valuable service to the cause of constitutional freedom, 'not more,' says Lord Brougham, 'by his natural abilities, which were of a very high order, sound judgment, extraordinary memory, an almost preternatural power of application, and by the rich stores of knowledge which these eminent qualities had put him in possession of, than by the accidental circumstances in his previous history and present position; his long experience in office, which had tried and matured his talents in times of unexampled difficulty; his connection with Mr. Pitt, both in the kindred of blood and of place, so well fitted to conciliate the Tory party, or at all events to disarm their hostility and lull their suspicions; above all, the well-known and steady attachment of himself and his family to the principles and establishment of the Church of England.

'The endowments of this eminent statesman's mind were all of a useful and commanding sort—sound sense, steady memory, vast industry. His acquirements were in

the same proportion valuable and sterling—a thorough acquaintance with business in its principles and details; a complete mastery of the science of politics, as well theoretical as practical; of later years a perfect familiarity with political economy and a just appreciation of its importance; an early and most extensive knowledge of classical literature which he improved, instead of abandoning, down to the close of his life; a taste formed upon these chaste models, and of which his lighter compositions in Greek and Latin verses bore testimony to the very last. His eloquence was of a plain, masculine, authoritative cast, which neglected, if it did not despise ornament, and partook in the least possible degree of fancy, while its declamation was often equally powerful with its reasoning and its statement.' It was universally admitted, however, that Lord Grenville's manners were somewhat haughty and reserved, and that his firmness was apt to degenerate into obstinacy—defects which detracted from his popularity, though they did not greatly diminish his influence among his brother peers.

Lord Grey was the leader of the more advanced section of the Whigs. He was four years younger than Lord Grenville, and unlike him, had been a reformer from his entrance into public life as member for Northumberland, before he had attained the age of twenty-one; and his long career, from its commencement to its close, was one of unswerving consistency and unblemished integrity. He supported Mr. Pitt's proposals for parliamentary reform, and with the support of that minister brought the question before the House of Commons in 1792 and 1793. Four years later he introduced a measure for the enfranchisement of copy-holders and of lease-holders in counties, and for establishing household suffrage in boroughs, which, mainly in consequence of the opposition of Mr. Pitt, was rejected by a large majority. Lord Grey's name was henceforth identified with the cause of Reform; but as he was con-

tinually in opposition, with the exception of the brief period during which the Whigs were in office in 1806, his efforts on its behalf were constantly defeated by the dense phalanx of obstructive ministerialists. His unwearied labours in support of liberal principles were not limited to the question of parliamentary reform. Though both the sovereign and the legislature were opposed to him, and the great mass of the people were indifferent, he persisted in the thankless task of resisting the reactionary and arbitrary measures of the Government. While frankly admitting that France 'groaned under a furious tyranny, to which the dominion of Nero and Caligula was preferable,' he strove on every opportunity to bring to a close the war between Great Britain and that country. He made an earnest, though of course fruitless attempt, in 1794, to obtain an inquiry into the conduct of the ministry in bringing foreign troops into the country without the consent of Parliament. He resisted the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the bill of 1796 to restrain public meetings; and he exposed in glowing terms the wasteful expenditure of the Government and their unconstitutional conduct in applying public money to other purposes than those to which it had been voted by the House of Commons. But all his motions, though supported by facts which were undeniable and by most conclusive arguments, were rejected by overwhelming majorities. In November, 1807, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the peerage, and in conjunction with Lord Grenville led the opposition in the House of Lords. Repeated overtures were made to these distinguished statesmen to join the administration in 1809 and 1810; but the offers were unhesitatingly rejected. After the tragical death of Mr. Perceval in 1812, Lords Grenville and Grey were requested by the Prince Regent to undertake the formation of a new ministry, but in such circumstances and under such restrictions as to show that the proposal was not sincere, and it was at once declined.

Though apparently excluded permanently from office, Earl Grey's reputation for unblemished honour, integrity, and consistency, as well as his eminent abilities, gave him great weight in the country and made him a most efficient leader of the Liberal party.

In the House of Commons the Whig party had a number of representatives possessed of great ability and eloquence as well as long experience in public affairs. At this period they had the misfortune to lose one of their most prominent and influential adherents, Samuel Whitbread (brother-in-law of Earl Grey), a wealthy brewer, who had long taken an active part in public affairs. He was not a profound thinker, and was not well informed either upon the foreign concerns of the country or on the principles of domestic legislation. Though he was, in reality, a kind-hearted man, his earnestness and vehemence in debate gave an appearance of bitterness to his attacks on the leading members of the Government, which he was far from cherishing. 'He was a rough speaker,' said Wilberforce; 'he spoke as if he had a pot of porter at his lips and all his words came through it.' He was, however, one of the most conspicuous and useful members of his party; and was the only one of its leaders who had an eminent capacity for business. Lord Grey, his brother-in-law, used to say that he worked harder than any of his own dray-horses. He conducted with great ability the impeachment of Lord Melville in 1803 (a task involving an enormous amount of labour), of which he was appointed chief manager by the House of Commons. 'He was the very model of that sort of public men bred in the House of Commons, and the native growth of that soil whose proper function is to keep our statesmen to their duty.' But to his credit be it said, his exertions were not confined to assailing administrative abuses or to pressing organic changes. The much needed reforms which he effected in prisons and lunatic asylums at a time when the public attention could with diffi-

culty be drawn to them, is even more honourable to him than his vindication of popular rights. He was a man of sincere piety, amiable and benevolent in his disposition, and irreproachable in private life. He was fearless as well as assiduous in the discharge of his duties; and though, like the most of his party, long opposed to carrying on hostilities with France and to the new policy of the ministry, he had the candour to acknowledge the wisdom of Wellington's strategy in the Peninsula, and to urge, in 1814, the Government to put forth the whole strength of the country in order to bring the contest to a successful conclusion. He was indeed a genuine patriot, and no one ever loved his country more cordially, or more prided himself in all its honours and glories. Horner, who knew him well, said, 'As a statesman I never regarded him at all; he had no knowledge of men or affairs to fit him for administration; his education had been very limited, and its defects were not supplied by any experience of real political business; but he must always stand high in the list of that class of public men—the peculiar growth of England and of the House of Commons—who perform great services to their country, and hold a considerable place in the sight of the world by fearlessly expressing in that assembly the censure that is felt by the public, and by being, as it were, the organ of that public opinion which in some measure keeps our statesmen to their duty. His force of character and ability, seconded by his singular activity, had, in the present absence of all men of genius and ascendancy from the House, given him pre-eminence which almost marks the last years of Parliament with the stamp of his peculiar manners. It will be long before the people and the constitution are supplied in the House of Commons with a tribune of the same vigilance, assiduity, perseverance, and courage, as Samuel Whitbread.' ✓

The nominal leader of the Opposition was George Ponsonby, a grandson of the Earl of

Besborough by a daughter of the Duke of Devonshire. He had led the Opposition in the Irish parliament; had held the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland under the 'Talents' administration; and when Lord Howick, in 1807, was removed to the House of Peers, he was invested with the leadership of the Whig party in the Commons. 'He was a very honest man,' said one of his associates, 'had many excellent qualities, and possessed very considerable talents; but he was by no means fit for the situation which he occupied, that of leader of the party of opposition.' A clever squib, written by Lord Palmerston, gave an account of the alleged trial of Henry Brougham, who was found guilty of calling Mr. Ponsonby an old woman. But though Brougham thought fit to say that Ponsonby was the least eminent man that ever filled such a situation, he was in reality, what his accuser was not, a safe leader, prudent and temperate, and of fidelity to his word, as well as a respectable debater. 'His language and manners were those of a gentleman; and disdaining a flowing and figurative diction, he only aimed at stating arguments fully and forcibly, in which he often succeeded.'

The real, though not ostensible leader of the Whig party in the Lower House at this time was George Tierney. As Speaker Abbot wrote in 1810, 'Ponsonby is reinstated in the nominal lead of the Opposition, but Tierney is the efficient man on that side.' He had now been twenty years in Parliament, and had earned for himself the reputation of an excellent man of business, a skilful financier, and a ready and powerful debater. When Fox and his friends most injudiciously seceded from Parliament in 1798, on finding themselves constantly outvoted by the ministerial retainers, Tierney took the lead in opposition to Pitt's war and financial policy, and by his courage, assiduous attention to business, and debating powers, proved himself a very formidable antagonist to the ministry. He was Treasurer of the Navy in 1803 under Addington, who used to say that 'there was no one whose

parliamentary talents he loved more than Tierney's, as he always expressed his meaning in the clearest manner, and said neither more nor less than he intended.' On the death of Mr. Fox in 1806 Tierney was appointed President of the Board of Control, an office which he of course resigned the following year on the dismissal of the administration. He should undoubtedly have succeeded to the lead of the Whig party on the death of Mr. Fox, but the aristocratic dislike of the Whig notables for new men made them unwilling to submit to the leadership of the son of a Spanish merchant. He continued to act with the Opposition, however, though on one or two occasions he disapproved of their policy. He was an excellent committee man; a clear and accurate calculator; had an intimate knowledge of political economy, a subject little studied at that time, which enabled him to discuss with great effect questions of finance; and was a most formidable debater. 'From the moment he opened his mouth,' says Lord Brougham, 'till he sat down, the attention of his hearers never flagged for one moment. In a style which never rose above the colloquial the most cutting sarcasms, level to the most ordinary understanding, escaped from him as if he were himself unaware of their terrible effect. His sneer was withering. Of all the speakers, contemporaries of Mr. Tierney, no one was so much dreaded as he was. His irony was inimitable. His manner and intonation added greatly to the effect of what he said. It was the conversation of a shrewd, sagacious man of the world, who delivered his observations on the subject under discussion with an apparent candour, which contrasted singularly with the knowing tone and look of the speaker.'

Henry Brougham, a statesman of far greater abilities than any of the leaders on either side of the House, and a more eloquent debater, was returned as member for the borough of Camelford in 1810, but had failed to obtain a seat on the dissolution of Parliament in 1812. We shall meet him again

when he reappears in his place, the advocate of parliamentary reform, of the abolition of the slave trade, of religious disabilities, of restrictions on trade and commerce, and of all the gross abuses which at this time flourished both in church and state. Meanwhile his position in regard to all these great questions was supplied by Francis Horner, like himself an Edinburgh Reviewer, and a great authority on all questions of political economy and finance. The reputation which Horner early acquired for great ability, remarkable industry, and extensive acquirements, attracted the notice of the Whig leaders, and one of them (Lord Kinnaird) brought him into Parliament in 1804. He there devoted special attention to financial and economical questions. His opinions respecting the currency, free trade, and other kindred questions, were remarkable for the vast knowledge and enlightened liberality which they displayed, and are now universally recognized as the true principles of commercial legislation. In 1810 the House of Commons marked its sense of Mr. Horner's financial ability and extensive information by placing him at the head of the Bullion committee. He drew up the first part of the report, and it was mainly through his exertions that the currency of the country was placed on a proper basis. Young as he was, and with no advantages of rank, fortune, or aristocratic connections, he already possessed great weight in the House, and his reputation was steadily increasing when enfeebled health compelled him to withdraw to a milder climate in the autumn of 1816, and he died at Pisa early in the following year. His untimely removal was lamented as a great national calamity; and when a new writ was moved for the borough of St. Mawes, which Mr. Horner represented in Parliament, leading members on both sides of the House—Lord Morpeth, Mr. Canning, Mr. Mannors Sutton, Mr. Wynn, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Charles Grant, and Lord Lascelles—dilated in most feeling terms on his sound principles, his enlarged views, his varied, extensive, and

accurate knowledge, his sound and clear judgment, his grave and forcible eloquence, his independency of mind, the purity of his private life, his conscientious adherence to the dictates of duty, and the singular modesty with which he bore his faculties, and which shed a grace and lustre on them all. Romilly, especially, spoke of Horner's eloquence as being not merely calculated to excite admiration and vulgar 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 advancement of the best interests of the country, and the enlargement of the sphere of human happiness. Sir James Mackintosh, noticing this remarkable tribute to Horner's merits, says, 'a Howard introduced and an English House of Commons adopted the proposition of thus honouring the memory of a man of thirty-eight, the son of a shopkeeper, who never filled any office, or had the power of obliging a living creature, and whose grand title to this distinction was the belief of his virtue.'

The beautiful and touching tribute which Sydney Smith, who was one of Horner's most intimate friends, paid to the memory of this noble-minded man too early lost, is equally creditable to both.

'There was something,' wrote the large-minded Canon, 'very remarkable in his countenance; the Commandments were written on his face. I have often told him there was not a crime he might not commit with impunity, as no judge or jury who saw him would give the smallest degree of credit to any evidence against him; there was in his look a calm settled love of all that was honourable and good—an air of wisdom and of sweetness; you saw at once that he was a great man, whom nature had intended for a leader of human beings; you ranged yourself willingly under his banners, and cheerfully submitted to his sway.

'He had an intense love of knowledge; he wasted very little of the portion of life

conceded to him, and was always improving himself in the masculine pursuits of the philosophy of legislation, of political economy, of the constitutional history of the country, and of the history and changes of ancient and modern Europe. He had read so much and so well, that he was a contemporary of all men, and a citizen of all states.

‘Francis Horner was a very modest person, which men of great understanding seldom are. It was his habit to confirm his opinion by the opinions of others, and often to form them from the same source.

‘His success in the House of Commons was decided and immediate, and went on increasing to the last day of his life. Though put into Parliament by some of the Great Borough Lords, every one saw that he represented his own real opinions. Without hereditary wealth, and known as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, his independence was never questioned; his integrity, sincerity, and moderation were acknowledged by all sides, and respected even by those impudent assassins who live only to discourage honesty and traduce virtue. The House of Commons, as a near relation of mine once observed, has more good taste than any man in it. Horner, from his manners, his ability, and his integrity, became a general favourite with the house; they suspended for him their habitual dislike of lawyers, of political adventurers, and of young men of *conseederable taalents* from the North.

‘Having known him well before he had acquired a great London reputation, I never observed that his fame produced the slightest alteration in his deportment; he was as affable to me and to all his old friends, as when we were debating metaphysics in a garret in Edinburgh. I don’t think it was in the power of ermine or mace, or seals, or lawn, or lace, or of any of those emblems and ornaments with which power loves to decorate itself, to have destroyed the simplicity of his character.

‘I remember the death of many eminent Englishmen, but I can safely say, I never

remember an impression so general as that excited by the death of Francis Horner. The public looked upon him as a powerful and safe man, who was labouring, not for himself or his party, but for them. They were convinced of his talents, they confided in his moderation, and they were sure of his motives; he had improved so quickly and so much, that his early death was looked on as the destruction of a great statesman, who had done but a small part of the good which might be expected from him, who would infallibly have risen to the highest offices, and as infallibly have filled them to the public good. Then, as he had never lost a friend and made so few enemies, there was no friction, no drawback; public feeling had its free course; the image of a good and great man was broadly before the world, unsullied by any breath of hatred; there was nothing but pure sorrow.’

The Whigs had the good fortune at this time to number in their ranks an intimate friend of Horner, and by far the greatest lawyer in the House of Commons—Sir Samuel Romilly. His profound knowledge of the law, his extraordinary industry, conscientious attention to his duties, and felicity in stating both his facts and arguments, obtained for him, not only an unexampled practice, but unrivalled authority both at the bar and with the bench. He was equally successful in Parliament, and some of his speeches there on the reform of the criminal code, and his pre-eminently powerful oration on the law of naturalization, were universally regarded as of the highest excellence. Romilly’s unsullied purity of character and inflexible integrity added not a little to the influence which he derived from his great abilities and legal attainments; while his natural and simple manners, generous and affectionate disposition, and boundless benevolence made him beloved as well as esteemed in the family and social circle.

Romilly’s capacity, says Lord Brougham, ‘was of the highest order. An extraordinary reach of thought; great powers

of attention and of close reasoning; a memory quick and retentive; a fancy eminently brilliant, but kept in perfect discipline by his judgment and his tact; cultivated, and severe without any of the squeamishness so fatal to vigour—these were the qualities which, under the guidance of the most persevering industry, and with the stimulus of a lofty ambition, rendered him unquestionably the first advocate and the most profound lawyer of the age he flourished in, placed him high among the ornaments of the senate, and would in all likelihood have given him the foremost place among them all, had not the occupations of his laborious profession necessarily engrossed a disproportionate share of his attention, and made political pursuits fill a subordinate place in the scheme of his life. Romilly's eloquence united all the more severe graces of oratory, both as regards the manner and the statesman. No man argued more clearly when the understanding was to be addressed; no man declaimed more powerfully when indignation was to be aroused or the feelings moved. His language was choice and pure; his powers of invective resembled rather the grave authority with which the judge puts down contempt or punishes an offender than the attack of an advocate against his adversary and his equal. His imagination was the minister whose services were rarely required, and whose mastery was never for an instant admitted. His sarcasm was tremendous, nor always very sparingly employed. His manner was perfect, in voice, in figure, in a countenance of singular beauty and dignity; nor was anything in his oratory more striking or more effective than the heartfelt sincerity which it throughout displayed in topic, in diction, in tone, in look, in gesture.

Mackintosh justly said in 1810, 'Romilly's moral character, I think, stands higher than that of any other conspicuous Englishman now alive.'

The exertions of this great statesman in

Parliament were never directed to the promotion of his own interest, but were consistently and disinterestedly devoted to the benefit of humanity. He had for some years laboured zealously, but for the most part fruitlessly, to mitigate the severity of the sanguinary criminal code, which made it a capital punishment to steal five shillings from a shop, or forty shillings from a dwelling-house, or to steal goods from a vessel on a navigable river, or from a bleaching-ground, or for soldiers or marines to beg without a pass from a magistrate or their commanding officer, or to break any stocking or lace frames, or to destroy any of the machinery employed in collieries. He frequently succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons bills for the abolition of these relics of a barbarous age; but they were almost invariably thrown out by the House of Lords. He laboured, and other men have entered into his labours.

Another eminent philanthropist deserves special notice—William Wilberforce, who for upwards of a quarter of a century had represented the great county of York. He was the son of a merchant of Hull, and at the age of twenty-one, shortly after leaving Cambridge, he was chosen to represent his native town in Parliament. He became the intimate friend of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and other eminent statesmen and men of letters, and seemed at this stage inclined to lead a life of fashionable amusement rather than of devotion either to political or philanthropic pursuits. In 1784, however, the Whig coalition roused his energies in behalf of Mr. Pitt, and he attended a great meeting of the freeholders of Yorkshire convened in support of the Whig policy, and delivered a speech so convincing and eloquent that he not only carried a resolution in opposition to that policy, but made such an impression on the freeholders present that, at next election, he was returned as one of the representatives of the county. Occupying this proud position, young, rich, accomplished, and highly popular, Wilberforce might, if he had pleased, have very soon

obtained one of the chief offices in the ministry of William Pitt. But he chose the nobler part of devoting his whole energies to the deliverance of the oppressed and neglected slaves; and by his resolute advocacy of their cause, until their wrongs were redressed and their chains broken off, contributed more to the moral elevation of his country than the most powerful statesman of that generation. He was one of the noblest examples on record of a conscientious and thoroughly independent politician, and his genuine and simple piety guided every thought and act of his life. Though he was one of Pitt's most intimate friends, he separated from him at several critical junctures, and at the sacrifice of his personal feelings, strenuously opposed the policy of the Government when he thought it erroneous and unjust. When a schoolboy, he wrote a letter to one of the York papers, condemning 'the odious

traffic in human flesh;' and in 1785 he expressed 'the hope that some time or other he should redress the wrongs of the wretched and degraded slaves in the West Indies.' Three years later he began that enterprise which it cost him an arduous struggle of twenty years to carry to a successful conclusion. Outside the House of Commons he had for his coadjutors in this arduous undertaking such men as Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharpe, and Zachary Macaulay; within the House he had rallied around him a small but resolute band of zealous and devoted friends, who had taken up an independent position in politics—made all other public questions subordinate to their one absorbing object, and were determined to persevere through good report and evil report till the accursed system, which had so long been a blot on the British escutcheon, should be completely annihilated.

CHAPTER III.

Barbarossa and the Algerine Pirates—Measures to Suppress their Depredations—Mission of Lord Exmouth—Massacre of Fisherman at Bona—Bombardment of Algiers—Total Destruction of Algerine Fleet, and Liberation of the Christian Captives.

THE punishment of the piratical power, which for centuries had preyed on the commerce of Europe, and its subjection to the law of nations, form an interesting episode in the history of Great Britain after the peace, and were indeed the result of the peace. Algiers, situated on the extreme north of the coast of Africa, had in turn been possessed by the Romans, the Vandals, the Greeks, and the Saracens; and under each of its masters it was notorious for the piratical operations of its inhabitants. At the commencement of the sixteenth century it was tributary to Spain, having been conquered by an expedition undertaken by the advice and at the cost of Cardinal Ximenes. In 1516, however, Horuc a corsair—designated Barbarossa from his red beard—succeeded in expelling the Spaniards and establishing his authority over the Algerines, whom he treated with great cruelty. He was ultimately defeated and killed by a Spanish army sent to inflict condign punishment on him for his many barbarous crimes. He was succeeded by his brother, Hayradin, who was also surnamed Barbarossa, and carried on his piratical enterprises even more widely and successfully than Horuc had done. He built a strong mole for the protection of his ships, employing, it is said, 30,000 Christian slaves, who laboured for three years in its erection. The Grand Signior sent him a supply of money which enabled him to build a strong fort and batteries for the defence of the city, so as to render it a source of danger as well as of great annoyance to the Spanish kingdom. The Emperor Charles V. was induced by the ex-

hortations of Pope Paul III. to send a powerful fleet, consisting of 120 ships and twenty galleys, having on board 26,000 soldiers, to suppress the cruel piracies of this corsair chief; but a dreadful storm destroyed the greater part of the ships and completely ruined the expedition.

During the two centuries and a half which succeeded this ill-fated enterprise, the Algerine pirates continued to prey upon the commerce of the Christian states of Europe, and to reduce their captives to a most degrading and cruel slavery. 'Algiers,' says a writer in 1680, 'is a den of sturdy thieves formed into a body, by which, after a tumultuary sort, they govern, having the Grand Signior for their protector, who supplies them with native Turks for their soldiery, which is the greatest part of their militia; and they, in acknowledgment, lend him their ships when his affairs require it. They are grown a rich and powerful people, and by a long practice of piracy become good seamen; and when pressed by our men-of-war, as of late we have experimented, they fight and defend themselves like brave men, inferior, I am persuaded, to no people whatever. They have no commerce, and so are without any taste of the benefits of peace; whence their life becomes a continual practice of robbery, and, like beasts of the desert, they only forbear to wrong where by fear, not honesty, they are deterred.'

The European governments, provoked beyond bearing by their cruel depredations, repeatedly chastised this barbarous race, and menaced them with destruction. The Porte, on one occasion, sent them a re-

primand accompanied with threats of vengeance. But they coolly replied that their 'depredations deserved to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Moslem name;' adding that 'if they should pay a punctilious regard to all that could purchase peace or liberty to trade with the Ottoman Empire, they could have nothing to do but to set fire to all their shipping and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood.'

The reprimand of the Porte, though couched in severe terms, was merely for form's sake, and the Algerines continued their piratical career with impunity, till the Venetians, indignant at the ravages committed on the Adriatic coast, sent a fleet of twenty-eight sail with orders to burn, sink, or take all the Barbary corsairs they should meet. They encountered and defeated the Algerines after a stubborn conflict, in which the corsairs lost 1500 men, and 1600 slaves were restored to liberty. The French Government were the next to take vengeance on these pirates for their outrages; they bombarded the town, first in 1682, and the second time in the following year, reducing it to ashes, and destroying the shipping as well as the fortifications and houses. It had become evident, however, that nothing short of a complete revolution, not only of the government, but in the character and condition of the people, would bring the Algerines within the pale of civilization. The burning of their ships and the destruction of their fortifications might indeed compel them to release the Christian slaves in their hands, and to promise that they would in future abandon their long-continued habit of reducing their captives to slavery; but in the utter absence of trade and commerce, and, indeed, of all means of making an honest livelihood, they were found in a short time pursuing their old plundering practices. It was clear that there would be no security either for the property or the persons of

the traders in the Mediterranean until this nest of robbers was destroyed.

The pirates always stood in awe of England, whose naval power, they were well aware, it was very dangerous to provoke; and though they occasionally seized and plundered a British vessel, and were severely punished for their misconduct, it was not until Britain obtained possession of Gibraltar and Minorca that they abstained from all interference with the shipping of our country. They made up for this abstinence from attacks on the great European powers by their outrages on the weaker states—particularly on Naples and Sardinia—not only capturing their vessels, but making descents upon their coasts, plundering their towns and villages, and carrying off persons of every age, sex, and rank, and selling them as slaves. After the downfall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna took into consideration the propriety of suppressing this piratical power at Algiers, which had so long and so persistently set at defiance the law of nations and the dictates of humanity, and had torn from their homes, immured in dungeons, and treated with the grossest barbarity numerous individuals not unfrequently belonging to the higher classes of society. The return of Napoleon from Elba, however, broke up the Congress, and the subject was not taken up again after the Peace of Paris in 1815. The feeling, however, had now become universal that the outrages of the Algerines could no longer be tolerated, and it was left to Britain, as the only formidable naval power, to avenge the injuries of three centuries.

The first step taken was to send an expedition to the coast of Barbary to demand that the piratical states of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis should conclude peace with the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, recognize the cession of the Ionian Islands to Great Britain, and as entitled to the protection of the British flag, set at liberty the prisoners actually in bondage, and give a pledge that they would in future refrain from treating prisoners of war as slaves.

The expedition was placed under the command of Lord Exmouth, one of the most energetic of English naval commanders, who had for forty years served with distinction in every quarter of the world. Serving in the American war under weak and incapable officers, his bravery and activity gained him high commendation and promotion. When the French revolutionary war broke out, he was employed in command of the *Nymph* in protecting our own coasts and blockading those of France. After a desperate contest he captured the French frigate *Cleopatra*, and was rewarded for this exploit with a knighthood and promotion to the command of the *Arethusa*. He subsequently served in the *Indefatigable* and the *Tonnant*, and was as celebrated for humanity as for his courage and skill. In 1804 he was appointed naval commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and after his return home in 1808 he was employed as Vice-admiral of the Blue in the blockade of Flushing, and after the death of Lord Collingwood in 1811, he was made commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean. At the close of the war in 1814, his long and eminent services were recognized by his elevation to the peerage as Baron Exmouth. This distinguished naval officer, a worthy successor of Nelson and Collingwood, was now selected for the enterprise against the Algerine pirates, which it was well known would be attended with peculiar danger and difficulty.

He went first to Algiers. The Dey readily agreed to recognize the Ionian Islands as British possessions, and to make peace with Naples and Sardinia, but expressed his unwillingness to entertain any overtures for the abolition of the slavery of captives. Lord Exmouth then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli. The Beys of these places not only concluded an arrangement similar to that made with Algiers, but also promised that they would not in future make slaves of prisoners of war. They also set at liberty nearly 1800 Christian slaves at this time in their hands. Lord Exmouth then returned

to Algiers, and endeavoured to persuade the Dey to follow the example of Tunis and Tripoli, but in vain. The Dey pleaded that he was a subject of the Ottoman Porte, and could not agree to the abolition of slavery without the approval of the Sultan. He promised, however, to send an envoy to Constantinople for the purpose of requesting the Sultan's consent to the proposed arrangement. Lord Exmouth on this agreed to a suspension of hostilities for three months. He also consented that the Governments of Naples and Sardinia should pay a ransom for the release of their subjects, held in captivity by the Algerines; and, in point of fact, they did so pay nearly 400,000 dollars. This clause of the treaty was generally and justly condemned as implying a recognition of the right of the piratical powers to carry on their depredations.

Lord Exmouth, in a letter from Algiers to the king of Naples, states that he had made the Dey perfectly understand that the existence of his sovereignty would depend entirely on his good faith and moderation, and that a repetition of his marauding practices would bring down upon him the vengeance of all the Christian powers of Europe. His Lordship adds, however, that having refused to grant the Dey the enormous sum which he demanded for the peace, he had not considered himself authorized to compel the Dey to accept a less sum than that which had been stipulated for the release of the captives. Having thus accomplished so far his mission, Lord Exmouth returned to England in June, and reported the result of his negotiations. It appeared to the Government to be so satisfactory that they dismantled the fleet employed in the expedition, and paid off and disbanded the crews.

There is good reason to believe, however, that the Dey, an ignorant and ferocious barbarian, sprung from the dregs of the soldiery, never really intended to follow out the terms of the agreement; and his subjects, bred in rapine and bloodshed, were

furious at the prospect of being compelled to abandon their marauding habits, and to earn a subsistence by honest industry. So great was the excitement among them, that it is alleged they had formed a plot to assassinate the English commander on his way from the town to his ship. The Dey, dreading their violence, and anxious to protect himself against its effects, prepared to resist any assault from the European powers by adding to the defences of the town and forming alliances with the Emperor of Morocco and other Mussulman potentates. The piratical attacks on European vessels were also revived with redoubled activity; and in their blind fanatical fury the Algerine soldiers were guilty of an act of peculiar atrocity, which filled up the measure of their crimes, and brought down upon them condign and well-merited vengeance.

At Bona, on the coast of Algiers, there was an establishment for carrying on a coral fishery under the protection of the British flag, which the Algerines had hitherto carefully respected. Operations were carried on by a great number of Neapolitan, Corsican, and Italian boats, which, on payment of an annual tribute, had hitherto been unmolested in their industrial pursuits. On May 23rd, the festival of the Ascension, at an early hour in the morning, while the crews were preparing to hear mass, a gun was suddenly fired from the castle, and 2000 Algerine troops commenced an attack upon the fishermen, and massacred nearly the whole of them. They also tore in pieces the British flag and trampled it under foot, pillaged the property of the unfortunate fishermen and the house of the British vice-consul, and detained that official a prisoner in the town.

It is uncertain whether this shocking outrage was perpetrated by the orders of the Dey and his Divan, or, as is more probable, was the result of an outbreak of the ignorant and savage soldiery connived at by the Government. In either case, it could not be allowed to pass unpunished.

And no sooner did the news reach England than it was resolved to exact retribution for the massacre of the defenceless fishermen, and the affront offered to the British flag. Lord Exmouth was again appointed to the command of the expedition, and was requested to state what force he considered necessary for the destruction of that nest of pirates, which had so long troubled the civilized world. He was of opinion that five ships of the line, five frigates, and five bomb vessels would be sufficient for the purpose. This force was equipped with remarkable rapidity, and early in July his Lordship sailed with the *Queen Charlotte*, of 110 guns; the *Impregnable*, of 98 guns; other three ships of 70 guns each; five frigates, and eight smaller vessels. The squadron reached Gibraltar in the beginning of August, where it was joined by a Dutch fleet of five frigates and a sloop, under Admiral Van de Capellen, who had asked and readily obtained permission to share the dangers and honours of the enterprise.

The dangers to be encountered, indeed, were neither few nor small. Algiers is built on the slope of a steep hill, facing the Mediterranean in the form of an amphitheatre. The summit of the hill, 500 feet in height, was at that time surmounted by an ancient fortress. Joseph Pitts, an English traveller, who visited Algiers about the beginning of last century, says, 'The houses are all over white, being flat, and covered with lime and sand as floors. The upper part of the town is not so broad as the lower part, and therefore at sea it looks just like the topsail of a ship. It is a very strong place, and well fortified with castles and guns. There are seven castles without the walls, and two tiers of guns in most of them; but in the greatest castle, which is on the mole without the gate, there are three tiers of guns, many of them of an extraordinary length, carrying fifty, sixty, yea, eighty pound shot. Besides all these castles there is, at the higher end of the town within the walls, another castle with many guns. And, moreover, on many

places towards the sea are great guns planted. Algiers is well walled, and surrounded with a great trench. It hath five gates, and some of them have two, some three, other gates within them; and some of them plated all over with thick iron, so that it is made strong and convenient for being what it is—a nest of pirates.’

Algiers appears to have undergone little change between the days of Joseph Pitts and the time of the expedition against it in 1816. But when Lord Exmouth arrived at Gibraltar, he learned that the Dey was making the greatest exertions to strengthen the defences of the town. The wall which surrounded it was strongly fortified, and the range of slopes on which the town was built bristled with batteries. A long pier projected into the sea, and at the end of it there was a semicircular mole, built on a ledge of rock, bending towards the town. The entrance to the harbour was protected by another pier opposite to the mole. These piers, as well as the mole and the rock on which it stood, were covered with cannon. Altogether the sea front of the town was defended by 500 guns, in addition to the formidable navy which the Dey had collected to assist in repelling the assault of the British ships. He had also thrown out additional works on both flanks of the town, and at the entrance of the mole, and had brought down 40,000 men from the interior; and all the Janissaries had been called in from distant garrisons to assist in strengthening the sea defences and in manning the fortifications. So confident does he appear to have been that the town was sufficiently strong to bid defiance to the attacks of the British and Dutch ships that he arrested the British consul and put him in chains, and refused either to release him or to promise his personal safety. A corvette despatched to Algiers to endeavour to rescue the unfortunate official had failed to do so, but had succeeded, in the disguise of naval officers, in bringing off his wife and daughter. A boat was left to convey the consul's infant child in charge of the surgeon; but it be-

trayed itself by its cries, and the boat's crew, along with three midshipmen and the surgeon, eighteen in number, were seized and confined in dungeons. The Dey sent off the poor child next morning, and ‘as a solitary instance of his humanity,’ says Lord Exmouth, ‘it ought to be recorded by me.’

As soon as the British admiral had learned the position of matters he quitted Gibraltar with all speed (August 14), but owing to calms and head winds he did not reach the bay of Algiers till the 27th. Immediately on his arrival he despatched a boat with a flag of truce, to deliver an ultimatum to the Dey. The demands which he had been instructed to make were extremely moderate. They were the immediate liberation, without ransom, of all Christian slaves now within the town and territory of Algiers, the repayment of the money which since the commencement of the year had been paid for the ransom of Sardinian and Neapolitan captives, the entire abolition of Christian slavery, the conclusion of peace with the Netherlands on the same terms as those on which peace was made with Great Britain, and the immediate liberation of the British consul and of the boat's crew who had been seized in the attempt to bring off his child. Great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the consul, and a letter was conveyed to him assuring him that every effort should be made for his protection.

A Mr. Abraham Salome, a native of Alexandria, who had accompanied Lord Exmouth as interpreter, was intrusted with these letters, to be delivered to the captain of the port, and was instructed to demand an answer within an hour. The captain represented that the time was too short for the decision of so important a matter, but that two hours would be sufficient. Salome waited for three hours and a half, very uncomfortably, he admits, within pistol-shot of the batteries, which were crowded with spectators. At the end of that time, as no answer had been received, he took his leave. Meanwhile a breeze had sprung up, and

Lord Exmouth moved his ships into the bay, himself leading the way in the *Queen Charlotte*, and lay to within half a mile of the town, holding himself ready for action. A signal was seen flying from the boat which had been sent with the flag of truce, intimating that no answer had been returned by the Dey. The fleet immediately bore up, and every ship took up her assigned position.

When Salome reached the *Queen Charlotte*, almost more dead than alive, as he frankly admits, he was struck with the change that had passed over the countenance of the admiral. 'I was quite surprised,' he says, 'to see how his lordship was altered from what I left him in the morning, for I knew his manner was in general very mild; and now he seemed to me *all-fightful* as a fierce lion which had been chained in its cage and was set at liberty. With all that, his lordship's answer to me was, "Never mind, we shall see now;" and, at the same time, he turned towards the officers, saying, "Be ready."' A profound silence prevailed on both sides. The mole and pier, as well as the surrounding heights, were crowded with spectators, who seemed to have no idea of any danger to be apprehended; and Lord Exmouth, who stood upon the poop of his vessel, waved his hat as a signal for them to retire; but the warning was either not understood or was disregarded. The *Queen Charlotte* was anchored within a pistol-shot of the batteries on the head of the mole, and as there was still no attack made on her, 'I began to expect,' said his lordship, 'a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands.' At this moment a shot was fired from the mole at the *Queen Charlotte* by the Algerines, and two at the ships to the northward that were following. 'That will do,' exclaimed Lord Exmouth; 'fire, my fine fellows.' The *Queen Charlotte* on this delivered her entire broadside, which is said to have struck down no less than 500 men. 'There was a great crowd of people in every part,' says Salome, 'many of whom, after

the first discharge, I saw running away under the walls like dogs, walking upon their feet and hands.'

The cannonade continued on both sides without intermission from a quarter to three until near ten o'clock, and did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. During this period the allied fleet fired 118 tons of gunpowder, and 500 tons of shot and shells. No wonder that the Algerines thought that hell had opened its mouth upon them. Their batteries were reduced to heaps of ruins, and a large portion of the town was destroyed. Their storehouses and arsenal, with all their contents, were burned to ashes, along with four frigates of 44 guns, five large corvettes of from 20 to 30 guns, all their gun and mortar boats except seven, several merchant brigs and schooners, and a great number of small vessels of various descriptions. The whole harbour and bay were illuminated by one great and general blaze, which showed the town and its environs almost as clearly as in the day time. The assailing force had completed its arduous work, but its position was still one of danger. One of the Algerine vessels in flames drifted towards the *Queen Charlotte*, and was within fifty feet of her when it was fortunately carried by the breeze towards the town. A fort on the upper angle of the city, on which the guns of the fleet could not be brought to bear, continued to pour a harassing fire of shot and shells upon the headmost ships. Fortunately at this critical juncture they were enabled to retire from their perilous position. 'Providence, at this interval,' says Lord Exmouth, 'gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour.' A storm of thunder and lightning, which arose when the fleet had anchored, added not a little to the sublimity of the scene.

Success in such an enterprise could not have been gained without considerable loss, for the Dey and his troops fought with a courage worthy of a better cause. On board the British fleet 128 men were killed, and 690 wounded. The Dutch lost thirteen killed, and fifty-two wounded. But this loss of life was recompensed by the restoration to liberty of ten times that number of Christian slaves, and the destruction of a horde of barbarous and bloodthirsty pirates who had for centuries been the scourge of European commerce.

The behaviour of the forces employed in achieving this deliverance was deserving of the highest commendation. 'The whole,' says Lord Exmouth in his despatch, 'was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever. Not an officer nor man confined his exertions within the precise limits of his own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite.' Lord Exmouth's own gallantry, which his modesty made him pass over unnoticed, was cordially eulogized by his brother admiral of the Dutch squadron. 'Till nine o'clock,' says Van de Capellen, 'Lord Exmouth remained with the *Queen Charlotte* in the same position in the hottest of the fire, thereby encouraging every one not to give up the begun work until the whole was completed, and thus displaying such perseverance that all were animated with the same spirit. Shortly afterwards the *Queen Charlotte*, by the loosening of the burning wreck, being in the greatest danger, we were, under the heaviest fire, only anxious for the fate of our noble leader. But upon offering him the assistance of all the boats of the squadron his reply was, That having calculated every thing, it behoved us by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue our fire with redoubled zeal.' Lord Exmouth's clothes were riddled with balls,

but he fortunately received only two slight hurts.

Next morning the British admiral despatched a letter to the Dey, offering him the same moderate and reasonable terms which he had previously rejected. 'For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians,' wrote his Lordship, 'and for your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries. As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday in my sovereign's name: without the acceptance of these terms you can have no peace with England. If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.'

After the lapse of three hours—the required signal—the firing in succession of three shots, intimated to the British admiral the acceptance of the offered terms. A boat immediately came out, having on board the captain of the port and the Swedish consul. A conference was held on board the flagship with these representatives of the Dey in the presence of the Dutch admiral, and Admiral Milne, and Captain Brisbane. All the demands of the British Government were granted unconditionally. On the 30th, Lord Exmouth, by a salute of twenty-one guns, announced to his fleet the signature of peace. All the slaves in the city and territory of Algiers were immediately liberated. The money paid since the commencement of the year by the Neapolitan and Sardinian Governments for the redemption of slaves, amounting to 382,500 dollars, was restored; the British consul was liberated; an ample apology was made to him by the Dey, and he received compensation for the losses which he had suffered in consequence of

his imprisonment. The Dey also became bound to abolish Christian slavery, and in future to treat all prisoners of war according to the usages of civilized nations.

After the treaty had been negotiated, Lord Exmouth learned that a Spanish merchant and the vice-consul of Spain were still detained in prison and in irons, under the pretence that they were confined for debt. Having made inquiry into their case, and ascertained that they were unjustly imprisoned, the British admiral demanded their release. This, however, was refused; and a second proposal, that they should be freed from their fetters, and allowed to quit their dungeon and be placed in the custody of the Spanish consul, was peremptorily rejected by the Dey. This procedure boded ill for the observance of the treaty just concluded. But Lord Exmouth was not thus to be trifled with; and he demanded the immediate release of the two prisoners, with the assurance that, in the event of a refusal, hostilities would be at once commenced. His firmness produced the desired effect—the sufferers were released from their long and severe captivity, and the noble admiral had the satisfaction to know, on his departure with his fleet (September 30), that he had not left a single Christian slave or prisoner in the Algerine dungeons.

The slaves who were liberated by this enterprise, 1033 in number, were immediately conveyed to their respective countries. Salome was intrusted with the duty of receiving the rescued captives from their oppressors. ‘When I arrived on shore,’ he says, ‘it was the most pitiful sight to see all these poor creatures, in what a horrible state they were; but it is impossible to describe the joy and cheerfulness of them. When our boats came inside the mole, I wished to receive them (the slaves) from the captain of the port by number, but could not, because they directly began to push and throw themselves into the boats by crowds, ten or twenty persons together, so that it was impossible to count them.

Then I told him that we should make an exact list of them, in order to know to what number they amounted. It was indeed a most glorious and an immemorably merciful act for England, and all Europe, to see these poor slaves, when our boats were shoving with them off the shore, all at once take off their hats and exclaim in Italian, “Viva il Ré d’Ingliterra, il padre eterno! e l’ammeraglio Inglese che ci ha liberato da questo secondo inferno!—Long live the King of England, the eternal father! and the English Admiral, who delivered us from this second hell!”’

On his return to England, Lord Exmouth received the well-merited thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was elevated to the rank of Viscount.

The enterprise against the Algerine pirates was most creditable to Britain, both as regards the motive in which it originated and the courage and promptitude with which it was carried out. It was undertaken entirely at her own expense, for no interested purpose, but purely for the general benefit of humanity—for the repression, by the strong hand, of a system of rapacity and cruelty—to ‘break the oppressor’s chain, and set the captives free.’ It would have been well for the honour and welfare of mankind if warlike enterprises had never been undertaken except for similar purposes.

There is another important ground for congratulation on account of the circumstances under which the overthrow of the Algerine power was achieved. ‘The cause of Christianity had again united the British and the Dutch, and the flags of Britain and Holland had shared the dangers of the battle and the glories of the victory. Situation, religion, tradition, and taste pointed to a firm alliance between Holland and England. Both of them were placed on the most northern frontier of Europe. Both of them had accepted the tenets of the reformed faith. Both of them had stood in arms to resist the ambition of Catholic Spain. England had on one memorable occasion

obtained a king from Holland. The Dutch and English shared between them the carrying trade of Europe. Yet though Holland and England had so many grounds for close alliance, they had too frequently been engaged in warfare with each other. The keen rivalry which had animated the fleets of Blake and Van Tromp was remembered by the sailors of the Batavian republic. Holland ranged herself on the side of France, and the Dutch and English again contended for the mastery of the seas. The expedition to Algiers had the merit of effacing the recollections of the long war. The glorious success obtained by the Dutch and English combined fleets obliterated the traditions of Camperdown and Walcheren.'

It is almost matter of regret that the piratical powers at Algiers had not been rooted out, instead of being merely punished by Lord Exmouth, for in no long time it became evident that forbearance was utterly

thrown away upon them. The Dey very speedily set about rebuilding the ruined fortifications of his city, and putting it into a more formidable state of defence than ever. These pirates did not indeed venture again to attack the ships or to molest the commerce of Great Britain; but they seem to have thought themselves a match for the navy of any other European power. The French consul made a strong remonstrance against the injuries inflicted on the trade and commerce of his own country; but instead of receiving redress, he was treated with gross insult. The French government on this, provoked beyond bearing, declared war against the Dey. Hostilities on an extensive scale were carried on for a number of years; and after an enormous expenditure of blood and treasure, they terminated in the complete destruction of the piratical power and the conversion of Algiers into a French colony.

CHAPTER IV.

State of Commerce and Manufactures—British Parliament on the Taxation of the Country—Horner's Speech against the Occupation of the Frontiers of France by an Allied Force—The Property Tax—Financial Position of the Government—Great Distress in the Country—Luddite Riots—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

THE war which the restless, unprincipled ambition of Napoleon had renewed and protracted on the Continent had not only exhausted the energies and wasted the population of his own country, but had carried bloodshed and incalculable suffering into every country in Europe, with the single exception of Great Britain. Agriculture had in consequence necessarily languished on the Continent, as the labourers had been forced into the military service, and old men and women alone were left to cultivate the fields. Manufactures were even more injuriously affected; for not only were the skilled artizans and mechanics withdrawn from industrial pursuits, but capitalists could not venture to lay out their money in erecting factories which invading armies might at any moment destroy, or to employ their energies in the production of goods which an enemy was almost certain to appropriate. To crown all, the extraordinary expenditure which the continental nations were compelled to undergo in order to equip and maintain the enormous armies that had been raised to resist the reiterated aggressions of the French, not only crippled their industry, but loaded them with an overwhelming burden of debt which seriously hampered the enterprise of succeeding generations. But this very state of matters, so injurious to the other European nations, proved for the time highly advantageous to the interests of Britain. Her security from foreign invasion enabled her agriculturists to sow their fields and gather in their crops in perfect security, and, besides, obtained a ready sale and a highly remunerative price for their productions, partly from the Government, to carry on its warlike operations, partly from the manufacturing classes, whose increased wages made them profitable customers. The demand, both at home and abroad, for British manufactured goods greatly stimulated both the ingenuity of inventors and the increase of manufacturing establishments; so that while the war lasted Britain had become the great workshop and commercial emporium, not only of Europe, but of the world. The official value of her imports rose during the war from £19,659,358, in 1792, to £32,620,771 in 1814. During the same period the official value of the exports of British produce rose from £18,326,815 in 1792, to £41,712,002 in 1815. The foreign and colonial produce exported increased from £6,568,349 in 1792, to £19,157,818 in 1814. It was evident, at a glance, that the return of peace must inevitably produce a very great effect on such an inflated state of affairs, in retrenchment on the part of Government, in the fall of prices, the diminution of the demand for labour, the reduction of wages, and the consequent want of employment on the part of the working-classes. The effect of the peace, therefore, was to reduce the price of manufactured goods from a half to a third of their previous value. In some cases the reduction was even much larger. The price of copper, for example, fell from £180 to £18 per ton; that of iron, from £20 to £8; that of hemp, from £118 to £34; and other commodities were affected, though not to so large, yet still to a great extent.

Taking an aggregate estimate of the result of the peace on our commercial interests, its immediate effect was to reduce our import trade by nearly twenty per cent., and our export trade by sixteen per cent., and to deprive Great Britain of the advantage—which the war had given her—of being the great entrepôt for the world.

Strange to say, the Government appear to have had no knowledge of the real state of the country, and no apprehension of the magnitude of the difficulties they were about to encounter. Although the duties which devolved upon Parliament at this crisis were of the most onerous kind, its meeting was delayed until an unusually late period. The speech of the Prince Regent, delivered by commissioners, congratulated the House of Commons on the flourishing condition of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom; although the Irish members were unable to attend in consequence of the 'pecuniary distress and partial disturbance' which existed in Ireland. His Royal Highness assured the Commons, however, that they might rely upon every disposition on his part to concur in such measures of economy as would be found consistent with the security of the country and the station which it occupied in Europe, and the speech concluded with expressing his determination, by the justice and moderation of his conduct, to endeavour to maintain the high character which Great Britain had acquired with the world, and his hope that the same union among the people, which had brought the eventful struggle on the Continent to so happy an issue, would continue to promote the public prosperity.

In the House of Lords there was no amendment proposed to the address. In the Commons it was moved by Mr. Brand, and seconded by Lord John Russell (who had entered Parliament in 1814), that 'it was the duty of ministers to have convened Parliament with the least possible delay for the purpose of communicating those important treaties with the allies

and with France, which, after having been acted upon for several months, were then about to be laid before Parliament, and pledging the House to a speedy revisal of the civil and military establishments according to the principles of the most rigid economy, and a due regard to the public interests.' His lordship complained that, in a speech which gave the House an account of the affairs of Candy and Nepaul, there was no allusion to the cause of the present distress. This was the more unaccountable, he said, because during many years, when it was represented that the effect of such unbounded taxation would be in the end ruinous, the answer uniformly given had been a reference to the flourishing state of the country. But now, after glory on glory, all this prosperity had vanished. The farmer could not pay his rent; the landlord could not pay his taxes; and from the lowest labourer of the land to the peer who stood next the throne, all felt that our prosperity was gone, except, indeed, those who were paid out of the public purse. Evidently for the purpose of drawing from the Government a declaration of their financial policy, Lord John referred to the report that ministers intended to propose the continuation of a great part of the income tax. He feared, however, that 'when they came to milk the cow they would find her dry. There could be no more dreadful calamity for this country than the continuance of the tax in question.'

The amendment was supported by Mr. Brougham, Lord Milton, Mr. Tierney, and Sir Samuel Romilly, who all dwelt on the pressure of taxation as one main cause of the existing distress, and argued that the public burdens could be diminished only by the introduction of the most rigid economy into every branch of the public service, and reducing where it was practicable the military, civil, and financial departments. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Castlereagh, on the other hand, contended that the revenue was generally in a flourishing state, that the existing distress was by

no means so great as had been represented, and that it would be only temporary. The Chancellor, in addition, avowed that it was the intention of the Government to continue the income tax on the modified scale of five per cent., and boldly affirmed that of all the modes that could be thought of for raising the public revenue, 'none would be equally advantageous and economical, or less oppressive and burdensome to the community at large.'

The division on the address took place at an unexpected time, when the House was so thin that only twenty-three voted for the amendment, and ninety against it. Both the mover and seconder of the amendment were absent when the division was taken.

The income or property tax had always been a most unpopular impost. It was originally imposed by Pitt in 1799, and at a ten per cent. rate yielded about six millions a year. It was allowed to drop at the Peace of Amiens, but was revived in 1803 in the shape of a duty of five per cent. Three years later the impost was doubled, and continued at a ten per cent. rate till after the peace. It had throughout been regarded as a war tax, and the country had taken it for granted that on the termination of hostilities the impost would be abolished.

The Ministry, however, were of opinion that the income tax was both advantageous and economical, and they appear to have had no idea of the state of feeling against it among all classes and political parties. It yielded a revenue of fifteen millions a year; and having resolved to maintain a large and costly peace establishment, they could not see how it could be possible to dispense with a source of income so large and so convenient. The expenditure of the year had been estimated at £66,581,295, while the income, exclusive of the property tax, would only amount to £52,365,000. There was, indeed, a surplus of six millions in the Exchequer; but even taking this sum into account, the repeal of the property tax would involve a deficit of more than eight

millions. It appears from documents recently published in the memoirs of Mr. J. C. Herries, then Secretary to the Treasury, that the prime minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were personally opposed to the extravagant scale on which the estimates had been laid before Parliament, but that they yielded, contrary to their own better judgment, to the pressure of 'the departments.' 'A good, wise, and economical budget,' says Mr. Herries, 'has crumbled in our grasp; the higher powers have yielded to the subordinate departments, and we have a supply of thirty millions to bring forward without having any arrears to provide for; therefore a fair prospect of thirty millions for a peace establishment. The army alone amounts to thirteen millions. We had much better be at war than allow so great an expenditure to continue during peace.' Mr. Herries' biographer justly remarks that 'in order rightly to appreciate the magnitude of this outlay (£30,457,550), which was looked upon with amazement by the Tory commissary-in-chief, it is necessary to consider that since 1816 the wealth of the kingdom has been more than quadrupled, and that consequently the real burden of a given charge upon the tax payers was probably four times as heavy as it would be now.'

It soon became evident that the proposal to continue the income tax, in any form or to any extent, would meet with the strong disapproval of the people. The Opposition very naturally adopted a similar view of the obnoxious impost, and insisted that the naval and military establishments of the country should be reduced to a point which would render a continuance of the tax unnecessary. The Government asked for 149,000 soldiers and 33,000 seamen, of whom 99,000 were intended for home service, and pleaded that this force exceeded by only 7000 the number that was thought necessary before the war. They further argued that 'Europe had scarcely subsided into peace; and that even if peace were preserved, the events of the war had

imposed new duties and new responsibilities on Britain. The vast extension of its colonial empire, moreover, made some additions to its home reserves obviously necessary.' The Opposition, on the other hand, alleged that the great peace establishment was intended as a preliminary step towards assimilating Great Britain to the military powers on the Continent. This step, it was contended, would lead to a total subversion of her constitution. The two systems were incompatible. Either the Government or the military establishment must give way; and when the question was a struggle for ascendancy between liberty and the constitution on the one hand, and power and despotism, upheld by a military establishment, on the other, the warning experience of history proclaimed that the struggle was short and the termination most ruinous. The Opposition dwelt mainly on the evident partiality shown by the Government for continental alliances, and the danger to the constitution and liberties of our country which must arise from the maintenance of an enormous standing army—apprehensions which experience has proved to have been greatly exaggerated.

It speedily appeared that they were on more secure ground, and had public opinion strongly in their favour, when they denounced the excessive peace expenditure proposed by the Ministry, and their determination to perpetuate war-taxes for its support. The people, who had without a murmur borne, for a quarter of a century, a load of taxation altogether unparalleled, naturally expected relief now that peace had been attained, and were indignant when they discovered that in the midst of a season of great national distress the military establishments of the country were still to be continued on a war scale.

The Ministry, elated with the triumph of their continental policy, and full of self-confidence, appear to have been profoundly ignorant of the state of public feeling on the subject. In a debate in the Committee of Supply on the 13th February,

Lord Castlereagh used the oft-quoted words that he 'felt assured that the people of England would not, from an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation, put every thing to hazard, when everything might be accomplished by continued constancy and firmness.' This ill-judged language excited great indignation throughout the country, and contributed not a little to strengthen the Opposition to the financial proposals of the Government. Lord Grenville, who had expressed his cordial approval of the address, now caused the Peers to be summoned, and on the 14th February, in moving that the military estimates should be laid before the House, said, 'the question which their lordships had to consider was whether after a struggle of twenty-four years, maintained by such immense efforts and at such vast expense, they were at length to obtain the blessings of that real peace for which they had so long contended, or whether their situation was to be exactly the reverse? whether they were still to be charged with an immense military establishment? whether they were now to be called upon to take their rank among the military states of the Continent? whether they were to abandon the wise maxims and policy of their forefathers, by which the country had risen to such a height and had been enabled to make such great exertions, and become, at a humble distance, mere servile imitators of those systems which had been the cause of so much distress and calamity to the nations by which they had been adopted and maintained? whether the people of this country, after all they had done, after all the loyalty and firmness which they had evinced, after all they had suffered and were still suffering, were to have, not the name of peace, but the establishments of peace, the expenditure and taxation of peace?' The Parliament, however, was not yet prepared to take the bold step of curtailing the supplies which the Ministry had asked; and though the army and navy estimates were the subject of keen debates, there was no

substantial change made on their original form.

The discussion on the treaties with foreign powers, which took place on the 19th of February, afforded an opportunity of renewing the Opposition to the naval and military establishments contended for by the Government. In the House of Lords, when the prime minister moved the address, Lord Grenville proposed an amendment, deprecating in strong terms 'the settled system to raise the country into a military power.' 'It is by a contrary system,' it said, 'that we have risen to prosperity and greatness; these are, under Providence, solely to be ascribed to the influence of a Government founded on freedom and maintained by the arts and institutions of peace. We know not how a great and permanent military establishment, continued after the termination of the war for which alone it was created, can ever be made consistent with the principles of such a constitution, or the security of such a Government.' The force of argument was all on the side of the Opposition; but the amendment was rejected by a majority of sixty-four.

The address upon the treaties was proposed in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, who expounded at great length the nature and object of the treaties with the continental powers, and expressed cordial approval of the terms of the peace, and of the policy pursued towards France. Lord Milton proposed an amendment in the terms of Lord Grenville's motion, directed against the occupation of the frontiers of France by 'a great allied force,' and the maintenance of 'an enormous and disproportionate military establishment' in our own country. The debate, which was continued during two nights, was exceedingly keen and able. Sir Samuel Romilly noted down the heads of his speech, because he considered it the most important occasion he ever spoke on. But it was admitted on all hands that Horner's was the great speech of the debate; Romilly

called it 'admirable,' and the commendation bestowed on the speech by this high authority was re-echoed in the most glowing terms by other eminent critics. Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, declared it to be a most powerful, argumentative, and profound, and, altogether, one of the most able speeches he had ever heard in that House. An oration characterized in such terms merits a place in a history of the period, not only because of its own intrinsic excellence, but because it sets forth fully and clearly the opinions held at this period by the Opposition, and which were ultimately adopted by the great body of the people.

'It had, since the battle of Waterloo, been admitted,' he said, 'even by the confession of an enemy, that the infantry of England had no equal. He did look on this as a great acquisition of glory, a great acquisition of strength; and his prayer was that the military strength thus acquired might be properly made use of. The proper use of that strength was, first, to reserve it for the defence of our country, and next, in foreign interposition, when that interposition should be clearly and absolutely necessary to our welfare; but we were to remember that it would be employed unnecessarily in continental quarrels, or in projects of unjustifiable ambition. It was obvious that they had mixed up the whole of their transactions with French politics; and though it was impossible for the House not to entertain some feelings on that subject, yet they ought to interfere with it as little as possible. By any unnecessary interposition, they would be unavoidably led to involve themselves in the factions and views of their neighbours, and be drawn out of the circle of their own affairs, which were quite enough for them, without considering whether this or that form of government was most beneficial to the people. His main objections, however, to the treaties were, that they did not provide that security which the country had a right to expect; and it demanded the most serious consideration, that in prosecut-

ing the war to an end, His Majesty's ministers had at last disclosed that important project which they had so anxiously disavowed at first, namely, the determination of forcing the Bourbon family on the throne of France, contrary to the faith of the Crown, contrary to the pledge which had been given to Parliament, and in direct violation of the solemn engagement and promise to the nation of France at large. On former occasions the noble lord had expressly avowed that the professed object of the war was of a very different nature. The idea of forcing any particular person on the French had been repeatedly disclaimed, on the principle that it was carrying their measures further than the justice of the case allowed; but now, forsooth, it was openly and without a blush acknowledged, that however the national honour had been violated, it had always been considered that such a result of the contest would be satisfactory. It was now too late, indeed, to say that they had not resolved to interfere with the internal government of France, but they excused themselves by saying that they might interpose on a necessary occasion.

'It must, indeed, be within the recollection of the House, that when it was put to the noble lord whether the restoration of the Bourbons was the object of the war, he distinctly and repeatedly disclaimed it. It was notorious that, upon this understanding, several gentlemen in that House voted for the war. Yet it was now evident from the treaties upon the table, that the restoration of the Bourbons, and their maintenance upon the throne of France, was really and truly the object of the war. Why, then, was not this object openly and manfully avowed at the outset? With what view was it disguised? Why, obviously for the purpose of obtaining votes in that House, and practising delusion upon England, upon France, and upon Europe. The effect of this delusion and duplicity upon France was, as he understood from the best authority, to dispose the well-informed and the reflecting part of France, who belonged to

no faction—who were as hostile to Bonaparte as they were indifferent to the Bourbons—to look to the allied armies as deliverers, as about to afford the French nation an opportunity of choosing a government agreeable to its own wishes and interests. The effect was, indeed, such as to neutralize a great and respectable proportion of the French, who, instead of supporting Bonaparte, rather endeavoured to keep down the spirit of the people, and induce them to confide in the declaration of the allies. Many Frenchmen believed those declarations, confirmed, as they so often were, by the solemn pledges of the ministers of England. But the believers were dupes. For himself, as well as for several of his friends, he could state that he never was duped by these declarations, or by the pledges of the noble lord, because he always thought that to be the sole object of the war, which events had demonstrated. But he would ask some gentlemen in that House who thought differently, who grounded their votes upon an entire credit in the professions of the noble lord, how they felt? He would appeal to the whole House, to Parliament, and the country, what ought to be the feeling of a proud and honest nation, tenacious of its character for good faith, upon comparing the pledges of its Government at the commencement of the war, with the conduct of that Government at its conclusion. Was there to be no faith, then, in these solemn promises? Could it be a satisfactory feeling to any honest member, who possessed the generous spirit of an Englishman, to know that the engagements of ministers with the French nation had not been kept? His Majesty's government had declared manfully, boldly, and plainly, what their purposes were; but it was one of the most melancholy features of the times, that the bonds of political faith were not so strong as they used to be. Whatever doubt might exist in some minds as to the import of the declaration on which the war was commenced, there could be no possible misunderstanding as to the object of the treaties.

It was no longer to get rid of the dangerous ambition of Bonaparte; it was not to prevent the military power of France from encroaching on neighbouring states. No! it was to maintain the family of the Bourbons on the throne, whatever might be the feelings of the people towards them. If it were pretended, as he understood it had been somewhere said, that the conduct of the French army in invading the Netherlands released the allies from their pledges not to force a government upon France, he would ask the noble lord and his colleagues, whether they, who always alleged that the French people were hostile to Bonaparte and that he was supported only by the army, could consistently maintain that the conduct of that army could release the allies from their solemn pledges to the people, not to force any particular government upon them? But yet this government was imposed upon France; and it appeared that with a view to maintain it, certain precautionary measures, as the noble lord termed them, were adopted.

‘Among those measures a large pecuniary contribution was levied, and this contribution the noble lord called, rather singularly, a main feature of the tranquilizing policy to be acted upon towards France. This was really a most extraordinary view—perhaps peculiar to the mind of the noble lord; for it was the first time he had heard, that to subject any people to a large pecuniary contribution was a good mode of producing their tranquillity. Certainly the noble lord could not have learned that doctrine in England, where a large pecuniary contribution was not very apt to produce popular tranquillity. Indeed, he rather apprehended that an opposite feeling would arise in this country, if that contribution were enforced by a foreign army. Why, then, should the noble lord calculate upon a different result in France? But upon this point it seemed that, according to the doctrine of some gentlemen, the contribution raised in France, instead of falling into the pockets of the people, and

being placed under the control of Parliament, was to become the property of the privy purse, to be applied, perhaps, to enable the Pope to carry home some works of art from Paris, or to erect a statue to Henry IX. (Cardinal York.) He wished, however, that this novel doctrine might now be repelled as inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this country.

‘But as a further precautionary measure to keep the Bourbons upon the throne, it appeared that one hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of different nations, were placed in France. So it was calculated that the presence of this foreign force, under the command of a general who was a native of a country always the rival of France, was likely by degrees to reconcile the French people to the Government which that force had imposed upon them. But what could be the character of the minds which entertained such a calculation? Would not every rational being rather conclude that the presence of such a force must serve to form a perpetual fester in the breast of France, instead of contributing to the tranquillity and contentment of that country? But, according to the express opinion of some gentlemen, that which was most galling and offensive to the French formed an argument to justify the expectation of order and repose. Those only, however, who entertained such a singular notion could, he believed, concur in the views of the Allies in placing an armed force in France. And what estimate must those gentlemen have formed of the character of the French people—distinguished as that people always were for national pride and military spirit? How, he would ask, was that proceeding likely to operate upon them, which was calculated to rouse the most sluggish nation upon earth? How are the French people to feel towards a sovereign twice forced upon them by an army of foreign bayonets? For when that army was in the first instance withdrawn, that sovereign was soon compelled to quit the country; and he would put it

to the candour of any man, if the French people were friendly to that sovereign, why should it be necessary to maintain him on the throne by the assistance of a foreign army? The dilemma was obvious; either the French were friendly to the king, or they were not. If the former, the foreign army was unnecessary to the maintenance of the king; but if unfriendly, the presence of this army was calculated to augment their dislike. For what could be more galling to a Frenchman than to suppose his king guilty of that which was the greatest treason any sovereign could commit; namely, that of inviting the assistance of a foreign force? While the French were our active enemies in war, we must rejoice in their defeat; but now that they were completely fallen, must not every considerate man feel for a people so circumstanced? Was there, besides, no danger to be apprehended from the result of a national movement against the army by which the French were so grievously oppressed? The great power of the Allies would no doubt defeat such a movement; and could any man doubt that the effect of such a defeat would be the dismemberment and partition of France? If that country should be dismembered—if it should cease to be a substantial power in Europe, by the division of its territory among the despots of the north—what then would be the state of this country? In such an event what must be the amount of our establishments, both naval and military, in order to guard against the dangers naturally to be apprehended from the occupation of France by those formidable powers?

‘Now, as to another point. It was stated by the noble lord, that he was pressed by several reflecting persons in France to secure the guarantee of the allies to the maintenance of the constitutional charter. But to this the noble lord refused to accede, while an unreserved guarantee was granted to maintain the king upon the throne. No stipulation was made to support the constitution, which, by the by, had since been

repeatedly violated; while every arrangement was made that appeared to the Allies necessary to provide for the maintenance of the king, nothing was done to preserve the privileges of the people. The Allies, in their eagerness to support the former, overlooked the conciliation of the latter, although that conciliation would have been the best policy. But such policy was not within the consideration of despots.

‘He felt it necessary,’ he added, ‘to make a few remarks on the assertion of the noble lord, that the Whigs of the present day forgot or departed from the doctrines of those whom the noble lord called their progenitors. But this assertion was grossly erroneous, as would appear upon a review of the address moved by Mr. Fox in 1793. For in this address that great man did not propose to protest against our interference in the affairs of any foreign state as a general principle, but against such interference under existing circumstances. The effort, therefore, to fix any imputation upon those whom the noble lord denominated the modern Whigs, by contrasting their conduct with that of the old Whigs, was totally ineffectual. The noble lord’s cry of victory was quite groundless—was, indeed, clumsy. But it was strange that the noble lord should quote precedents from those whom he never before affected to admire. It happened, however, that in all the noble lord’s reference to the conduct of the Whigs, he betrayed a total want of historical accuracy. This want of accuracy was, indeed, particularly evident in the noble lord’s reference to the quadruple and triple alliances, for neither furnished any precedent in favour of the noble lord’s cause. On the contrary, it was notorious that, in the former, the Whigs obtained a guarantee from the allies that they should not interfere with the right of this country to choose its own government, which choice was made decidedly against the doctrine of legitimacy and the divine right of kings; for this country on that occasion dismissed King James, with his hereditary rights,

and selected William, with a view to establish a government congenial to the constitution and assent of the people. Then, again, as to the triple alliance, the object of that confederacy formed by the Whigs was to withstand the principle of legitimacy by preventing the house of Bourbon from becoming possessed of the throne of Spain. How, then, could either of those alliances be said to furnish any precedent in favour of the conduct of the noble lord and the allies, in forcing a government upon France according to the doctrine of legitimacy? But there was a precedent on the occasion of the triple alliance, which the noble lord might have quoted in support of his views; for Louis XIV. at that time sought to force a government upon Spain according to the principle of legitimacy; and the noble lord, in overlooking this circumstance, showed that he was quite as ill-versed in Tory as he was in Whig precedents. The noble lord should, therefore, before he venture to quote again, study history with more attention.

‘With respect to the principle of legitimacy, he (Mr. Horner) fully concurred in what the House had heard so eloquently urged in an early stage of the debate by an honourable member (Mr. Law) upon that subject, namely, that hereditary right was not essential to the maintenance of monarchy; it was, in fact, subsidiary to that object, as our own history demonstrated. For the maintenance of this principle was subordinate to the preservation of the constitution and laws of any country, and meant, not that the direct lineal descendant should be preferred, but that some such member of the family of the monarch should be selected, as might be best disposed and best calculated to maintain the laws and liberties of the country. This was the true, sound doctrine, sanctioned by the wise example of England. But the sole object of the late war, and of the treaties which followed it, was to place a monarch upon the throne of France with-

out any regard to the laws, the liberties, or the wishes of the people. The restoration of that monarch was, no doubt, thought a most desirable object, with a view to re-establish the peace of Europe, by some great statesmen, both in that and the other house of Parliament, who maintained that this object ought to have been avowed at the outset as the great end of the war. But this object was disguised by the noble lord from the consideration of the House, although it was now evident that it was really the chief end of the war. The noble lord, no doubt, also wished to put down all the principles of the Revolution, which he might conceive a very desirable end; and it was consistent with his views that everything that could be accomplished should be done for the sovereigns, and nothing for the people. That such was the intention was pretty evident from what had taken place within the last two years. A great statesman had often observed, that of all revolutions a restoration was the greatest, and that of all innovators an arbitrary monarch was the most dangerous. This, indeed, was fully evinced in what had taken place in Wurtemberg, in Prussia, and in certain states upon the Rhine, where nothing whatever of right was restored to the people, while the authority of sovereigns, whether crowned since or before the Revolution, was established and confirmed. The total disregard, indeed, of popular rights was manifested in various parts of the recent arrangements; but it was sufficient to refer to the instances of Venice and Genoa. But the most odious part of the late arrangements, which appeared from a treaty on the table, was the league of arbitrary sovereigns to meet annually for the purpose of considering their interests; for what rational man could doubt what such sovereigns would, in the long run, consider their interests, how they would decide upon every indication of popular feeling, or upon any movement in favour of popular principles? The noble lord even, who was the advocate of every act

of those sovereigns, who was ready to take up the gauntlet in that House for every one of them, could not be much at a loss to decide upon their probable views, if he would only take the trouble of looking with but common attention to history. Let him look, for instance, to the conduct of Austria towards Hungary and the Low Countries. Let him look at the conduct of three of those sovereigns with respect to Poland. Hence it might be concluded how these sovereigns were likely to decide for their own interests, and against the privileges of the people. But it appeared, from the noble lord's own statement, how these sovereigns felt with regard to popular privileges, from the jealousy which they expressed respecting the freedom of debate in that House.

'The opinions of these military despots on this, as well as upon other subjects, he entirely disregarded. No prospect could be entertained that anything would be done by them for the rights of mankind. His hopes of improvement were derived from a different quarter. They were not directed to innovation, but to a beneficial change effected through the medium of constitutional organs, and the wholesome operation of public opinion. Even though there were reason to believe that the sovereigns appointed these meetings with no preconceived designs against the liberties of the world, even though they formed no deliberate conspiracy against the rights of their subjects, still he could not but view the close association that would appear to be established between such great military powers without great jealousy. The great object of our late struggle was avowed to be the destruction of the military principle in Europe, which was incompatible with the liberties, the happiness, and the social tranquillity of mankind. By unparalleled efforts, by persevering and heroic sacrifices, we had extinguished the great military despotism which agitated and conquered and oppressed the nations of the Continent; but was the situation of Europe much im-

proved if the present system was to be carried into complete effect, and the late arrangements were henceforward to be universally adhered to? We had, indeed, annihilated the most extensive, the universally felt military despotism; but there were now three or four to spring up and to occupy its place. Their union, for purposes connected with their own support and extension, might be nearly as dangerous as the one from which we congratulated ourselves on being delivered. These military sovereigns were to meet and consult for their common security and mutual interests, and nothing could be done or permitted to exist in Europe without their consent. He wished to meet the question of security fairly and impartially; but he could not help inquiring, at first, what were the evils against which security and guarantee were required? What were we to guard against? We were at the end of five and twenty years of convulsion, revolution, and war. In that period the institutions of society, the political arrangements, and the relative condition of the different orders in the civil state, had undergone great changes. A new spirit was created, and had operated powerfully in bringing about the present circumstances. There might be different views entertained, and there were certainly very different opinions delivered on our present situation. Some thought that the revolutionary spirit, which produced such atrocities in its first display and subsequent operations, still existed in France in all its malignity, and that its existence in any degree was inconsistent with national tranquillity or civil order. This opinion has been declared by many members in the House, and was entertained by a great party out of it; but he thought that it was entertained upon false and narrow views. There were other persons who took views entirely opposite, but equally distant from reason and sound policy. They would not be satisfied if France did not at once carry into practice all those ideas of political freedom that they entertained;

they would not be contented with less than seeing France in possession of all those institutions and that free constitution that this country enjoyed, without taking into consideration the difference that existed between the state and the ideas of the two nations. It was needless to say that he disapproved of both these extremes. Whether the Revolution in France was good or bad, whether it had contributed to promote the liberties and rights of the nation or not, it could not be denied that there had arisen out of it a state of things which could not be altered, a spirit which could not be entirely extinguished. If the restoration of the Bourbons proceeded upon the supposition that everything was to be restored to its former condition, and that every new interest was to be destroyed, the project could not be realised; and those who entertained it were not aware of the obstacles they would have to encounter in attempting its execution. Every thing was changed in the Revolution; property had been transferred to new hands; the people had acquired new ideas; the privileged orders had been abolished, or their claims reduced; political institutions were altered, and a new distribution of political power had established a spirit of inquiry, and a disposition to discuss the conduct of rulers was everywhere diffused. It was difficult to calculate the power of these changes. We might guard against the effects of them, but we could not bring things back to their former situation. Happily this was not necessary for our security, as it certainly was not practicable in its execution. The real security which was required from France, after the destruction of that military monarchy which oppressed the greatest part of the continent of Europe, combined the integrity of that kingdom with the establishment of a government agreeably to the wishes, and deserving of the confidence of the people.

‘He would decline,’ he said, ‘entering upon a discussion of the other kinds of security required against France. The

question of territorial cession had been discussed at great length, and he would merely state that, in his opinion, any attempt to dismember France, instead of being likely to afford any security for the continuance of peace, would be the certain source of inquietude and danger. He would not enter upon the propriety of demanding a barrier on the side of the Netherlands, as that seemed to be of the same nature with territorial cessions; but he would say that he could place no reliance on any guarantee founded on the basis of reduction or dismemberment. There was no chance of the stability of peace if guarantees were sought for in measures that must be galling and irritating to the French people; there was no chance of continued tranquillity but in conciliatory arrangements; there was no chance of reconciling them to Europe but by allowing them to establish the government they liked.’

Mr. Horner’s eloquence, however, produced no effect on the great body of the ministerial party, and the address was finally carried by a majority of 163.

Meanwhile, the resistance to the property tax continued to gain ground. The city of London was the first to take the field in opposition to the unpopular impost. Petitions against it were signed, not only by the members of the Whig party, but by many of the ministerialists and the most influential mercantile men, and supported by all the members for the city, complaining of its inquisitorial nature, as well as the burden which it imposed upon the community. It was everywhere denounced as in itself unequal, unjust, and oppressive, and as requiring the most odious means to render it productive. The renewal of it was declared to be a violation of the solemn pledge given to the public when it was imposed, that it should be continued during the war and *no longer*; and it was affirmed to be especially obnoxious because it was rendered necessary by the determination of the Government to maintain a great standing army in time of peace.

Mr. Brougham, who organized the opposition to the tax, followed the tactics by which, four years before, he had succeeded in defeating the Orders in Council. He encouraged those who held his views to send up petitions from every quarter of the country, and every petition, when it was presented, was made the subject of debate. In his account of the skilful strategy which he employed in this famous parliamentary struggle, he says, 'On the termination of the war the Government were determined, instead of repealing the whole income tax, which the Act enforcing it, declared to be for and during the continuance of the war and no longer, to retain one-half of it—that is, to reduce it from ten to five per cent.—and thus keep a revenue raised from this source of between seven and eight millions, instead of fifteen.' As soon as this intention was announced several meetings were held, and two or three petitions were presented. The ministers perceived the risk they ran, if the policy should be pursued of continued discussion for a length of time, and saw the vast importance of despatch. Accordingly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, on the Tuesday, for his motion on the Thursday immediately following. The Opposition took the alarm, and Mr. Brougham declared, on presenting a petition numerously signed from one of the London parishes, that if the hurry now indicated should be persevered in he should avail himself of all the means of delay afforded by the forms of the House. Lord Folkestone, one of the most strenuous and, in those days, one of the most active and powerful supporters of the popular cause, vigorously seconded this menace, in which he entirely joined. On the next day more petitions were flung in, more discussions took place, and the Government postponed for a week the introduction of the bill. That week proved quite decisive; for so many meetings were held, and so many petitions sent up, that the bill was put off from time to time, and did not finally make its appearance till the 17th of March.

Above six weeks were almost entirely spent by the House of Commons in receiving the numberless petitions poured in from all quarters against the tax. For it was speedily seen that the campaign of 1812 was renewed, and that the same leaders, Messrs. Brougham and Baring, had the management of the operations.

'At first, the ministers pursued the course of obstinate silence. The Opposition debated each petition in vain; every minister and ministerial member held his peace. No arguments, no facts, no sarcasms, no taunts could rouse them; no expression of the feelings of the country, no reference to the anxiety of particular constituencies, could draw a word from the ministers and their supporters. At length it was perceived that their antagonists did not the less debate, and that consequently the scheme had failed in its purpose of stifling discussion. The only effect of it then was, that all the debating was on one side, and this both became hurtful to the Government in the House, and more hurtful still in the country. They were forced into discussion, therefore, and then began a scene of unexampled interest, which lasted until the second reading of the bill. Each night, at a little after four, commenced the series of debates, which lasted until past midnight. These were of infinite variety. Arguments urged by different speakers; instances of oppression and hardship recounted; anecdotes of local suffering and personal inconvenience; accounts of the remarkable passages at different meetings; personal altercations interspersed with more general matter—all filled up the measure of the night's bill of fare; and all were so blended and so variegated, that no one ever perceived any hour thus spent to pass tediously away. Those not immediately concerned—peers or persons belonging to neither House—flocked to the spectacle which each day presented. The interest excited out of doors kept pace with that of the spectators, and those who carried on these active operations showed a vigour and

constancy of purpose, an unwearied readiness for the combat, which astonished while it animated all beholders. It is recounted of this remarkable struggle, that one night towards the latter end of the period in question, when at a late hour, the House having been in debate from four o'clock, one speaker had resumed his seat, the whole members sitting upon one entire bench rose at once and addressed the Chair—a testimony of unabated spirit and unquenchable animation, which drew forth the loudest cheers from all sides of the House.

'At length came the 17th of March, the day appointed for the division; but it was soon found that this had been, with the debate, wholly anticipated. The usual number of petitions, and even more, were handed in during some hours; little or no debating took place upon them; unusual anxiety for the result of such long-continued labour, and such lengthened excitement, kept all silent and in suspense.'

The debate, which lasted only about half an hour, was very impatiently listened to by the House, as the subject had been previously exhausted, and the members were eager for the division. For the continuance of the tax, there voted 201; against it, 238. The bill was thus thrown out by a majority of thirty-seven. When the result was announced, a loud and prolonged burst of cheering arose in the House, which was caught up and re-echoed by the crowd that thronged the lobbies and avenues to the assembly.

The decision was totally unexpected both by the Ministry and the Opposition. The former had confidently calculated on a majority of forty. The greater part of the opponents of the tax expected to lose by twenty. 'The most sanguine,' says Sir Samuel Romilly, 'only hoped that the ministers would have a majority of not more than five or six.' The result, however, was cordially welcomed by the nation at large, as a relief from an oppressive burden, galling, not merely from its weight, but from the manner of its imposition.

Even the most steadfast members of the Tory party rejoiced in the issue. Sir Walter Scott expressed his satisfaction that the Government had been defeated on this question, and that a burdensome impost had been abolished; and Mr. Plumer Ward writing from Paris, says, 'If I had been in the House I would have voted in the minority, and yet I confess I am not sorry it was a minority; not that I am by any means convinced that the income tax ought to have been repealed, but because I think the Ministry wanted beating upon something, no great matter what.' The great body of the people rejoiced that an obnoxious, unequal, and oppressive impost had been abolished, and many hoped that the Government would in this way be compelled to conduct the affairs of the nation in future on a more economical scale than they had done in times past.

The lesson thus given, by a House comprehending a large ministerial majority, was not at first taken in good part. The Ministry might easily have supplied the deficiency which the abolition of the property tax had made in their financial scheme by the temporary suspension of the sinking fund, which absorbed no less than £15,000,000 a year. But they had recourse to a different and most injudicious expedient, and resolved to borrow the money to supply the deficiency. Not only so, but in order to conciliate the agricultural interest they resolved to abandon the 'war malt tax,' as it was called; the two shillings a bushel which was imposed in 1804, in addition to the original duty of two shillings and fourpence, and had continued till this time. 'In consequence of the decision on the income tax,' said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'it would be necessary to have recourse to the money market, and it was of little consequence that the amount should be increased by the amount of the calculated produce of the war duty.' And Lord Castlereagh said 'it was a matter of indifference whether they took seven or eight millions.' 'Their throwing the handle after

the hatchet,' wrote Sir Walter Scott, 'and giving up the malt duty because they had lost the other, was droll enough.' The sum which by them was thought of so little consequence amounted to £2,700,000 a year. Their defeat on the property tax, and their surrender of the malt war tax, involved a loss to the budget of upwards of £10,800,000 a year, which was made up by borrowing £9,000,000 from the bank, and £2,500,000 by the issue of Exchequer bills.

The financial position of the Government and the country was at this time in a most unsatisfactory state, and the Opposition made strenuous efforts time after time to reduce the expenditure on the army and navy, especially on the former. They contended that it was totally unnecessary to keep up in time of peace so large a military force as the Ministry proposed. Great Britain, from her insular situation, was by nature a naval and maritime state, and she was bound by paramount considerations to preserve and cultivate the advantages necessarily belonging to that position. Now that peace had been confirmed, a large military establishment was not required for the defence of the country, and might be employed to subvert its liberty and constitution.

Such fears, however, were declared by the prime minister to be 'extraordinary and unreasonable.' Exclusive of the troops required for service in India, and for the army of occupation in France, the total number of men proposed in the estimates for 1816 was 99,000. These were arranged under four heads: those stationed in Great Britain; those in Ireland; those in the colonies we had possessed previously to the war; and those in the colonies which we had acquired during its progress. It was proposed to station 25,000 troops in Great Britain; the same number in Ireland; 23,000 in our old colonies, and 22,200 in the new. Three thousand men were to be kept as a reserve for relief to the colonial garrisons.

With respect to the old colonies, Lord Palmerston, the Secretary at War, showed

that the estimates provided only 7000 men more than had garrisoned them previously to the outbreak of the war. In the whole of our North American possessions, the Bahamas included, there were only 4000 men more than there had been in 1791. 'There were many causes,' he urged, 'for this augmentation. 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 each country 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. He was firmly convinced that amongst nations weakness would never be a foundation for security. The navigation between the two countries was, moreover, suspended during the winter, and in the case of a rupture, *many months might elapse ere reinforcements could be sent.* At Antigua there had been established a considerable naval arsenal, which involved the presence of an additional military force. The new or captured colonies were Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape, the African settlements, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucie, 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 for these colonies, not two-thirds of the garrisons that the enemy had kept up. The 25,000 men for the home station exceeded by 7000 the numbers in 1791. But the large increase in our colonial possessions rendered it necessary to keep up a considerable increased reserve at home.

'The plain question for the House to consider was, whether they should reduce all the military establishments of the country below their just level, and whether, if they did so, the saving would bear any compari-

son with the injury that it might produce ; 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 and 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 we 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 reductions in those establishments could accomplish that end—but whether we should compel the Crown to abandon all our colonial possessions, the fertile sources of our commercial wealth, and descend from that high and elevated station which it had cost us so much labour, so much blood, and so much treasure to attain ?

These arguments appear to have been at the time satisfactory both to the House and to the country ; and though Mr. Wilberforce lent the weight of his authority to the Opposition on this question, all attempts to reduce the military establishment proposed by the Ministry were rejected by considerable majorities.

The attacks frequently made at this time on the unbounded extravagance of the Prince Regent commanded a greater amount of public sympathy. As Thackeray remarks, if the prince had been a manufacturing town, or a populous rural district, he could not have cost more. When he came of age he obtained an income of £62,000 a-year, and Parliament not only voted £30,000 to pay off his debts, but bestowed on him an additional sum of the same amount to start in life ; and yet, within a year, he had incurred debt to the amount of £160,000. Two years afterwards, when the king settled on him an additional £10,000 a-year, his debts had increased

to £193,000. At the time of his marriage, in 1794, Parliament was obliged to vote £650,000 to extinguish his liabilities. But untaught by experience, the worthless Sybarite persisted in his course of the most reckless extravagance. In the session of 1815 it transpired that he had expended no less than £350,000 beyond the large sum (£800,000) voted by Parliament for the support of the royal state and establishments. It appeared, also, that though the Droits of the Crown and of the Admiralty, the amount of which was not made known, were constantly applied in aid of the civil list, large arrears had still to be provided for. In these circumstances, and at a season of great national distress, it is no matter of surprise that Sir Robert Heron should have been greeted with loud cheers and laughter when he denounced the royal extravagance in unmeasured terms. ‘Your armies,’ he said, ‘have expelled one despot and set up another: you have a Prince who has so much dignity that he expends as great a sum on a thatched cottage as another monarch would on a palace; so dignified is he, so magnificent are his ideas, that he cannot endure to see the same furniture in his house for two successive years; he is such a friend to trade that he cannot give less than 800 guineas for a clock; and such a protector is he of the arts that he pays £6000 for a Chinese cabinet.’

Mr. Brougham used much stronger language in describing the personal habits of the reigning prince and his disreputable associates, and was thought to have somewhat compromised the Whig leaders, as well as to have given deep offence to the Tories, when he poured out his burning indignation on those ‘who, in utter disregard of the feelings of an oppressed and insulted nation, proceeded from one wasteful expenditure to another; who decorated and crowded their houses with the splendid results of their extravagances; who associated with the most profligate of human beings; who, when the gaols were filled

with wretches (sentenced to capital punishment), could not suspend for a moment their thoughtless amusements to end the sad suspense between life and death.'

Sir S. Romilly writes on the 20th March: 'A motion of disapprobation of the increase which has lately been made of the salary of Secretary to the Admiralty in time of peace, from £3000 to £4000 a year, was rejected by a majority of 29; there being for the motion 130, and against it 159. In the course of the debate upon it, Brougham, who supported the motion, made a violent attack upon the Regent, whom he described as devoted, in the recesses of his palace, to the most vicious pleasures, and callous to the distresses and sufferings of others, in terms which would not have been too strong to have described the latter days of Tiberius. Several persons who would have voted for the motion were so disgusted that they went away without voting; and more, who wished for some tolerable pretext for not voting against ministers, and who on this occasion could not vote with them, availed themselves of this excuse, and went away too; and it is generally believed that, but for this speech of Brougham's, the ministers would have been again in a minority. If this had happened, many persons believe, or profess to believe, that the ministers would have been turned out. Poor Brougham is loaded with the reproaches of his friends; and many of them who are most impatient to get into office, look upon him as the only cause that they are still destined to labour on in an unprofitable opposition. I have no doubt that, whatever had been the division, the ministers would still have continued in office. But it is not the less true that Brougham's speech was very injudicious as well as very unjust, for with all the prince's faults, and they are great enough, it is absurd to speak of him as if he were one of the most sensual and unfeeling tyrants that ever disgraced a throne.'

The distress which existed in the country at this period affected all classes without distinction. The difficulties of the agri-

cultural portion of the community occupied a large share of the deliberations of a parliament in which the landed interest was mainly represented, and a committee was appointed to receive reports and opinions from different parts of the kingdom. Wheat, which during the war had frequently reached 120s. a quarter, was now selling at 52s. 6d., and the distress of the farmers was consequently very great. Not a few of them had been obliged to throw up their farms. The landlords were under the necessity of giving reductions of rent amounting on an average to twenty-five per cent. It was alleged that the loss which the landlords suffered in consequence of the general depression amounted to no less than £9,000,000 a year. The distress was not less among the manufacturing than among the agricultural population. 'There was a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural and commercial and manufacturing and mining and shipping and building interests, which marked that period as one of the most extensive suffering and distress.' The continental market was virtually closed against British manufactures. Our customers there had been impoverished by their protracted and desolating warfare; and now that peace had been restored, they were naturally eager to supply their wants by the exertions of their own industry. The large quantities of goods which had been accumulated in the warehouses of British merchants and manufacturers could not find a sale at home, and were forced into continental markets, where they were obliged to be offered at prices much below prime cost. 'English goods were selling for much less in Holland and the north of Europe than in London or Manchester. In most places they were lying a dead weight without any sale at all, and either no returns whatsoever were received, or pounds came back for thousands that had gone forth. The manufacturers, in consequence, found it necessary either entirely to suspend or

greatly to reduce the fabrication of their goods.' The value of labour was thus not only greatly reduced, but large numbers of workmen in almost every branch were thrown out of employment and reduced to great distress. To make matters worse, at this critical juncture a large addition was made to the ranks of the unemployed by the reductions in the various branches of the public service. The navy, which in 1815 had required 100,000 men, now employed only 33,000. The militia was disbanded, and the regular army greatly reduced. The result was that at least 200,000 able-bodied men were now added to the multitudes of labourers wanting employment.

It was not among the labouring classes alone that this distress prevailed. It pervaded every department of society. 'Every avenue,' said Sir Walter Scott, 'is now choked with applicants whose claims are very strong; for the number of disbanded officers and public servants, dismissed in consequence of Parliament turning restive and refusing the income tax, is great and increasing. Economy is the order of the day, and I can assure you they are shaving very close.' In the debate on the address Brougham affirmed that 'the number of bankruptcies was daily increasing, and that the home trade, no less than the foreign, presented another melancholy exception to the boasted "flourishing condition" described in the address. The home trade, the substantial groundwork of national industry, was at a stand-still. The landlord received no rent, the tenant could sell no corn. Shops were everywhere empty, and tradesmen's books covered with debts, on which not one per cent. could be collected.' Mr. Baring, a high authority on such questions, said that 'although on the part of the agricultural interests the distress was greatest and indeed extreme, yet distress had also pervaded every branch of commerce.' The duke of Bedford mentioned in the House of Lords that upon two estates in Norfolk, lands, in one instance of 5000 acres, in another of 3000 acres, were offered to tenants

rent free if they would cultivate them, but none would take them. The gaols were crowded with people unable to bear up against the pressure of the times. The farmers were imprisoned for debt, and the poorer classes, unable to procure subsistence in a legal way, became poachers and robbers of farm-yards. These were not the only sufferers. Many of the beneficed clergy were in a state of the utmost distress. The farmers were unable to pay their tithes, and many of the clergy were reduced to such extreme distress that they could not even effect the annual insurance on their lives, which formed in many cases the only means by which they could secure a provision for their families. 'Distress,' said another member, 'pervaded every branch of commerce.'

The universal suffering and misery which pervaded the country had hitherto been alleviated by the cheapness of bread; and in the ignorance which then prevailed respecting the laws of economic science, it had actually been proposed, in order to promote the interests of the agriculturists and raise the price of corn, that the clause in the corn-bill of the previous year, permitting the warehousing of foreign grain duty free, should be repealed. This was one of a series of resolutions proposed by Mr. Western, member for Essex, declaratory of the agricultural distress, and recommending relief from certain burdens which he alleged pressed heavily on the land, and the imposing of additional duties and restrictions on the importation of all articles the produce of foreign agriculture—rapeseed, linseed, tallow, cheese, and butter, as well as corn. At the time when the representatives of the landed interest were thus demanding unequal and unjust remission of taxation, conjoined with increased protection, a bill, hurriedly passed in 1815, absolutely prohibited the importation of corn till the price of wheat rose to 80s. The demand that foreign corn should no longer be warehoused duty free, simply meant that no precaution should be taken against a

season of dearth, in order that agriculturists might obtain the full benefit of the famine prices that would then ensue. The debate on Western's resolutions was adjourned, and before it was again resumed events occurred which put a stop for a time to such ill-judged projects, and aggravated the distress of the people by raising the price of grain, without, however, bringing any relief to the farmers.

The season proved singularly inclement. The spring was wet and chilly, and the summer witnessed almost incessant rains and cold stormy winds. 'As for spring,' wrote Sir Walter Scott to Mr. Morritt, M.P., 'that is past praying for. In the month of November last people were skating in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and now in the middle of May the snow is lying white on Arthur's Seat and on the range of the Pentlands. It is really fearful, and the sheep are perishing by scores.' This inclement weather was as severely felt on the Continent as in our own country, and the apprehensions of a deficient crop were universal. The harvest everywhere failed. The price of corn rose with appalling rapidity. In January the average price of wheat was 52s., in May it was 76s. 4d. By the end of the year it had risen to 103s., and rye, barley, and beans had also doubled their average price at the beginning of the year.

'In Radnorshire and Herefordshire,' wrote Romilly, 'the prospect is extremely alarming. There must be a very great scarcity of wheat and barley. The potatoes, too, which form so large a part of the food of the poor, have greatly failed; and to add to their distress, the long continuance of rain has prevented them from getting peat from the moors, and laying in their usual stock of winter fuel.' 'The distress in Yorkshire,' wrote Lord Darlington, 'was unprecedented; there was a total stagnation of the little trade they had; wheat was already more than a guinea a bushel, and no old corn in store; the potato crop had failed; the harvest on the

8th of October was only beginning, the corn in many parts being still green; and he feared a total defalcation of all grain that season from the deluge of rain which had fallen for many weeks, and was still falling.'

Similar accounts were received from every part of the country, and the distress was universal. In one parish, containing 573 inhabitants, 419 were in receipt of parochial relief. In another, six out of every seven were paupers, and the poor rate amounted to £1 1s. in the pound. In a third parish there was only one inhabitant who was not either a bankrupt or a pauper. When wheat was at from £4 to £5 a quarter, and able-bodied men were earning only sixpence a day, it was no matter of surprise that thousands were starving, and that riots were taking place in almost every part of the country. The ignorant peasantry believed that the enormous rise in the price of bread was caused by a combination among the farmers, and they revenged themselves for their sufferings by setting fire to farm buildings, barns, and corn-stacks, and breaking and burning thrashing machines. Incendiary fires were seen blazing everywhere throughout the purely agricultural districts, especially in the eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. At Brandon, near Bury, a mob of 1500 labourers assembled, bearing flags with the motto 'Bread or Blood,' and demanded that wheat should be sold at half a crown a bushel, and beef at fourpence a pound. Annoyed at a refusal they demolished the houses of the butchers and bakers, whom they seem to have regarded as confederates of their chief enemies the farmers. Similar riotous proceedings took place at Bury, Norwich, Cambridge, and other places in the neighbourhood. The most alarming disturbances occurred in the Isle of Ely, where the peasantry were peculiarly ignorant and rude. On the 22nd of May a large body of labourers assembled at the small town of Littleport, where they commenced their proceedings by demolishing and plundering during the night the house of a Mr. Vachel, a clergy-

man and a magistrate. They next broke open the shops and the cellars of the public houses, which they emptied of their contents. The scenes of drunkenness and violence which ensued so terrified the principal inhabitants that they fled for their lives, leaving their houses to be wrecked and plundered by the infuriated mob. Leaving Littleport, it was said, in the condition of a town which had been sacked by a besieging army, the insurgents marched to Ely, where they committed similar excesses, and extorted large sums of money from the inhabitants. The military had at length to be called out, and were obliged to fire on the mob before the disturbances were suppressed, and seventy-three of the most conspicuous of the rioters arrested. The Government considered it necessary to send down a special commission to Ely, for the trial of the prisoners. Thirty-four of them were convicted and condemned to death on charges of burglary and robbery, and five were executed.

Though these riotous proceedings attracted special attention to the distress existing among the agricultural population, the workmen in the manufacturing districts were suffering equal privations. This was especially the case with the colliers, miners, and ironworkers. Upwards of two-thirds of the furnaces in Shropshire were out of blast at the end of August, thus throwing out of employment between 7000 and 8000 puddlers and an equal number of colliers. In the adjoining county of Stafford the privations of the workmen were even more severe, some of them being actually compelled to eat the cabbage-stalks in their cottage gardens. Mr. Brougham stated in the House of Commons that out of a population of 84,000 persons in Birmingham, 27,500 were in receipt of relief. A body of colliers, who were thrown out of employment by the stoppage of the ironworks at Bilston, resolved to go up to London for the purpose of laying a statement of their sufferings before the Prince Regent; and they harnessed themselves to two waggons

of coals, which they intended to present to him. They bore a placard, 'Willing to work, but none of us to beg,' and showed every disposition to behave themselves in a lawful and orderly manner. They asked, indeed, the magistrates to give them certificates that they had conducted themselves with propriety. The Home Secretary judiciously sent some trustworthy magistrates, with a strong body of police, to meet these poor fellows, and persuaded them to return home. On receiving payment for their coals, along with some charitable assistance, the colliers, one party of whom had reached St. Albans and another had advanced as far as Maidenhead, were easily induced to follow this advice. Other detachments of unemployed colliers readily adopted a similar expedient to obtain relief. One party from Wolverhampton drew a waggon through Chester to Liverpool, and others yoked themselves in a similar way to loaded waggons, which they drew in other directions, but were induced by the authorities to return home quietly. Later in the year the miners, colliers, and ironworkers in South Wales, who were on greatly reduced wages, though not suffering such privations as the men in Staffordshire, threatened to resort to violent measures. A large body of the workmen of Newport and Tredegar assembled in a tumultuous manner, to the number of 10,000 or 12,000, extinguished the blast at Merthyr, and several other places, but did little other damage. The military were hurriedly called out to Newport, but fortunately did not require to act, as the mob peaceably dispersed.

The working classes in England, both agricultural and manufacturing, left as they were in a disgraceful state of ignorance, thought that the introduction of machinery had been the main cause of the reduction of their wages. Hence, whenever a depression of trade took place, they avenged themselves by destroying the machinery to which they imagined their privations were owing. In 1812 an organized system of riot and destruction on an extensive scale had been

devised in Nottinghamshire and the adjacent counties, the seat of the lace manufacture. The depredations were carried on with a greater degree of secrecy and management than had ever been known in any similar proceedings; so much so, that the magistrates could not take upon themselves to apprehend the persons whom they suspected of having committed the outrages. It was peculiarly easy for parties who were ill-disposed to perpetrate those illegal acts; for, in many instances, the machinery was used in isolated houses which were far from any neighbourhood, and persons having secreted themselves about the premises felt no difficulty in destroying the frames, which could be performed with very little noise. In one instance the mischief had been done actually in sight of the military; and in another, they were not more than a hundred yards from the premises. The rioters had also occasionally gone to the villages in bodies of about fifty men. Having stationed sentinels at the different avenues, the remainder employed themselves in destroying all the frames; and this was executed with so much secrecy that not a trace of the parties was left in the course of a few minutes. The machine-breakers were called Luddites, after a person of weak intellect named Ned Ludd, who one day broke a couple of stocking frames in a house where a lad that was tormenting him had taken refuge.

These Luddite riots at length became so formidable and destructive that the Parliament passed an act 'for the more exemplary punishment of persons destroying or injuring any stocking or lace frames or other machines or engines used in the framework-knitting manufactory, or any articles or goods in such frames or machines,' and making the offence capital. Far-sighted statesmen clearly perceived that the true way of putting an end to such disturbances was not by increased severity of punishment, but by the diffusion of enlightened views among the working classes. And the futility of such legislation was well

exposed in the protest which the earls of Lauderdale and Rosslyn entered against the Draconic measure of 1812. 'We agree in the opinion so generally expressed in this House that the conduct of the manufacturers in destroying frames and other machinery used in our manufactures must proceed from mistaken views of their own interest, as they, more than any other class of His Majesty's subjects, are deeply interested in the preservation of machinery, to the improvement of which we owe our existence as a manufacturing country. But we think it our duty strongly, and in distinct terms, to reprobate the unprecedented folly of attempting to enlighten the minds of men in regard to what is beneficial for themselves by increased severity of punishment; whilst every sound principle of criminal legislation makes us regard such an addition to the long list of offences already subjected to capital punishment by the laws of this country with astonishment and disgust; and every feeling of humanity leads us to express the utmost horror at the wanton cruelty of punishing our fellow-creatures with death for those culpable acts, more injurious to themselves than to any other part of the community, to which, through mistaken views of policy, the increasing distress of the times has induced them to resort.'

The wisdom of these observations was strikingly manifested by the utter failure of this sanguinary system of legislation to put an end to the offences against which it was directed. During the distress of 1816 the Luddite outrages were renewed with increased violence, and machines were destroyed with the same secrecy as in 1812. Bands of armed men, commanded by 'General Ludd,' marched through the country under cover of the darkness, breaking open houses and factories, destroying the furniture, demolishing lace frames and other machinery, and scattering the unfinished work on the highways. Distress, discontent, and riots were the order of the day in every part of the country. The

Home Secretary, in a letter to his brother-in-law (28th October), says, 'There was a serious riot at Birmingham, and though quelled at the time with the assistance of the military, it was expected to recur. The neighbourhood of Manchester was very bad, and Nottingham hopeless.' The chief police officer of Manchester reported, '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 last disturbance, and they talk of a general union of the lower orders throughout the kingdom.'

A riot which took place at this period in the metropolis served to confirm these apprehensions. On the 15th of November a meeting was held at Spa-fields of 'distressed manufacturers, artizans, and others, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Prince Regent and the legislature to adopt immediately such means as will relieve the sufferers from the misery which now overwhelms them.' The leader of the movement was Henry Hunt, 'Orator Hunt,' as he was called, a liveryman of London, who possessed some property in Somersetshire. He had been a candidate for Bristol at the general election in 1812, and had gained some notoriety by his scurrilous abuse of all the leading public men of the day, except Sir Francis Burdett, Cobbet, and Lord Cochrane. Sir Samuel Romilly calls him 'a most unprincipled demagogue,' and his conduct showed that he was empty, ignorant, and selfish, and was actuated only by his own restless vanity, and cared nothing for the welfare of the working classes, whose applause he eagerly coveted. Even Cobbett said of him that 'the boisterous halloing of multitudes was more pleasing to Hunt than the chinking of the plough-traces, the bleating of the lambs, or the song of the nightingale.'

After some inflammatory speeches from 'Orator Hunt' and his associates, the meeting was adjourned to the 2nd of December, ostensibly to receive the answer of the Regent to their petition. A placard was issued, headed 'England expects every man to do

his duty,' and describing in inflammatory language

'The present state of Great Britain.
Four millions in distress!!!
Four millions embarrassed!!!
One million and a half fear distress!!!
Half a million live in splendid luxury!!!
Our brothers in Ireland are in a worse state.
The climax of misery is complete—it can go no farther.
Death would now be a relief to millions.'

The meeting was announced for twelve o'clock; but when that hour arrived, Hunt was not present. He professed to think that 'one o'clock was the time;' but it is suspected that he had a shrewd anticipation that the meeting was likely to lead to a riot, and was therefore late. A considerable crowd had collected at the hour appointed, with tricoloured flags, and inflammatory speeches were addressed to them from a waggon, in which arms and ammunition were deposited, by a Mr. Watson, 'an indigent person of the medical profession;' his son, a fanatical and foolish youth; a notorious demagogue named Thistlewood, and other individuals of the same class. The elder Watson commenced the proceedings with a violent address to the crowd. 'Are we to go on,' he asked, 'from time to time, from month to month, from year to year, calling to the father of his people, as he is called, in vain for redress?' (Cries of 'No! no!') 'The present, then, is the time to do something.' Watson was followed by his son, whose speech was much more violent than his father's. 'If they will not give us what we want,' he cried, 'shall we not take it? Are you willing to take it? If I jump down among you, will you follow me?' Loud shouts of 'Yes! yes!' followed these appeals. Thus encouraged, he leaped from the waggon, seized a tricoloured flag, and, followed by the mob, rushed off to take the Tower. Passing through Clerkenwell and Smithfield to Snow Hill, the crowd entered a gunsmith's shop and seized all the arms in it; and the younger Watson shot and severely wounded a gentleman who remonstrated against these proceedings. Con-

tinuing their march along Cheapside, the rioters passed through the Royal Exchange, and on leaving it were confronted by the lord mayor and aldermen, who secured three of the most prominent of the rioters, and so intimidated the others that they turned aside into the Minories. Here they renewed their attack on the shops of the gunsmiths; but learning that troops were collecting from different parts of the city, they broke up and dispersed. The lord mayor and city magistrates were warmly commended for their courage and judicious conduct, which mainly contributed to the suppression of the riot.

The gloom which had covered the year 1816, from its commencement to its close, was somewhat relieved by the marriage, on the 2nd of May, of the Princess Charlotte, the only child of the Prince Regent, to Prince Leopold (afterwards chosen king of the Belgians), the youngest son of the Duke of Saxe Coburg. The union was cordially hailed both by the people and the Parliament; and without a dissentient voice the sum of £60,000 was voted for the princess, and the same amount annually for the support of her establishment. The beautiful seat of Claremont was also purchased for her residence.

CHAPTER V.

The People's Charter—Hampden Clubs—Attempt on the Life of the Prince Regent—Disaffection among the People—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—The Blanketeers—Derbyshire Insurrection—Oliver the Government Spy—Spa-Fields Rioters—Trial of Watson for High Treason—Disaffection in Scotland—Trial of the Glasgow Weavers.

THE year 1817 opened amid general anxiety and alarm. The demand for parliamentary reform, which had been silenced by the protracted struggle with Napoleon, was now revived, and was considered by the wealthier classes as equivalent to revolution. The Radicals, as the reformers were termed, were regarded as the offscourings of society—the enemies of Government, of the constitution, and of religion. They advocated annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of all property qualifications for members of Parliament, and paid representatives of the people in the House of Commons. For the purpose of obtaining these six points of the 'People's Charter' a number of clubs and societies were formed in different parts of the country. The earliest of these was the Society of Spencean Philanthropists, who derived their designation from an enthusiast named Spence, a Yorkshire schoolmaster, who had devised a plan for making all the land of the country the property of the State, and dividing all the produce for the support of the people. The members of this society held 'sectional meetings,' and discussed 'subjects calculated to enlighten the human understanding.' One of these notable projects was the abolition of machinery, and they went so far as to petition Parliament in favour of this 'enlightened' scheme. They had among their leaders Thistlewood, and some other desperate plotters, who argued 'that it was an easy matter to upset Government if handled in a proper manner.'

The original Hampden Club, which was founded in London in 1811, for the purpose

of promoting parliamentary reform and the freedom of election, was of a much higher grade, and included among its members the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Byron, Lord Oxford, and a number of highly influential country gentlemen, like Mr. Fawkes of Farnley, Mr. Hodges of Hemsted, Mr. Ducane of Braxted, Mr. Rashleigh of Prideaux, and many other large landed proprietors, with Sir Francis Burdett as its chairman. The London Union, which was founded in 1812, was also a respectable and influential organization. During the widespread distress of 1816, however, Hampden Clubs were established in many of the large towns, and the villages and districts around them. Samuel Bamford, who was secretary to one of these clubs, distinctly affirms, and no doubt truly, that their object was limited to the attainment of parliamentary reform. He attributes this result to the writings of William Cobbett, which 'were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible; he directed his readers to the true cause of their sufferings—misgovernment; and to its proper correction—parliamentary reform. Riots soon became scarce, and from that time they have never obtained their ancient vogue with the labourers of this country. Cobbett's books were printed in a cheap form; the labourers read them, and thenceforward became deliberate and systematic in their proceedings. Nor were there wanting men of their own class to encourage and direct the new converts. The Sunday

schools of the preceding thirty years had produced many working men of sufficient intelligence to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for parliamentary reform. Some, also, were found to possess a rude poetic talent, which rendered their effusions popular, and bestowed an additional charm on their assemblages; and by such various means, anxious listeners at first, and then zealous proselytes, were drawn from the cottages of quiet vales and dingles, to the weekly readings and discussions of the Hampden Clubs.'

The opinion which the Government and the wealthier and middle classes of society entertained respecting the influence of Cobbett's writings was very different from that of the Reformers, and they regarded the spread of the political clubs with undisguised apprehension and alarm. The secret societies, which were spreading in some parts of the country to every village, seemed to them intended to prepare for 'a very wide and extensive plan of insurrection,' which it would require prompt and strong measures to repress. The speech of the Prince Regent at the opening of Parliament expressed a conviction, that the two Houses would without doubt feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. 'I am too well convinced,' his Royal Highness went on to say, 'of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of His Majesty's subjects to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected.'

It unfortunately happened at this juncture that the universal unpopularity of the Regent led to his being grossly insulted on his return from opening Parliament. The windows of the state-carriage were broken, in all probability by a stone, though some persons alleged at the time, by a bullet from

an air-gun. A conference was immediately held between the two Houses, and an address to the Prince Regent on this incident was agreed to. A proclamation was issued next day, offering a reward of £1000 for such information as would lead to the discovery of the perpetrators of the attack on his Royal Highness; and when, on the same day, the debate on the Address was resumed, repressive measures were loudly called for, and 'the discontent which had been partly fomented by harsh and unequal legislation, was made the excuse for legislation still harsher and more unequal.' The Opposition, while lauding the 'exemplary patience with which all ranks had hitherto borne the difficulties under which they labour,' insisted that 'to maintain this disposition, it is incumbent on Parliament, by a severe and vigilant exercise of its powers, to prove that sacrifices so painfully obtained are strictly limited to the real necessities of the State.' But the Government offered no response to the appeals made on behalf of a rigid and unsparing economy, and declined to pledge themselves to make a reduction of every possible expense. They informed the Parliament, however, that they were prepared to deal with the disaffection which existed among large bodies of the people; and though the riots had been quelled, and the law as it stood had been found quite adequate for the preservation of the public peace, the ministry were so ill-advised as to ask powers for greater coercion, instead of trying the effect of lenient remedies. There is a wide difference, which the Government apparently did not understand, between smothering a flame and extinguishing it.

On the 3rd of February a message from the Prince Regent was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, to the effect that he had given orders that there should be laid before them papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tran-

quillity, to alienate the affections of His Majesty's subjects from his person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution.

The message of the Prince Regent was referred to a secret committee of each House. The reports of these committees, which were presented on the 18th and 19th of the same month, were identical in opinion and almost in language. One-third of the report of the Lords was devoted to a narrative of the riot in the metropolis, which it sought to elevate into a treasonable conspiracy against the government and the constitution of the kingdom; and the contemptible creatures concerned in that disturbance are described as an organized and formidable body, fraught with imminent danger to society. 'A traitorous conspiracy,' it was said, 'has been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of a general insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of the kingdom, and of effecting a general plunder and division of property. Various schemes were formed for this purpose. Amongst them was a general and forcible liberation of all persons confined in the different prisons in the metropolis. It was also proposed to set fire to various barracks, and steps were taken to ascertain and prepare means for effecting this purpose. An attack upon the Tower and Bank, and other points of importance, was, after previous consultations, finally determined upon. Pikes and arms, to a certain extent, were actually provided, and leaders were named, among whom the points of attack were distributed. It appears quite certain that the acts of plunder which were perpetrated for the purpose of procuring arms, and the other measures of open insurrection which followed, were not accidental or unpremeditated, but had been deliberately preconcerted as parts of a general plan of rebellion and revolution.'

With regard to the abettors of the Spa-Fields riot, the committee were of opinion

that their designs were of the most atrocious kind. 'It appears clearly,' they say, 'that the object is, by means of societies or clubs, established, or to be established, in all parts of Great Britain, under pretence of parliamentary reform, to infect the minds of all classes of the community, and particularly of those whose situation most exposes them to such impressions, with a spirit of discontent and disaffection, of insubordination, and contempt of all law, religion, and morality, and to hold out to them the plunder of all property as the main object of their efforts and the restoration of their natural rights; and no endeavours are omitted to prepare them to take up arms on the first signal for accomplishing their designs. The country societies are principally to be found in and in the neighbourhood of Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham, Mansfield, Derby, Sheffield, Blackburn, Manchester, Birmingham, and Norwich, and in Glasgow and its vicinity; but they extend and are spreading in some parts of the country to almost every village.'

The report of the committee of the House of Commons ascribes the origin of the disturbances to the Spenceans, and describes at great length the Spa-Fields riot. The Hampden Clubs, the origin of which we have seen, were in the estimation of the committee mere nests of the worst type of revolutionists. 'The first thing,' they say, 'which has here forced itself upon their observation is the widely-diffused ramification of a system of clubs, associated professedly for the purpose of parliamentary reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. These clubs in general designate themselves by the same name of Hampden Clubs. On the professed object of their institution, they appear to be in communication and connection with the club of that name in London. It appears to be part of the system of these clubs to promote an extension of clubs of the same name and nature, so widely as, if possible, to include every

village in the kingdom. The leading members are active in the circulation of publications likely to promote their object. Petitions, ready prepared, have been sent down from the metropolis to all societies in the country disposed to receive them. The communication between these clubs takes place by means of delegates. Delegates from these clubs in the country have assembled in London, and are expected to assemble again early in March. Whatever may be the real object of these clubs in general, your committee have no hesitation in stating, from information on which they place full reliance, that in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which are established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artizans, nothing short of a revolution is the object expected and avowed.'

The committee admit that the disaffection had been confined to the principal manufacturing districts, where the distress was more prevalent and numbers more easily collected; and that even in many of these districts privations had been borne with exemplary patience and resignation, and the attempts of the disaffected had been disappointed. But they nevertheless say in conclusion, that 'with all these allowances, they cannot contemplate the activity and arts of the leaders in this conspiracy, and the members whom they have already reduced and may seduce; the oaths by which many of them are bound together; the means suggested and prepared for the forcible attainment of their objects; the nature of the objects themselves, which are not only the overthrow of all the political institutions of the kingdom, but also such a subversion of the rights and principles of property as must necessarily lead to general confusion, plunder, and bloodshed—without submitting to the most serious attention of the House the dangers which exist, and which the utmost vigilance of Government

under the existing laws has been found inadequate to prevent.'

There is no reason to doubt that the committee who framed these reports did so in all good faith, and that they really believed that the country was on the eve of a revolution. But with the exception of the Spa-Fields riot, they could not adduce a single fact to substantiate their allegations. Unaccompanied as their reports were by specific proof or convincing argument, they appeared to have been framed only for the purpose of disseminating alarms, and justifying the extreme measures which the Government intended to propose.

The first of the four bills which were brought in to guard against the dangers described in such exaggerated language, renewed the act 'for the better prevention and punishment of all attempts to seduce persons serving in the army and navy from their allegiance.' The second extended to the Prince Regent an act for the safety and preservation of His Majesty's person. The third was for the prevention of seditious meetings and assemblies. The last of the four was 'an act to empower His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as His Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and Government'—in plain terms, to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. But this suspension was to continue in force only till the ensuing 1st of July. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was strenuously opposed in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Wellesley and Earl Grey, who expressed their conviction that the threatened danger to the country had been greatly exaggerated, and that the ordinary laws were quite sufficient for the repression and punishment of any offences that had really taken place. Lord Grenville, however, separated himself from his party on this occasion and supported the Ministry, who carried the second reading of their bill by a majority of 115. The opposition to the measure in the Lower House was equally unsuccessful. All attempts even to mitigate the severity of the penalties

proposed under the act failed, and Sir James Mackintosh was unable to persuade the House to substitute transportation for seven years for 'death without benefit of clergy,' as the punishment for the refusal of persons attending a seditious meeting to disperse on being required to do so. Lord Castlereagh avowed that it was the object of the bill to prevent the existence of debating societies, lecture rooms, and reading rooms, and the Ministry even declined to exempt lectures in medicine, surgery, and chemistry from the operation of this gagging act.

Before these new coercion acts could be brought into operation, an event occurred which clearly proved that the existing powers at the disposal of the Government were amply sufficient to suppress any disturbances likely to arise at that time. A meeting was held in Manchester on the 3rd of March, to protest against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was adjourned till the following Monday, when about ten or twelve thousand operatives were said to have assembled; but Bamford, who is likely to have been accurately informed, rates them at not more than four or five thousand. 'Many of the individuals,' he says, 'were observed to have blankets, rugs, or large coats rolled up and tied knapsack-like on their backs; some carried bundles under their arms; some had papers supposed to be petitions rolled up; and some had stout walking-sticks.' It was agreed that ten out of every twenty persons who were present at the meeting should proceed to London on foot with a petition to the Prince Regent 'that they might undeceive him.' As they were each of them to be provided with a blanket, their march was termed the march of the 'Blanketeers.'

The intention of the leaders of this movement was no doubt to excite general alarm, but they had totally miscalculated their strength. The Riot Act was read by the magistrates, and the meeting was dispersed by the military and the constables. Four

of their leaders were arrested on the evening preceding the meeting, and some others were apprehended on the spot by the dragoons and conveyed to prison. About three hundred, however, commenced their march to the metropolis, but little more than half that number reached Macclesfield at nine o'clock at night; about forty of them having been arrested at Stockport by a troop of Life Guards, and conveyed back to Manchester. 'Nothing could be more wretched,' says an eye-witness, 'than the appearance of the few who reached this town [Macclesfield]; some actually fainting from weariness, and all of them without baggage or any apparent resource with which to proceed twenty miles from this towards London.' The next morning, with numbers still further diminished, they resumed their toilsome march. 'About a score arrived at Leck, and six only were known to pass Ashbourne Bridge.'

The complete collapse of the Blanketeers' march might have satisfied the Government that their apprehensions of danger were greatly exaggerated, and ought to have convinced the leaders of the mob of the futility of their efforts. But if we may give implicit credit to the statements of the Secret Committee of the Lords in their second report, 'a general insurrection was intended to have commenced at Manchester on the night of the 30th of March. The magistrates were to be seized, the prisoners were to be liberated, the soldiers were either to be surprised in their barracks, or a certain number of factories were to be set on fire for the purpose of drawing the soldiers out of their barracks, of which a party stationed near them for that object were to take possession, with a view of seizing the magazine. . . . This atrocious conspiracy,' it is added, 'was detected by the vigilance of the magistrates, and defeated by the apprehension and confinement of some of the ringleaders a few days before the period fixed for its execution.'

Bamford says that on the day after the

Blanket meeting he was waited on by 'a man dressed much like a dyer to propose, that in consequence of the treatment which the Blanketeers had received at the meeting and afterwards, a "Moscow of Manchester" should take place that very night.' Bamford evidently regarded the man either as a spy or the dupe of some designing villain, and told him that he would have nothing to do with his project. The notion of a march to London was still running in the heads of some of the leading plotters, however it may have got there; and a few delegates from a number of manufacturing towns proposed 'some general plan of simultaneous and connected insurrection to march upon London, to overturn the existing Government, and to establish a republic.' But on the 6th of June, three days before the alleged plan was to have been carried into effect, the ringleaders were arrested at Huddersfield, and nothing more was heard of their absurd plot.

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act having put an end to public meetings, the safety-valve for the feelings of the distressed operatives was closed, and the danger from disaffection was greatly increased. The Government imagined that the existing bad feeling was owing mainly, if not exclusively, to the acts and inflammatory harangues of factious agitators. But 'demagogues,' as Lord Cockburn remarks, 'are almost always effects; very rarely causes. They are the froth that rises and bubbles on the surface when the mass of the people ferments; the sedition of opinion, moreover, was promoted by the sedition of the stomach. The country was in deep distress, and natural dearth was aggravated by the artificial arrangements of trade and manufactures, which operated like what miners call *troubles* on the transition from war to peace.'

Bamford, whose narrative bears throughout the stamp of candour and truth, frankly admits that 'open meetings thus being suspended, secret ones ensued; they were originated at Manchester, and assembled

under various pretexts. . . . Their real purpose, divulged only to the initiated, was to carry into effect the night attack on Manchester.' He also states in the same candid manner, that one of the delegates proposed to him a scheme for the assassination of the members of the Government. 'The fact was,' he says, 'this unfortunate person, in the confidence of an unsuspecting mind, as I believe, had during one of his visits to London formed a connection with Oliver the spy—which connection, during several succeeding months, gave a new impulse to secret meetings and plots in various parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and ended in the tragedy of Brandreth, Ludlow, and Turner, at Derby.'

The event referred to by Bamford is usually designated the 'Derbyshire insurrection.' Its leader was a framework knitter of the name of Jeremiah Brandreth, who, according to all accounts, seems to have been a remarkable man. Mr. Denman, who was counsel for the prisoners, after Brandreth had been convicted, described him as a person of 'great courage, of uncommon decision, and of unrelenting firmness, with a countenance formed for activity, enterprise, and command, that gave him that sort of instinctive influence which, in his humble station, there is no resisting.' He was very poor, and his family had been compelled by extreme poverty to accept parochial relief. He worked at the manufacture of ribbed hosiery, which was made in Derbyshire, and its discontinuance, owing to a change of fashion, had deprived him of his livelihood, rendering him utterly reckless, and maddened by imaginary oppression. 'I need not care whether I live or die,' he said in prison, 'for there are no Derbyshire ribs now.'

It appears that in March, 1817, a person of the name of Oliver agreed to accompany certain delegates from the London societies to the Midland districts. Before going on this mission, however, he made known his intention to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, and had arranged to communicate

information to him respecting the designs of the disaffected in that quarter of the country. Sir John Byng, who commanded the forces in the disturbed districts, says, 'Oliver was sent to me with a letter from Lord Sidmouth to the purport that he, Oliver, was going down into that part of the country where meetings were being frequently held, and that he had been desired to communicate to me any information he might obtain as to the time and place of such meetings, in order that I might take timely measures to prevent their taking place; the wish and intention being to prevent, not to encourage them, as was alleged against the Government.' Persons of Oliver's character, however, are strongly tempted, in order to enhance the merit of their services to their employers, to originate and foster the plots which they were expected to prevent by timely disclosure; and there can be no doubt that this was the course adopted by Oliver on this occasion. He was introduced to the leaders of the disaffected operatives in the Midland districts, and remained among them for nearly six weeks, from the 17th of April to the 27th of May, and was everywhere cordially received by them as an accredited London delegate. He told the secret committee of their society that 'London was ready to rise, and only wished to know what assistance could be derived from the country; and that the people of London would not stir first, but would be ready to second any movement from the country.' Another delegate, who had been sent to London and returned in Oliver's company, confirmed his statements, and asserted that 75,000 persons could be relied on in the eastern parts of the capital, and an equal number in the western. On the 6th June Oliver was at Dewsbury, in Yorkshire, where he urged Mr. Willans, a bookseller, to attend a meeting of delegates at Thornhill-lees, in the vicinity of that town. But Willans, to whom the incendiary had some weeks before spoken in the most traitorous terms, suspected his honesty,

and refused to go. Oliver himself attended the meeting and was arrested, along with a number of the delegates present. But, in the evening of the same day, he was at large, and was seen at Wakefield in conversation with Sir John Byng's servant. He went on to Leeds, and next day, June 7th, was found at Nottingham, and after a conversation with Mr. Allsop, a gentleman who had been very active in that town in the preservation of the peace, he attended a meeting of delegates, at which an outbreak was organized. Oliver, of course, gave Mr. Allsop full information as to the proceedings; and if that information had been promptly acted on, the 'Derby insurrection' would have been crushed in the bud. Lord Sidmouth's biographer affirms that none of the Government spies were 'employed, in the first instance, by Lord Sidmouth, themselves sought him out,' and 'if they, in any instances, instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own.' There is no reason to question the truth of this statement; at the same time there can be little doubt that, if the whole of the Derbyshire insurrection was not the work of the persons sent to that district by Government, as Sir Samuel Romilly asserted in the House of Commons, the insurrection would at least not have taken place without their agency. Even in the case of poor Brandreth there is good reason to believe that, in spite of his ability and influence, he was, as Mr. Denman affirmed, 'most clearly himself an instrument wielded by other hands.'

On the 8th of June, the day after the meeting at Nottingham, a number of disaffected operatives met at a village called Pentridge, in Derbyshire; and prominent among them was Brandreth, 'The Nottinghamshire Captain,' as he was called. He had a map in his hand, and talked wildly about the necessity of overthrowing the Government, before any good could be done. Others in the company spoke in the same strain, and declared that 'all the country

was to rise all at one time. They would first go and take Nottingham wholly to themselves; and when they got Nottingham, every man would have 100 guineas and plenty of rum.' The meeting lasted six or seven hours, and on dispersing they agreed to meet again next night after dark.

On the evening of the 9th Brandreth, on his way to the place of rendezvous, passed the door of a labouring man at South Wingfield, about five miles from Pentridge, and urged him to go with him, telling the man that 'the countries England, Ireland, and France were to rise that night at ten o'clock,' and that 'the northern clouds, men from the north, would come down and sweep all before them.' The labourer 'thought Brandreth must be mad or drunk to think of such things,' and refused to accompany him. The appointed place of meeting was an old barn at South Wingfield, where Brandreth found about twenty men assembled, armed with pikes and guns. He addressed them in some rugged but expressive doggerel—

'Every man his skill must try :
He must turn out and not deny ;
No bloody soldier must he dread,
He must turn out and fight for bread.
The time is come, you plainly see,
The Government opposed must be.'

The band set out on their march, stopping at houses which contained arms, and taking possession of them by violence. At one farm-house, where resistance was offered, Brandreth fired in at the window and shot one of the servants dead. Numbers of men, who were unwilling to join the band, were dragged out of their beds and hiding places, and compelled to accompany them; the leader assuring them that 'it would not be necessary to go further than Nottingham, for London would be taken by the time they got there.' Even with these forced recruits, some of whom made their escape in the darkness, the numbers of the ignorant and infatuated insurgents at no time exceeded 150.

On the morning of the 10th they were met, on their march about six miles from

Nottingham, by Mr. Rolleston, a magistrate, who immediately returned to that town and procured from the barracks a troop of eighteen hussars, commanded by a captain and a subaltern. On hearing that the soldiers were marching towards them, the insurgents at once took to flight; but a number of them were made prisoners, and about forty guns and other arms fell into the hands of the military. A special commissioner was sent down to Derby, in the month of October, for the trial of the prisoners on a charge of high treason. No one can now doubt that they ought to have been indicted for murder; but the Government, either from panic, or, as the Opposition alleged, from a desire to increase the public anxiety and alarm, charged them with 'levying war against the sovereign.' The presiding judge told the jury that 'armed insurrection for the purpose of effecting a change of government amounted, in construction of law, to levying war against the king.' Brandreth and two of his associates, Ludlow and Turner, were found guilty of high treason and executed (November 7); eleven of the insurgents were transported for life, four for fourteen years, and five imprisoned for various terms.

The trial of the Spa-Fields rioters took place in June. The grand jury of Middlesex found true bills against the elder Watson, Thistlewood, and the other leaders, and Watson was first tried at the bar of the King's Bench for treason on the 16th of June. If he and his associates had been indicted for an aggravated riot, they would without doubt have been found guilty and punished as they deserved. But the jury refused to believe that a powerful government was to be overthrown and a great city, protected by a formidable array of police and soldiers, seized and plundered by a handful of poor and ignorant rioters. They accordingly acquitted Watson, and the Government came to the conclusion that it was hopeless to proceed against the other prisoners, and they were in con-

sequence discharged. If, as Sir Samuel Romilly remarks, the prisoners, instead of being committed to the Tower, tried at the bar of the King's Bench, and arraigned of high treason, had been committed to Newgate, tried at the Old Bailey, and indicted merely for an aggravated riot, they would without doubt have been convicted. The discredit which the unsuccessful issue of Watson's trial cast upon the Government was greatly aggravated by the fact, that the charges brought against the prisoner and his associates that they intended to fire the barracks and to seize the Tower, rested on the evidence of a rascally informer named Castle, who had twice been accused of uttering forged notes, and had escaped the extreme penalty of the law by turning king's evidence and assisting to bring his comrades to the gallows. The testimony of a scoundrel of this class was not likely to gain credence from an intelligent jury, while it did serious injury to the Government that had made use of his services.

The attempt to bring the Yorkshire rioters to justice was not more successful, though certainly not from any 'want of zeal or deficiency of means on the part of the Government.' But the previous mistake was committed a second time, and the persons who were arrested at Huddersfield were brought to trial on a charge, not of riot, of which they had undoubtedly been guilty, but of high treason. Every effort was put forth to insure their conviction. It is stated in the 'Annual Register,' as showing the determination of the Government to obtain a conviction, if possible, that 'some time before the trial came on, the Solicitor for the Crown was sent down into the neighbourhood of Huddersfield to collect evidence against the prisoners. In support of the evidence, a large portion of the weight and talent of the bar on the northern circuit was ranged on the side of the prosecution; and that nothing might be wanting to give importance to these proceedings, Mr. Gurney was sent down from London, at the expense of

the Government, to take reports of the trials. Against all this weight of power and influence, seconded by the public purse, a few obscure men and boys, principally in the very lowest ranks in society, had to defend themselves. The odds were terrific; but with the zeal and intelligence of their professional advisers and advocates, and the presiding presence of a righteous Judge who knows no distinction between the lofty and the humble in the administration of justice, the trial by jury obtained another distinguished triumph, and the prisoners, after a period of deep anxiety, were restored to their liberty and to their friends.' Of the twenty-four prisoners against whom the Government Solicitor was instructed to institute prosecutions, no bills were found against eleven. Ten were pronounced not guilty, one was liberated on bail, and the remaining two were detained in prison without bail by a Secretary of State's warrant, under the authority of the Act suspending the Habeas Corpus.

The failure of the Government to secure the conviction of the persons whom they had apprehended, and the opinion thus expressed respecting their arbitrary proceedings, did not induce them to pause in their repressive policy. The Habeas Corpus Act had, in the first instance, been suspended only till the close of the session; but it was now resolved to continue its suspension for a much longer period. Accordingly, in the beginning of June, another message was sent by the Prince Regent to the two Houses of Parliament, communicating new information respecting the state of the country. The secret committees were re-appointed to consider this information. They both agreed that the papers submitted to them afforded 'but too many proofs of the continued existence of a traitorous conspiracy for the overthrow of our established Government and constitution, and for the subversion of the existing order of society,' and both of them expressed 'their conviction that it is not yet safe to rely entirely for the preservation of public

tranquillity upon the ordinary powers of the law.' Strenuous efforts were made by the Opposition to prevent the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but without effect. The 'Derby Insurrection' and the other abortive risings in the manufacturing districts had caused such general alarm throughout the country, that the Government carried by large majorities their bill for the suspension of the Act till the 1st of March, 1818. During the years that have elapsed since this step was taken, successive governments have had to deal with disturbances incomparably more dangerous than those which excited such alarm in 1817; but the Habeas Corpus Act has never again been suspended in Great Britain.

When the bill for the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was under consideration, Lord Folkestone moved in the committee to expunge the clause which extended the bill to Scotland. The motion was supported by Sir Samuel Romilly, who contended that the last report of the secret committee, which afforded the only grounds for the proposal of the present measure, did not take the least notice of Scotland; and as it had been admitted by the ministers that it had not been found necessary in a single instance to exercise in Scotland the authority given them by the Act which was about to expire, there could be no reason for continuing it in that part of the kingdom. No answer was given to these observations, but Lord Folkestone's motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-one.

Scotland, like England, was suffering severely from agricultural and manufacturing distress, but there had been no disturbances or riots among the people to justify the adoption of coercive measures. A small but intelligent class, however, were advocating parliamentary reform, and it suited the purpose of the alarmists to accuse these reformers as engaged in a conspiracy for overthrowing the Government and the constitution of the country. In order to obtain evidence in support of this assertion,

spies were employed by the authorities to mingle with the reformers, to take part in their proceedings, and then betray them to the Government. As might have been expected, the persons who undertook this infamous task were not slow to invent where they could not find, and to exaggerate where they thought they discerned illegal and seditious designs. It appears that Lord Sidmouth, who seems to have fancied that he was living in an atmosphere of plots, had informed Mr. Finlay, the member for the Glasgow district of burghs, that the city which he represented was one of the places in which conspiracies against the Government existed to a very great extent; and that it was therefore specially necessary that he should do all in his power to obtain accurate information respecting the traitorous designs of the disaffected persons among his constituents. Mr. Finlay employed a man named Alexander Richmond, who possessed great influence among the operatives, to find out the treasonable plots alleged to have been hatched by the reformers. In a short space of time the spy brought to his employer a copy of the following oath, which he affirmed had been taken by certain persons in the city whose names were attached to it:—

'I do voluntarily swear that I will persevere in my endeavours to form a brotherhood of affection among Britons of every description who are considered worthy of confidence; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crime or insanity, the elective franchise at the age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation, and annual parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require; and I do further swear that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments shall induce me to inform on or give evidence against any member or members collectively or individually for any act or expression

done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such societies.'

It was afterwards proved by most conclusive evidence before the supreme court that this oath was invented by Richmond himself, and that he had induced two or three poor weavers to append their signatures to it, under the pretence that it was merely a declaration in favour of a reform of Parliament. A copy of the alarming document was at once forwarded to Lord Sidmouth, who immediately summoned a cabinet council for its consideration. It was some time after laid by him before Parliament, to show that the recent suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was imperatively required by the state of the country.

Doubts having been expressed by some members of the Opposition respecting the genuineness of the oath, the Lord Advocate Maconochie rashly and imprudently pledged himself to prove its authenticity by obtaining a conviction against the alleged conspirators. He accordingly hastened down to Scotland, and caused several 'suspected' persons in Glasgow to be apprehended on warrants charging them with high treason. The prisoners, instead of being committed to the jail of that city, were conveyed in vans to the castle of Edinburgh, under the plea that they could not be kept in safe custody anywhere else. It was the object of the Ministry at this time, as Sir Samuel Romilly remarks, to give an extraordinary degree of importance to every appearance of disaffection or tumult which manifested itself in any part of the kingdom. The mode of procedure which had been adopted in regard to the Spa-Fields rioters was, in spite of its ignominious failure, to a certain extent, followed in dealing with the Glasgow weavers. There never was any real intention, however, of trying them for high treason; and hence, though this charge was always kept up in the warrant, it was never introduced

into any of the indictments. The conduct of the Government in adopting this mode of procedure was severely condemned, and very feebly defended, in the House of Commons. The Lord Advocate, when put upon his defence, was compelled to admit that he had caused the prisoners at first, and after each successive indictment, to be committed on a charge of treason, though they were only indicted for felony, and had thus been subjected to much closer and more rigorous confinement than would have been allotted them if they had been only charged with felony. But he had the hardihood to assert that 'the committing them at the same time on the two charges of treason and felony had been done for their benefit and protection, and to prevent the possibility of their being detained as long as the prosecutor might have detained them without bringing them to trial, if the commitments had followed each other instead of being contemporaneous.' 'The sum' of this plea, as Sir Samuel Romilly remarked, 'was that the Lord Advocate had protected the prisoners against the abuse of power by *himself*. But surely he might have trusted himself not to have recourse against the prisoners to dilatory proceedings for the mere purpose of oppression and vexation. If it was *not intended* to try them for treason, why were they three times committed on such a charge? And if they *were* to be tried for treason, why were the indictments first preferred against them for felony?'

The most eminent counsel then at the Scottish bar, for learning, talents, and reputation, gave their services to defend the prisoners; and the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General, who appeared for the Crown, were so overmatched in the struggle that the member for Glasgow, who was a steady supporter of the Government, made a direct charge, in the House of Commons, of incapacity against the Crown counsel. No less than three months were spent in altering and mending the indictments; but at last the public prosecutor succeeded in

bringing one prisoner, Andrew M'Kinlay, to trial on the facts.

M'Kinlay was a poor man, a weaver belonging to the Calton of Glasgow. He was apprehended on the 28th of February, and was kept a close prisoner in irons till the 22nd of July, 1817. He was placed at the bar of the High Court of Justiciary on four successive occasions; but on three of them the objections of his counsel to the relevancy of the indictment were sustained by the court. At length, on his fourth appearance at the bar, the majority of the judges, in legal phraseology, 'sustained the libel as relevant to infer the pains of law.'

The trial had scarcely begun, however, when an incident occurred which produced a great sensation first in the court, and ultimately in the country, and no doubt contributed not a little to the result. The principal witness adduced by the public prosecutor was a Glasgow weaver, named John Campbell, who had been for months closely confined in the castle of Edinburgh, and all access to him by the prisoner's counsel peremptorily denied. It turned out, however, that he had been frequently visited by the Crown lawyers, who, he alleged, had tampered with him, and had held out strong inducements to lead him to give such evidence as would serve their purpose. On being placed in the witness-box and asked the initial question put to every witness in criminal trials, whether he had received or been promised any reward for giving evidence in this trial, he replied in the affirmative. On being asked by whom, he answered 'By that gentleman,' pointing to the Advocate-depute. The scene that ensued was one of the most striking ever witnessed in a court of justice. The audience, filled with amazement, listened in breathless silence, while 'the judges frowned on the man as if they would have eaten him on the spot.' Unmoved by their evident displeasure, Campbell proceeded to tell clearly and distinctly how the Advocate-depute, in the presence of the Sheriff of Edinburgh, had promised him a good per-

manent Government office abroad after he had given his evidence for the Crown in M'Kinlay's trial. 'No witness,' says Lord Cockburn, who was one of the prisoner's counsel, 'ever gave his evidence in a manner more entitled to credit: calm, clear, and unexaggerating, he went into all the details with precision and apparent probability; and I am not aware that there ever was a surmise against his general character.'

The court decided that Campbell's evidence could not be received, and the Crown counsel had to rely on other witnesses whom they had cited to prove their case. The public prosecutor succeeded in proving that illegal oaths had been administered; and M'Kinlay admitted that he had attached his signature to a paper which was found to contain the oath that was laid before Parliament, but which he was assured by Richmond, the spy, contained nothing but a declaration in favour of reform. With regard, however, to the particular charge on which he was tried, the witnesses brought forward by the prosecutor could not testify as to the precise terms of the oath alleged to have been administered, and could not say whether they were giving the words of the oath to which they had been privy or the one quoted in the House of Commons, which they admitted they had read in the newspapers. The Crown counsel on this gave up the case, and M'Kinlay and the other prisoners in the castle were immediately set at liberty.

Richmond states, in a narrative which he subsequently published in his own vindication, that the statement of Campbell fell upon the Crown lawyers 'like a bomb-shell;' and that when he waited on some of them in their chambers the following day, 'they appeared like chagrin and mortification personified.' He goes on to say—'I had frequent opportunities of unreservedly hearing the sentiments of the Crown lawyers during the progress of the trial. Had they in the first instance succeeded in establishing the administration of the oath, two or three would have been sentenced to capital

punishment, and a number more to transportation; and I have no hesitation in saying that their sentence would have been carried into execution.' 'Thus terminated,' he adds, 'the case in Scotland upon which the ministry depended for a justification of their proceedings.'

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest in this position. On the 10th of February, 1818, Lord Archibald Hamilton moved, in the House of Commons, for the production of the record of Andrew M'Kinlay before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, for the purpose of bringing under the view of the House 'the conduct of the law officers of the Crown in grossly tampering with a witness produced for the Crown, and whose evidence was on that ground rejected by the court.' The motion was strenuously opposed by the Government—very unwisely and improperly if they believed that the Crown officers were innocent of the charge brought against them—and was of course rejected by a large majority.

Sir Samuel Romilly, who seconded Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion, says, 'Being fully convinced that the late suspension of the Habeas Corpus was a most unnecessary and mischievous measure, and that it will be a most dangerous precedent, I took the first opportunity of the House of Commons meeting to call the attention of the House to what had passed during the recess; to

the acquittal of the prisoners who had been apprehended at Manchester without Government even offering any evidence against them; to the trial of M'Kinlay in Scotland, who was also acquitted; to the nature of the case proved in evidence upon the trials at Derby, and to the three late extraordinary trials of Hone—to show how little foundation there was for the exaggerated statements which had formerly been made, and how ill the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was adapted as a remedy for the evils which really did exist.'

On the 28th of January Lord Sidmouth introduced into the House of Lords a bill for the repeal of the Suspension Act. It was read three times on the same day, and next day was brought down to the Commons and there read three times and passed without discussion. Romilly, however, called attention to the important fact, that there had been no interruption of the 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 signs of disaffection which had manifested themselves in different parts of the country had ceased.

CHAPTER VI

Crusade against the Press—Lord Sidmouth's Circular—William Cobbett—The Three Trials of Hone—Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough.

THE domestic policy of the Government had, since the peace, been not only unsuccessful, but discreditable. They had persisted in regarding riotous outrages as acts of high treason; and by thus overshooting the mark, they allowed the rioters to escape the punishment which their conduct deserved. By their employment of spies to discover the designs of the disaffected operatives, they had laid themselves open to the charge of having originated, or at least aggravated, the dangers which they sought to remove. And, now, taking no warning from the ignominious failure of their efforts to suppress and punish seditious practices, they entered upon a crusade against the Press, which they represented as the fomentor of treason, and the worst enemy both of the constitution and of religion. There was no doubt at this period a number of profane, scurrilous, and ribald publications circulated among the lower orders, which were fitted to excite the disgust of all well-principled persons. Referring to these libellous and scandalous journals, Wilberforce said, 'Seriously, the newspapers are among the very greatest, if not the greatest, evils of the country.' Again he says a little later, 'I got the nineteen Sunday newspapers, once for all, the other day; and assuredly such a collection of ribaldry and profaneness never before disgraced my library, and I trust never will again.'

Southey, though he had himself once been a journalist, gave it as his deliberate advice to the prime minister in 1817, 'You must curb the press, or it will destroy the constitution of the country.' 'No means,' he added, 'can be effectual for checking the

intolerable license of the press, but that of making transportation the punishment of its abuse.' Public opinion among the upper and professional classes of the community ran strongly in the same direction. Even the most respectable contributors to the Press were regarded as disreputable persons, unfit to mingle in good society. Abbot, afterwards Speaker, described reporters as 'blackguard newswriters;' and the benchers of Lincoln's Inn made a by-law excluding all writers in the newspapers from being called to the bar. The Government, thus supported by the opinion of the governing class, had no difficulty in obtaining the consent of Parliament to enactments of the most stringent character against political writers, and especially against the contributors to the public journals; and they enforced these laws with merciless severity.

Experience, however, has shown that the prosecution by the Government of the authors or printers of publications of even the class described by Wilberforce, unless in rare and exceptional cases, is a mistake, and serves only to give greater publicity and a much more extensive circulation to writings which would otherwise have perished in obscurity. The Government, however, took quite a different view of the case. They considered it right and expedient to suppress any publication which in their opinion was hostile to the church and the constitution; and there can be no doubt that their mistaken policy contributed not a little to the extension of the evil which it was their professed object to destroy.

To add to the unpopularity of these proceedings, there was a general impression that the Government were inclined to treat

with much greater severity the writers who attacked their own characters and conduct than the authors of profane and blasphemous publications. Sir Vicary Gibbs, who was Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas at this time—an able lawyer, but a harsh, irritable, conceited, and most unpleasant person—when he held the office of Attorney-General in 1812 was said to have filed more ex-officio informations than any two of his predecessors. ‘He filed his informations by the score,’ said Lord Brougham; ‘he had every newspaper not devoted to the Treasury under prosecution at once; and though he did not bring many of his cases to trial, he harassed his victims by anxiety and delay; he exhausted them by costs.’ Some of his ex-officio informations, indeed, were never brought to trial at all, but were kept suspended over the heads of the unfortunate defendants. ‘There were in his time,’ says his biographer, ‘no less than fifty-two newspapers published in London, half of which are said to have been at one and the same period under prosecution. He hung them all on the horns of a dilemma. If the editor apologized for a libel, his apology came too late; for the Attorney-General would not allow him “first to calumniate a man, and then to nauseate him with flattery.” If, on the other hand, the unhappy author made no apology, he obviously deserved punishment as a hardened offender.’ ‘Partly,’ says Lord Brougham, ‘by his excessive use of the power of filing informations, partly by his failure in the exercise of it, he had the agony, to him most excruciating, of being signally defeated in his attempts to crush the Press, and of causing all the discussions of the ex-officio power, which first brought it into hatred, and then into disuse.’

Lord Ellenborough, who was at this time Chief-Justice of the King’s Bench, was undoubtedly an able and accomplished lawyer, but he was even more fiercely hostile to the liberty of the press than his brother judge. He took a deep interest in political affairs, and at one time, indeed, held a seat in the

Cabinet. He was a frequent speaker in the House of Lords, where his voice was invariably raised in defence of the sanguinary criminal code which, at that time, disgraced the legislation of our country. It was his constant habit to inform the jury that a particular publication was libellous, instead of leaving them, as he ought to have done, to decide whether it was a libel or not. His grossly partial conduct on the trial of Lord Cochrane, the great sea-captain, brought upon him universal and well-merited odium; and the mortification which he felt at his failure to induce two successive juries to return a verdict against William Hone, the bookseller, made him resign his office of Chief-Justice of England.

The crusade of the Government against the liberty of the press began in 1817. On moving the second reading of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill in February of that year, Lord Sidmouth said—‘Some noble lords had complained that prosecutions had not been instituted against the authors, printers, or publishers of infamous libels; but it was but justice to the Government to state that they had not neglected their duty with regard to these publications. As soon as they reached the hands of ministers, they were transmitted to the law officers of the Crown, who felt that these publications were drawn up with so much dexterity—the authors had so profited by former lessons of experience—that greater difficulties to conviction presented themselves than at any former time.’

Unfortunately, both for the credit of the Government and the tranquillity of the country, Lord Sidmouth did not rest satisfied with this cautious mode of procedure; but on the 27th of March he issued his noted circular to the lords-lieutenant of counties, recommending the magistrates to adopt measures questionable in law and most unwise in policy. The letter is in these words—

‘As it is of the greatest importance to prevent, as far as possible, the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings, of which,

for a considerable time past, great numbers have been sold and distributed throughout the country, I have thought it my duty to consult the law servants of the Crown whether an individual found selling, or in any way publishing such pamphlets or writings, might be brought immediately before a justice of the peace, under a warrant issued for the purpose, to answer for his conduct. The law officers having accordingly taken this matter into their consideration, have notified to me their opinion that a justice of the peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath with the publication of libels of the nature in question, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge. Under these circumstances, I beg leave to call your lordship's attention very particularly to this subject; and I have to request that if your lordship should not propose to attend in person at the next general quarter sessions of the peace, to be held in and for the county under your lordship's charge, you would make known to the chairman of such sessions the substance of this communication, in order that he may recommend to the several magistrates to act thereupon, *in all cases* where any person shall be found offending against the law in the manner above mentioned. I beg leave to add that persons vending pamphlets or other publications in the manner alluded to, should be considered as coming under the provisions of the Hawkers and Pedlars Act, and be dealt with accordingly, unless they show that they are furnished with a licence, as required by the said Act.

'I have the honour to be, &c.,

'SIDMOUTH.'

No person of any political party will now dispute that the issuing of this document was a most unconstitutional proceeding, and a daring violation of public liberty. It was brought before the House of Lords by Earl Grey on the 12th of May, who in a remarkably luminous and most convincing speech pointed out the impropriety of a Secretary of State taking upon himself to interpret and enjoin the execution of the law. 'In all the varieties of writing,' he said, 'which may constitute the offence of libel, what is more difficult to be decided than the question of their guilt or innocence? what more exposed to the influence of undue motives in its decision? It has been formerly stated by some of the most eminent persons in the profession of the law, nay, by almost all of them, to be so nice and

difficult a question, that it could not be safely left even to a special jury; that they were only to find the fact of publication, and that the criminality of the writing as a question of law was exclusively for the decision of the court. This, my lords, was long contended for, and long acted upon as law till, happily for the freedom of the press and for the liberty of the country, of which the press is the great palladium, by the perseverance of my noble and learned friend [Lord Erskine], and by the exertions of the man whom in public life I most loved and admired [Mr. Fox], that principle was at length exploded, and by the Libel Bill it was at last established that in prosecutions for libel both the law and the fact were within the province of the jury, and to be determined by them. But, my lords, what avails this just and beneficent statute? what security is there either for the freedom of the press or the liberty of the subject if, whilst you have imposed this salutary restraint upon the judges in trials for libel, you give to them and to justices of the peace, before trial, a right to decide that difficult question, and to commit to prison—in many instances, perhaps, to inflict a severer punishment than the court upon conviction would adjudge—upon a charge which, after all, may turn out to have had no foundation but in the false interpretation of words perfectly innocent by the justice before whom the charge was brought? . . . If such be the power of the magistrate, and if this be the law, where, I ask, are all the boasted securities of our independence and freedom?'

A feeble attempt was made by Lords Ellenborough and Sidmouth to refute Earl Grey's cogent reasonings, and he was fully warranted to say in his reply that all that fell from these noble lords rather strengthened than weakened his own opinions. He had never in his life heard anything more jejune and unsatisfactory than their arguments. He called for law, and they gave him authority; he called for deliberate discussion, and they had given him bare

assertions. The Home Secretary, indeed, made no attempt to support by argument the course he had adopted; but he took great credit to himself for his 'endeavours to stop the progress of blasphemy and sedition.' So elated was he with this view of his policy that four months after this, writing to the bishop of Durham, he says, 'The attempt to check the progress of treason and blasphemy by apprising the magistrates that they had the power of apprehending and holding to bail the publishers and vendors of either, was one of the charges brought against me in the course of the last session. Such a charge it shall be my constant endeavour to deserve; and I am happy in being able to assure your lordship that the activity of the itinerant dealers in these articles is materially controlled and their number greatly diminished.'

The conduct of the Home Secretary was brought under the notice of the House of Commons also by Sir Samuel Romilly, who moved two resolutions on the subject—'That it is highly prejudicial to the due administration of justice for a minister of the Crown to interfere with the magistrates of the country in cases in which a discretion is supposed to be by law vested in them, by recommending or suggesting to them how that discretion should be exercised. Secondly, that it tends to the subversion of justice, and is a dangerous extension of the prerogative, for a minister of the Crown to take upon himself to declare in his official character to the magistracy what he conceives to be the law of the land; and such an exercise of authority is the more alarming, when the law so declared deeply affects the security of the subject and the liberty of the press, and is promulgated on no better authority than the opinions of the law officers of the Crown.'

In supporting these resolutions Sir Samuel said, 'By the constitution of this country there are only two modes in which the law, in matters of doubt, can be declared: one is by the whole legislature, by a declaratory

statute; the other, by the decisions of the judges upon points which have come judicially before them. It has been at all times thought of the utmost importance to prevent the law from being in any other way declared, and particularly to guard against the Crown presuming to declare it. . . . The circular resting on the opinion of the law officers had declared the law of the land on a point that was before doubtful; and the Secretary of State, assisted by such advice as he could command, had thus assumed the functions of legislation.' No attempt was made to refute the arguments of this great lawyer; but the Government got rid of the resolutions by moving the previous question, which was carried by a majority of 108.

The most formidable by far of all the anti-ministerial writers at this time was William Cobbett. He was the son of a small farmer in Surrey, and began life in 1783 as an attorney's clerk. His dislike to the drudgery of the office made him enlist in the 54th Foot, in which he served seven years in America, and attained the rank of serjeant-major. On claiming his discharge, he received the public thanks of the general officer commanding his division for his services. He proceeded to England, where he married the daughter of a serjeant, to whom he had been long engaged. He then returned to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he maintained himself by teaching English and conducting a periodical, styled *Peter Porcupine*, in which he attacked with great keenness American institutions and policy, and especially the anti-federal party, who were hostile to England. He was fined 5000 dollars for a libel, which so roused his indignation that he quitted the country and returned to England in the year 1800. After his return he started a new *Porcupine*, which was soon superseded by the more celebrated *Weekly Political Register*. At the outset he was a staunch supporter of the Tory party; but he quarrelled with the Government and became a fierce assailant of their measures.

He was repeatedly prosecuted for libel, and on one occasion was sentenced to a fine of £2000 and imprisonment for two years, on account of the strictures which he made on the flogging of some English soldiers by a party of Germans in the British service. In 1816 he reduced to twopence the price of his *Weekly Register*, which had hitherto been sold at a shilling and a halfpenny for each number. The effect of this reduction of price was to obtain for the *Register* an unprecedented circulation, and an influence, especially with the working-classes, which no periodical had ever before possessed.

Cobbett's opinions on all political and social questions were read by all classes and cordially adopted, both by the agricultural and the manufacturing workmen. In the words of Coleridge, 'Cobbett lifted the latch of every cottage door, and thundered with no runaway knock at the palace gate.' His shrewdness and common sense made his advice of infinite service to the agricultural population, whom he succeeded in convincing that their sufferings were not owing to the introduction of thrashing machines, and that riots and violent outrages injured rather than benefited their cause. But though he did this good service to the cause of order and obedience to the laws, the Government saw clearly that Cobbett's writings were converting the great mass of labourers and mechanics into active politicians. Their supporters denounced him as a 'fire-brand' and a 'convicted incendiary,' and loudly demanded to know why it was that he and 'others of the same stamp were permitted week after week to sow the seeds of rebellion, insulting the Government, and defying the laws of the country.' But though Cobbett advocated parliamentary reform, and vehemently assailed pensions, and sinecures, and other public abuses, he took care not to infringe the laws or to expose himself to a prosecution for libel. At this period he wrote nothing, as Lord Sidmouth was compelled reluctantly to admit, that 'the law officers could prosecute with any chance of success.'

He made spirit-stirring appeals, indeed, to the feelings, and the interests, and the prejudices of the working classes, and he exhorted them to hold meetings and to petition for reform; but he emphatically warned them against the employment of force or of any other illegal means to gain their rights.

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus, however, would have placed him at the mercy of the Government; and no doubt not a few of their supporters expected with Southey, that 'the first measure after the suspension would have been to place the chief incendiary writer in safe custody.' Cobbett himself seems to have entertained a similar expectation. He was quite aware that he had afforded no legal ground for prosecution, and that the Ministry were afraid to undertake proceedings against him. But he was also aware that by the warrant of a Secretary of State he might be imprisoned as a 'suspected' person under the Suspension Act, and kept in confinement until that Act should be repealed. Having a vivid remembrance of what he had suffered during his two years' imprisonment, he had no inclination to undergo it a second time. He therefore resolved to withdraw from the country, and to take refuge in America. He suspended the publication of his *Register* for four months, and in his farewell paper he thus states his reasons for this step—

'Lord Sidmouth was "sorry to say" that I had not written anything that the law officers could prosecute with any chance of success. I do not remove for the purpose of writing libels, but for the purpose of being able to write what is not libellous. I do not retire from the combat with the Attorney-General, but from a combat with a dungeon, deprived of pen, ink, and paper. A combat with the Attorney-General is quite unequal enough. That, however, I would have encountered. I know too well what a trial by special jury is. Yet that or any sort of trial I would have stayed to face. 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 jail in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without any communication with any soul but the keepers—against such a power it would have been worse than madness to attempt to strive.’

The ‘boar of the forest’ having thus escaped their toils, the Ministry attempted to revenge themselves on less formidable opponents. There was a paltry and little known periodical called the *Black Dwarf*, in which an article was published on the 2nd of April, 1817, assailing in scurrilous terms the members of the Cabinet, and especially Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. It affirmed that the Ministry ‘talked of patriotism when they meant plunder, and that their object in embarking in a war with France was, not to conquer that country, but ourselves.’ The obscurity of the paper, as well as the absurdity of its statements, made its accusations quite harmless. But the Ministry had the folly to prosecute, in the month of June, the printer and publisher of the periodical—a person named Wooler—and thus elevated him to the position of a political martyr, and multiplied a thousand-fold the number of readers of the libel. Wooler conducted his own defence, and ‘it cannot be denied,’ says a contemporary chronicler, ‘that the spirit of it obtained the applause of a great part of the audience, which the sheriff found it difficult to repress.’ Mr. Justice Abbott admitted that every subject of the kingdom had a right to discuss the measures of Government, provided it were done reasonably, fairly, and impartially; but he affirmed that various statements made in the article were not correct, and expressed his opinion very decidedly that the article in question was libellous. The foreman of the jury, after a consultation of two hours and a half, declared that they found the defendant guilty. But before the judge could act upon the verdict, it transpired that three of the jury-

men had not concurred in the verdict, and it had of course to be set aside, so that the Government were both defeated and ridiculed. ‘The pannelling of wits,’ says an old writer, ‘enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.’

The Ministry, however, refused to profit by the lessons of experience; and though the country was now quiet, and the disturbances, excited mainly by poverty and distress, had to a great extent subsided, they unhappily persisted in following the impolitic course on which they had entered. On the 18th of December they brought to trial an obscure bookseller and publisher, named William Hone, on the charge of ‘printing and publishing a seditious and profane libel on the Catechism, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer.’ Hone was a somewhat remarkable man, though his life had hitherto been a succession of failures. He was bred in the office of a London attorney. In his twenty-first year he opened a bookseller’s shop with a circulating library attached. Schemes of philanthropy and social reform—such as an abortive attempt to establish a Savings-bank in Blackfriar’s Road, and to correct the flagrant abuses then existing in lunatic asylums; the publication in 1806 of an edition of Shaw’s ‘Gardener,’ and the compilation of the index to the new edition of Berner’s translation of ‘Froissart’—had occupied his attention to the injury of his business, in which he had not been successful. He was indeed constitutionally unfitted for the battle of life. It was probably more the hope of earning a subsistence for his numerous family than any strong political feeling, that induced him in 1817 to publish a succession of squibs and parodies, illustrated with great force and spirit by George Cruickshank, then a young and unknown artist. Hone was familiar with a curious and obscure branch of literature, as he showed upon his trial—‘a gentle and inoffensive hunter after

all such reading as was never read;’ and he subsequently published a series of interesting and valuable works, such as ‘The Apocryphal New Testament; being all the Gospels, Epistles, &c., attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their companions;’ ‘Ancient Mysteries Described; especially the English Miracle Plays, founded on the Apocryphal New Testament story, extant among the unpublished MSS. in the British Museum;’ and above all, his delightful series of volumes, entitled the ‘Every-day Book,’ the ‘Table Book,’ and the ‘Year Book,’ full of curious and interesting facts elucidative of old customs, manners, and events. Though it was not until a subsequent period that Hone came under religious impressions and became sub-editor of a Nonconformist religious journal, there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statement, that nothing was further from his intention than to ridicule sacred things in his parodies, and he was deeply wounded by the reproach of blasphemy brought against these productions. But no one can doubt, what Hone himself in after years was ready frankly to admit, that they were highly offensive and profane. The ill-advised proceedings of the Government, however, after Hone had withdrawn his parodies from circulation, gave them a publicity which they would never otherwise have attained.

Hone’s three trials attracted extraordinary attention at the time, and they form an important epoch in our constitutional history. They taught the Government of that day a lesson which was greatly needed; and they contributed not a little to the vast improvement which has been effected, since Hone’s day, in the law of libel.

The first of the three trials took place at Guildhall on the 18th of December, 1817, before Mr. Justice Abbott (afterwards Lord Tenterden), and a special jury. The indictment charged Hone with printing and publishing an impious and profane libel upon the ‘Catechism,’ the ‘Lord’s Prayer,’ and the ‘Ten Commandments;’ and ‘thereby

bringing into contempt the Christian religion.’ The Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, stated the case temperately against the defendant. He quoted the well-known saying of Sir Matthew Hale, that ‘the Christian religion is parcel of the common law of England,’ and contended that ‘the service of the Church of England is also part of the statute law of England,’ and that the person who ‘attempts to parody the service of the Church of England is therefore by the law of the land guilty of a libel.’ ‘It may be said,’ he argued, ‘that the defendant’s object was not to produce this effect. I believe that he meant the parody, in one sense, as a political squib; but his responsibility is not the less.’ The Attorney-General then proceeded to read passages from the parodies of the Catechism, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which excited loud laughter in the court. The judge rebuked this display of feeling, and the Attorney-General said he regarded it as the fullest proof of the baneful effect the publication had produced. He candidly stated, however, that it was the province of the jury to decide whether the parody was a libel or no.

When the case for the prosecution was closed the defendant, in a modest faltering manner, mentioned that he was too poor to employ counsel, and that his inability to obtain copies of the informations against him had placed him at a great disadvantage. He complained of the inhuman treatment which he had received from the officers when they arrested him six months ago, and especially from Lord Ellenborough, before whom he was carried to plead. The recital of his wrongs seemed to have given him courage, and he continued his defence with a degree of energy and spirit which astonished his audience, and riveted their attention. He told the jury that ‘they were not to inquire whether he was a member of the Established Church or a Dissenter; it was enough that he professed himself to be a Christian; and he would be bold to say that he made that profession with a rever-

ence for the doctrines of Christianity which could not be exceeded by any person in that court. He had his books about him, and it was from them that he must draw his defence. They had been the solace of his life. He was too much attached to his books to part with them. As to parodies, they were as old at least as the invention of printing; and he never heard of a prosecution for a parody, either religious or any other. There are two kinds of parodies; one in which a man might convey ludicrous or ridiculous ideas relative to some other subject; the other, where it was intended to ridicule the thing parodied. This latter was not the case here, and therefore he had not brought religion into contempt.'

In a speech which lasted six hours Hone proceeded to illustrate this argument. He quoted the celebrated 'Chaldee Manuscript,' published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, author and publisher both being Tories and Churchmen. Martin Luther had parodied the first verse of the first psalm. Bishop Latimer had written a parody of a passage of Scripture. So had Dr. Boys, dean of Canterbury, of a portion of the Prayer-book, and of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. The Rev. Mr. Croxal; Mr. John Reeves, chairman of the Constitutional Association; the author of the 'Rolliad,' the editor of the 'Oracle,' a Government paper; the author of a mock 'Te Deum,' vituperating Bonaparte; and finally Mr. Canning, a Cabinet minister, in the *Anti-Jacobin*—an example which he was led to adduce by the reference which Earl Grey had made to it in the House of Lords—all had written parodies of the Bible. He contended that, as none of these parodists had intended to ridicule the Scriptures, neither had he any such intention. And as soon as he found that his parodies had been regarded as profane, he had withdrawn them from sale, and that he had done long before the Government had taken proceedings against him. It was in vain that both the presiding judge and the Attorney-General

interrupted him again and again, and urged that the parodies which he quoted were profane libels, and that one instance of profaneness cannot excuse another. Certainly not, replied the undaunted defendant; but if this mode of writing has been practised by dignitaries of the Church, and by men high in the State, he humbly conceived that this circumstance might be some excuse for his having been the publisher of the parody now charged as libellous. The gentle and kind-hearted judge expressed a wish that the defendant should not read any more of what only shocked well-disposed and pious persons. 'My Lord,' rejoined Hone, 'your Lordship's observation is in the very spirit of what Pope Leo X. said to Martin Luther, "For God's sake don't say a word more about the indulgencies and the monasteries and I will give you a living," thus precluding him from mentioning the very thing in dispute. 'I must go on with these parodies,' he continued, 'or I cannot go on with my defence.' The judge said the writings he had read were illegal. He denied it. No proof had been adduced in support of this assertion. Not one of these productions had been condemned, or even prosecuted. Mr. Justice Abbott, in charging the jury, told them that 'the production was highly scandalous and irreligious, and therefore libellous; but if the jury were of a different opinion their verdict would be an acquittal.' It so happened that the jury were of a different opinion. Not that they could have doubted that the parodies were irreligious and profane, but they did not regard them as libellous. After only a quarter of an hour's consideration they returned a verdict of not guilty, amidst the loudest acclamations in every part of the court.

It was generally expected that after Hone had been acquitted by a jury of most respectable merchants in opposition to the charge of the judge, on the most important of the charges brought against him, the Government would have dropped the prosecution. But the legal advisers of the Crown

resolved, very unwisely, to proceed in the course on which they had entered. On the very day after Hone's acquittal on one charge, the Government brought him to trial on another. They seem to have thought that Mr. Justice Abbott had been too mild and gentle in his conduct towards the defendant, and Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough was appointed to preside at the second trial. The indecorous scene of the previous day, however, was repeated with aggravations. Hone was this day indicted for publishing an impious and profane libel called the 'Litany or General Supplication.' Again the Attorney-General insisted that the parody, whatever might be the object of the defender, was fitted to cast ridicule upon the offices of the Church. In supporting this argument, he quoted various passages from the production, which says the reporter 'produced an involuntary burst of laughter from the auditory, evidently proceeding, not from a wish to disturb the court, but was really the irresistible impulse arising from the matter of the parody.' This 'indecorous laughter' was regarded by the Attorney-General as a convincing proof that the parody was a 'dangerous, impious, and profane publication.' If this parody, he said, were not a libel, 'there was no insult of the kind that might not be offered to the established religion and to the sacred writings with impunity.'

Hone in his defence followed the line which he had adopted on the previous day. Again, amid continued and most unseemly interruptions from the court, he quoted parody after parody, written by dignified clergymen, great lawyers and statesmen, and men of letters, to show that he had done nothing more than was done by staunch defenders of the Government—its pensioned adherents—and especially by the Cavaliers in their satires upon the Roundheads and Puritans. The audience vehemently applauded the poor and friendless bookseller, who thus manfully asserted his right to conduct his defence in the way which he thought most

suitable. The Attorney-General, a highly honourable and moderate man, stated frankly that 'the *intention* constituted the offence or established the innocence of the accused;' but Lord Ellenborough, who strained law and authority to the utmost to obtain a conviction, declared that if the publication had a *tendency* to create impiety in the minds of persons who read it, it was in law and in fact a libel. 'His lordship presides in this court,' rejoined Hone; 'but not to try me. You, the jury, are my judges. You are to try me, and to you I willingly submit my case. You are sworn to decide honestly the issue between me and the Crown; you are to determine upon my intention; you are to settle the difference between intention and tendency. The tendency may be bad, but was the intention so? That is the very gist of the case—the pinch of the argument.' When again most improperly interrupted by the judge, Hone exclaimed—'My lord, it is I who am upon my trial, not your lordship. I have to defend myself, not your lordship.' The acclamations which followed this natural expression of feeling made Lord Ellenborough lose all control of his temper. He ordered the sheriffs to leave the bench and go into the court to seize the offenders, but they utterly failed to lay hold of any one of them. 'Open your eyes and see, exclaimed his lordship, 'and stretch out your hands and seize. It is impossible that the officers can be doing their duty.' In a similar strain this remarkable trial proceeded to the close, Mr. Hone contending that since parodies in favour of the Government had been applauded and rewarded, and parodies on the Litany, praying for deliverance from the Rump, from 'apron-preachers and extempore prayers, and from governments created by the rabble,' had been regarded as meritorious and useful productions, there could be no good reason why he should be punished for a parody praying for delivery from 'an unnational debt,' 'unmerited pensions,' 'sinecure places,' 'an extravagant civil list,' and from

‘utter starvation.’ The Lord Chief-Justice, whose strength was evidently exhausted by the excitement which he had undergone during this protracted trial, charged very strongly against the defendant. ‘He would declare to them his solemn opinion, as he was required by the Act of Parliament to do, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he had not any doubt that they would be of the same opinion.’ The jury, however, after deliberating for nearly two hours, delivered a verdict of not guilty.

It might have been expected that the Ministry, having twice failed to establish the strongest parts of their charge against Hone, would have allowed the case to terminate here. But they were guilty of the almost incredible folly of bringing him once more to trial on the following day (December 20) for publishing a parody on the creed of St. Athanasius, called the ‘Sinecurist’s Creed.’ Lord Ellenborough again presided at the trial. The defendant was evidently agitated and exhausted by the exertions of the two preceding days, on one of which he spoke six, and on the other seven hours, and the kind-hearted Attorney-General offered to postpone the proceedings; but the courageous publisher elected to go on. After the Attorney-General had finished his address, which closely resembled those of the two previous days, Mr. Hone asked for five minutes’ delay to ‘arrange the few thoughts he had been committing to paper.’ Lord Ellenborough, however, refused him this trifling indulgence, but offered to postpone the trial to another day if the defendant would request the court to do so. Hone, however, excited by this refusal, as well as by the recollection of the treatment which he had received on the previous day, exclaimed, ‘I make no such request.’ Then turning from the jury to the judge, he said, ‘My lord, I am very glad to see your lordship here

to-day, because I feel I sustained an injury from your lordship yesterday—an injury which I did not expect to sustain. If your lordship should think proper in this trial to-day to deliver your opinion, I hope that opinion will be coolly and dispassionately expressed.’ Hone then proceeded, amid repeated interruptions, to argue that the judge was not bound to give his opinion whether or not the publication was libellous. His patience being at length exhausted by Lord Ellenborough’s persistent attempts to put him down, he said, ‘My lord, I think it necessary to make a stand here. I cannot say what your lordship may consider to be necessary interruption, but your lordship interrupted me a great many times yesterday, and then said you would interrupt me no more; and yet your lordship did interrupt me afterwards ten times as much as you had done before you said you would interrupt me no more. Gentlemen, it is you who are trying me to-day; his lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. I will not say what his lordship did yesterday, but I trust his lordship to-day will give his opinion coolly and dispassionately, without using either expression or gesture which could be construed as conveying an entreaty to the jury to think as he did. I hope the jury will not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty.’

After this spirited vindication of his rights, Hone was permitted to continue his defence without any unseemly interruption or further attempts on the part of the judge to browbeat him. In addition to the parodies which he quoted on the previous days, he cited a production of the Rev. Mr. Toplady, entitled ‘Christianity Reversed, or Lord Chesterfield’s New Creed;’ parodies of the Athanasian creed from the ‘Foundling Hospital for Wit’ and the ‘Wonderful Magazine;’ and ‘A New Political Creed,’ written against the great Lord Chatham, which closely resembled his own parody, ‘The Sinecurist’s Creed.’ After referring to the opinions expressed by Archbishop

Tillotson, Dr. Porteous, bishop of London, and other dignified clergymen, against the authenticity of the Athanasian creed, Hone was proceeding to quote the views of the bishop of Carlisle, Lord Ellenborough's father, when his lordship, with evident emotion, said, 'I do not know what his opinion was on this point. Whatever that opinion was, he has gone many years ago where he has had to account for his belief and his opinions.' Hone was proceeding to make some particular reference to this point when Lord Ellenborough exclaimed, 'For common delicacy forbear!' 'O, my lord,' said Hone, in a subdued and respectful tone, 'I shall, most certainly.' Hone, worn out as he was, spoke upwards of eight hours. Lord Ellenborough, in his charge to the jury, repeated the opinion which he had expressed on the previous day, that the parody was a profane and impious libel, and 'entreated the jury to consider the importance of the case which they were called upon to decide—that the temporal comforts and spiritual interests of their countrymen might defend their verdict;' but the jury, after an absence of only twenty minutes, returned a verdict of not guilty.

'The moment the words were pronounced,' says the *Annual Register* 'a spontaneous burst of applause issued from the crowd in the court, which soon extended to the crowd outside; and for some minutes the halls and adjoining avenues rang with shouts and acclamations.'

On the 29th of December a crowded meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, presided over by Alderman Waithman, at which speeches were made by Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, and a number of the most eminent merchants in the city, and resolutions were adopted expressing gratification at Mr. Hone's triumphant acquittal, and the vindication of the liberty of the press; denouncing the Government as guilty of a hypocritical prostitution of religion and a pretended zeal for its defence, in order to serve their own

selfish ends; and inaugurating a subscription in behalf of Mr. Hone and his family, which ultimately reached £3000. The result of this ill-advised prosecution was to give notoriety and a handsome reward to a man who, however exemplary in his domestic relations, had undoubtedly been guilty of a grave offence against good morals; to multiply by hundreds of thousands the readers of a series of profane and indecent publications; and to bring upon the Government the not unmerited reproach of having undertaken legal proceedings, not as they professed to protect religion, but to 'crush an apparently defenceless individual' who had exposed their political delinquencies, to stifle public discussion, to destroy the liberty of the press, and to uphold existing abuses. It was in fact the universal conviction that, though the alleged seditious character of Hone's parodies was 'studiously kept in the background,' the author was really persecuted for his political opinions, that saved Hone from the conviction which his parodies deserved. Even Lord Dudley, the personal friend and afterwards the colleague of Mr. Canning, entertained this conviction. In a letter to Bishop Coplestone, who had expressed his conviction that the prosecution was uncalled for and oppressive, Lord Dudley says, 'I am particularly gratified with what you say about the business of Hone. It is an additional proof, if any were wanting, of your superiority to those prejudices with which place and profession might have inspired a man of less sound understanding and a less independent character. I have been inclined all along to think, and what you say confirms me in the opinion, that the prosecution was discreditable to the Government and to its law advisers. Not that I believe that they were actuated by tyrannical principles. It was a mere blunder; but the success of it would have afforded a very mischievous precedent for bad times. Certainly this man meant no good either to Church or State, and that is reason enough for the whole race of

methodistical Tories—who are guided entirely by their own feelings as to the particular case, without any regard to, or knowledge of, the general principles of justice—to be sadly grieved that his ears were not cropped, as they would have been by the Star Chamber. That famous tribunal no doubt had its merits. It punished many scoundrels that could not have been got at by a regular course of law, and was therefore an object of admiration so long as it lasted, and of regret when it fell, to precisely the same sort of persons that now mourn over the acquittal of Hone.'

There was another result of Hone's acquittal, which no one had foreseen. It led to the retirement of the redoubted Chief-Justice, who had presided at his trial. On the 21st of December, the day after the last trial, Lord Ellenborough wrote thus to the Home Secretary: 'The disgraceful events which have occurred at Guildhall, within the last three or four days, have led me, both on account of the public and myself, to consider very seriously my own sufficiency, particularly in point of bodily health and strength, to discharge the official duties of my station in the manner in which, at the present critical moment, it is particularly necessary they should be discharged. . . . I wish to carry my meditated purpose into effect, as soon as the convenience of Government in regard to the due selection and appointment of my successor may allow.'

Lord Ellenborough was a person of remarkable energy of character, and an able and accomplished lawyer. The great ability and skill with which he conducted the defence of Warren Hastings first brought him prominently into notice; and having abandoned his early Whig principles in consequence of the horrors of the French Revolution, and attached himself to the Tory party, he was speedily marked out for promotion. In 1801 he was appointed Attorney-General under the ministry of Addington, and in the following year he succeeded Lord Kenyon as Chief-Justice of

the King's Bench. He was offered the Great Seal in the Ministry of 'All the Talents,' which he declined; but agreed to accept a seat in the Cabinet—an unconstitutional step which he afterwards regretted. Both in the Lower and the Upper House Lord Ellenborough's voice was always heard loudly advocating the coercive and repressive measures brought forward by the Government. He was equally zealous and courageous in his defence of sinecures, which a number even of staunch ministerialists wished to abolish. 'Reduction of salary,' he argued, 'must proceed on the ground of diminution of duty. As nothing had ever been done in the chief clerkship of the Court of King's Bench (which was held by his son with emoluments amounting to nearly £10,000 a year), it is impossible that less could be done in it in future.' Lord Ellenborough's advocacy of the sanguinary criminal code of that day was much more mischievous than even his defence of sinecures. It was his influence mainly that induced the Ministry and the Parliament to maintain in his life-time that code in all its shocking severity; that persuaded the Peers to punish with death the offence of stealing five shillings from a shop, and to believe that picking pockets had been increased by the abolition of this punishment. His friends bear testimony to the integrity and even kindness of his private life; but it cannot be denied that when he presided at the trials of persons accused of libels against the Government, or sedition or treason, he always summed up strongly against the defendants, though the jury not unfrequently acquitted them of the charge. His resignation of the Chief-Justiceship was not carried into effect till September, 1818, and he died on the 13th of December following. He was succeeded by Mr. Justice Abbott, whose disposition and conduct on the bench presented a marked contrast to that of his harsh and overbearing predecessor.

The Chief-Justice of England was not the only important official who retired

from office at this period. Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, also was constrained by illness to vacate the chair which he had occupied for the unusually long period of fifteen years. Abbot was the youngest son of a clergyman, whose widow afterwards married the father of Jeremy Bentham. He was educated at Westminster school and at Oxford, and subsequently studied foreign jurisprudence at Geneva. He was called to the bar in 1783; but after eleven years practice he abandoned his profession, and accepted the office of Clerk of the Robes in the Court of King's Bench, with a salary of £2700 a year. In 1795 he was returned to Parliament for the pocket borough of Helston. He rarely took part in the debates, but he devoted himself with great zeal to the promotion of administrative reforms. He presided over the Finance Committee of 1797, and he moved for an inquiry into the National Records. He effected a great improvement in the language of the statutes as regards clearness and brevity, and also in the responsibility of revenue collectors. It was he who introduced the first bill for taking an accurate and periodical census of the population. He thus acquired the reputation of an able and industrious member; and on Mr. Pitt's retirement in 1801, Addington, who had been Speaker, became Prime Minister, and prevailed upon Abbot to accept the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. Mitford, who had been appointed Addington's successor in the Speakership, a few months later, became Chancellor of Ireland, and Abbot was selected to succeed him in the chair of the House of Commons.

He discharged the duties of this office with great dignity and courtesy; and though strongly Conservative in all his notions, and disposed to advocate extreme measures in support of his own powers and the privileges of the House, he was universally admitted to have acted with fairness and impartiality. On one occasion only did he so far forget what was due to his position and to the House as to make a speech on the last day of the session of 1813, eulogizing all the measures of the Government, and, in allusion to the rejection of the Roman Catholic clauses, concluding with the words:—‘Other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government of this country are made fundamentally Protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorized to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm.’ This injudicious and, indeed, altogether improper speech was made the subject of a debate in the following session, in which the Speaker was treated with great severity; and it forms the subject of one of Moore's witty satirical poems, entitled ‘Little Man and Little Soul.’ It should be stated, however, to Abbot's credit for integrity and firmness, that when in April, 1805, the House divided on the motion for the impeachment of Lord Melville, and there was an equality of votes, he gave his vote for the impeachment, much to the displeasure and annoyance of the Ministry and their supporters.

CHAPTER VII.

Princess Charlotte—Her Character and Education—Treatment by her Father—Engagement to the Prince of Orange, and its Termination—Marriage to Prince Leopold—Her Death—Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom—Sinecures and Pensions—Church Patronage.

THE death of the Princess Charlotte, the presumptive heiress to the throne of Great Britain, which took place in November, 1817, plunged the whole nation into deep grief, and was felt as a personal bereavement by all classes of the community. The life of the princess previous to her marriage was the reverse of happy. The alienation which had existed between her parents almost from the time of her birth would of itself have placed her in a painful position; but the Prince Regent seems to have transferred to his daughter some portion of the dislike which he cherished towards his wife, and his jealousy was shown in many other ways besides his attempt to prevent intercourse between her and her mother. She was brought up in the most secluded manner. She saw scarcely any society, and was rigidly denied the enjoyments common to her sex and age. 'It makes me sad to think,' she wrote, 'of the time past or the time to come; I don't know which is most painful, the past or the future.' She was sixteen years of age before she was allowed to 'come out in a limited way,' and to be introduced to the quietest society. Her grandfather, who always took an interest in her welfare and protected her from ill-treatment, was now hopelessly insane; and the queen, her grandmother, a cold, distant, stiff, and ceremonious personage, could have had little sympathy with a young, impulsive, headstrong girl. Lord Brougham, indeed, affirms that 'from her earliest years the princess had to struggle with the hatred of the old queen, which never ceased to annoy her, and certainly was communicated to several of the princesses, her daughters.'

The princess seems to have had little or no intercourse with her maternal relatives. Her mother, whom she loved but could not greatly respect, could do little or nothing to promote her comfort and welfare; and she had no acquaintance with her mother's family, the head of which, 'Brunswick's fated chieftain,' fell at Quatre Bras, fighting under the Duke of Wellington. Little as the princess saw of her father, she saw enough to make her aware of his self-indulgent, weak, and worthless character. At the age of fifteen, when she was about to visit the Opera for the first time, she dined at Carlton House, the residence of the Prince Regent. As was not unfrequently the case, he took more wine than he could carry discreetly, broke out in violent invectives against Lords Grey and Grenville, and indulged in language which so shocked his daughter that she burst into tears, and rose from the table expressing herself strongly on the distress she felt in hearing such expressions from her father's lips. This incident, which made a great noise at the time, suggested the well-known verses by Lord Byron—

'Weep, daughter of a royal line,
A sire's disgrace, a realm's decay.
Ah! happy if each tear of thine
Could wash a father's faults away.'

'Weep—for thy tears are virtuous tears,
Auspicious to these suffering isles—
And be each drop in future years
Repaid thee by thy people's smiles.'

The princess when a girl, Lord Albemarle says, was 'excessively violent in her disposition, but easily appeased, very warm-hearted, and never so happy as when doing a kindness.' Lord Brougham, who knew her well, corroborates this statement.

She inherited, he says, 'from her mother, another great quality besides her courage; she was free from anything mean, or spiteful, or revengeful, in an extraordinary degree. She was entirely without affectation or pretence; she had no pride, her manners were natural and playful, her affections were warm and constant.' She was possessed of excellent talents, and they were carefully cultivated by her preceptors. She seems to have prosecuted her studies with great assiduity; she was fond of reading and of the arts, especially sculpture, and had attained remarkable proficiency in the accomplishments proper to her sex and station. The little that was known to the public of her character and habits excited high expectations of her future career, and the people looked eagerly forward to the time when she should ascend the throne, and render it once more worthy of a nation's homage and affection.

The tribute which the people paid to the principles and conduct of the princess, however, was the reverse of pleasing to the Prince Regent. The unnatural father was jealous of his daughter's popularity. Sir Samuel Romilly wrote on November 30, 1812—'The Prince Regent went to the House of Lords and opened the session. On his way to the House and back again, he was received with a dead and most humiliating silence: no marks of disapprobation, but no applause. The Princess Charlotte, who was present as a spectator of the ceremony, was recognized by the people on her return, and was greeted with loud and repeated huzzas.' The desire of being freed from such mortifying occurrences was, no doubt, one reason why the Prince Regent was anxious that his daughter should marry and be removed to another sphere. He had selected the Prince of Orange for her husband, and the princess seemed at first to have no objection to the match, though there is no reason to believe that she ever cherished any strong affection for him. But though he was regarded as 'unexceptionable' in respect

both to personal character and position, and had been educated in England, and had served under the Duke of Wellington in the Netherlands, a serious difficulty arose in connection with the future residence of the prince and princess. He was heir to the Crown of Holland, and would, as a matter of course, require to reside during the greater part of each year in his future kingdom. This consideration undoubtedly was a great recommendation of the match to the Prince Regent, but it was very much the reverse to his daughter. She strongly objected to the proposed arrangement on which her father, of course, insisted. He became angry at her refusal to give way to his wish; and the Prince of Orange made matters worse by siding with his intended father-in-law, and taking his part against her mother. The princess, who was as strong-willed as her father, and much more energetic in carrying out her views, on this broke off the marriage. Her father was furious, threatened all sorts of restrictions, dismissed his daughter's governess and all her servants, whom he suspected of abetting her proceedings, and informed her that she was immediately to remove to Carlton House. On this she ran out of her residence in Warwick Street, and, getting into a hackney coach, was driven to her mother's. The Duke of Sussex and Mr. Brougham were immediately sent for, and with some difficulty persuaded the princess to go to Carlton House. The duke, however, lost no time in writing to Lord Liverpool, remonstrating upon the treatment his niece had received, desiring to know whether it was by the advice of the ministers, and requesting that he might have access to the princess. The result was that better treatment was promised her, though not given, and that she was removed to Cranbourne Lodge, in Windsor Park.

During the time of her engagement to the Prince of Orange, the princess had accidentally met at Carlton House Prince Leopold, the youngest of the three sons

of the Duke of Saxe Coburg. He had been fascinated by the charms of a beautiful Englishwoman whom he met at Paris in 1814, and had followed her with the allied sovereigns to London. The object of his admiration was an acquaintance of the Princess Charlotte, who expressed her wonder, as the prince was 'so handsome, that the young lady did not seem more flattered by his attentions.' This casual remark of the princess was repeated to Leopold, who shortly after left England and joined the army of the Rhine, on Napoleon's return from Elba. After the battle of Waterloo he visited England a second time, and having reason to think that he was not unacceptable to the princess, he paid his addresses to her. The opinion which the princess entertained of her admirer is fully expressed in a letter which she wrote to her friend Lady Charlotte Lindsay, after she had accepted him:—

'In two points of view I am *quite convinced* that it is the best possible thing for *this country* (a subject I am ever *alive to*); first, in respect to its securing my private and domestic comfort; secondly, as to the Prince of Coburg's relations and connections abroad, and his situation of a younger brother. Painful as the fact has been, yet I confess the retrospect does but enhance the *value* of the *present good* obtained, and makes me the more grateful for it, and *thoughtful* for the *escape* I made. I can with truth say that not one hour of my life have I ever regretted the line I took on a former occasion.

'Nothing you can utter in the Prince of Coburg's praise is too much; . . . indeed, he deserves all possible praise and admiration, for his is *not an easy task*, situation, or game to play. The more he is known, the more, I am sure, this country will be inclined to confide much in him, as he has a *head*, a *heart*, and abilities of no common sort—indeed, I may add, that fall to few mortals.

'His attachment is certainly entirely personal towards me, and not from my situation. It began at a time when he felt he had no chance. I am therefore most singularly fortunate—certainly no princess or prince before me ever having been able, I believe, to form a matrimonial alliance from inclination.'

It appears that Leopold had made also a favourable impression upon the Prince

Regent, who was not unwilling to bring to an end the contest with his daughter, in which he was certain in the long run to be worsted. The negotiations for the marriage were speedily brought to a satisfactory close. On the 12th of March, 1816, a message from the Prince Regent announced the projected union to both Houses of Parliament, and on the evening of the 2nd of May the marriage ceremony was performed in the drawing room of Carlton House.

This desirable event was hailed by the nation with every manifestation of delight; and all classes of the community regarded it with cordial approbation. It was well known that the marriage was one of the purest affection. The chosen partner of the heiress presumptive to the Crown was believed to be every way worthy of the high position which he had attained—simple in his tastes and habits, judicious, active, amiable, and virtuous, well fitted to regulate her impulsive temperament, and to contribute in every way to the happiness of the wife who loved him with the most devoted affection. The short year of their wedded life was spent in domestic pursuits and the purest happiness. 'She enjoyed,' says the eloquent preacher Robert Hall, 'the highest connubial felicity, and had the prospect of combining all the tranquil enjoyments of private life with the splendour of a royal station. Placed on the summit of society, to her every eye was turned, in her every hope was centred, and nothing was wanting to complete her felicity except perpetuity. To a disposition of mind suited to her royal birth and lofty distinction, she joined an exquisite taste for the beauties of nature and the charms of retirement, where, far from the gaze of the multitude and the frivolous agitations of fashionable life, she employed her time in visiting with her consort the cottages of the poor, in improving their virtues, in perfecting her reason, and acquiring the knowledge best adapted to qualify her for the possession of power and the cares of empire.' But the happiness of the wedded pair, and

the fond hopes of the nation, were blasted almost in a moment. 'Her sun went down while it was yet day.' 'Without the slightest warning, without the opportunity of a moment's immediate preparation, in the midst of the deepest tranquillity, at midnight a voice was heard in the palace, not of singing men and singing women, not of revelry and mirth, but the cry, "Behold the bridegroom cometh."' On the 5th of November she was delivered, after a very severe and protracted labour, of a dead male child. 'She was too prostrate,' says her biographer, 'to realize the bitter disappointment. Yet even then she thought of her husband's sorrow, and sought to mitigate it by declaring herself the happiest wife in England.' The fatal result was totally unexpected, not only by the Cabinet ministers, who, as usual, were in attendance, but even by the physicians. Lord Eldon relates that he 'went into the room where the surgeons were consulting what bulletin of the princess they should send, and they had actually drawn one up stating that she was going on as favourably as possible, when Baillie came in, and after reading it he refused to sign it, for such was not his opinion. We (the ministers) returned to our homes about two o'clock in the morning, and before six a messenger arrived to let us know that the princess was dead.' The popular outcry was loud against the doctors, and Sir Richard Croft, who was chiefly blamed, in a few months afterwards committed suicide. But there is no reason to suppose that the melancholy catastrophe was in any degree to be imputed either to their want of skill or of attention.

The death of the Princess Charlotte was universally felt and acknowledged to be a great public calamity. Her pure domestic life presented such a marked contrast to that of the other members of the royal family, that she had become both the pride and the hope of the entire nation, who fondly dreamed their children should obey her child, and all classes, from the peer to the peasant, were filled with 'mourning, lamen-

tation, and woe.' The verses in which Lord Byron expressed his grief at the untimely death of the 'fair-haired daughter of the isles' found an echo in every heart:—

'Hark! forth from the abyss a voice proceeds,
A long, low, distant murmur of dread sound,
Such as arises when a nation bleeds,
With some deep and immedicable wound.

'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?

. 'So young, so fair.
Good without effort, great without a foe;
But now a bride and mother—and now *there!*
How many ties did that stern moment tear!
From thy sire's to his humblest subject's heart
Is link'd the electric chain of that despair,
Whose shock was as an earthquake's, and oppress
The land which loved thee so, that none could love
thee best.'

The consequences, both direct and indirect, of the death of the Princess Charlotte, had a very important influence on the history of Great Britain, and indeed of Europe. The leading members of the Government at this period were certainly not remarkable for their skill in discerning the signs of the times; but even they now began to have some perception of the necessity of taking steps to allay the popular clamour against sinecures and pensions. Accordingly, at the beginning of the session, they proposed the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the income and expenditure of the United Kingdom, and to consider what measures may be adopted for the relief of the country from any part of the said expenditure without detriment to the public interest.' In three months the committee reported to the House of Commons a scheme for the gradual abolition of sinecures, which was supported by the Government, who were really its authors, because, as they alleged, 'it would not diminish the influence of the Crown, would produce no large reduction of expense, but would convince the people that Parliament was doing everything possible to relieve their burdens.' The people, however, were not convinced that either the Parliament or the Monarchy had done anything of the kind; and no one

who is acquainted with the enormous number of sinecures and unmerited pensions which existed at this period will question the soundness of public opinion on that subject. Prime ministers even, and members of the Cabinet, as a matter of course, provided for the members of their family and their friends at the public expense. Lord Grenville held the sinecure office of Auditor of the Exchequer, with a salary of £4000 a year; and his younger brother received upwards of £2000 a year as one of the Chief Justices in Eyre, which even Lord Liverpool's ministry were obliged, for shame's sake, to abolish as utterly useless. And yet, on retiring from office along with Pitt in 1801, he was not ashamed to demand a pension of £1500 a year for Lady Grenville, which she did not resign until 1820. The Duke of Portland, a territorial magnate of the first class, bestowed the office of Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer, with a salary of £1131, on one of his sons, who enjoyed £2511 as colonel of the 11th Hussars, together with three sinecure offices, yielding £1520 a year, on his son-in-law. His grandson, Charles Greville (Clerk of the Privy Council, whose posthumous memoirs have obtained for him a durable but dubious reputation), received £3000 a year as Secretary to the Government of Jamaica, though he never set foot on the island, and £2000 a year as Clerk of the Council. Lord Sidmouth made his eldest son Clerk of the Pells, with a salary of £3000. Lord Liverpool, in addition to his salary as Prime Minister, enjoyed £3000 a year as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was also Commissioner for the affairs of India and Clerk of the Rolls in Ireland, and received altogether about £13,000 a year from the national funds. Earl Bathurst, another member of the Government, besides his official salary, received £2700 as teller of the Exchequer, and £1105 as Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. In addition, his family were in the receipt of between £10,000 and £12,000 a year from fees and pensions. The Chief Justices in Eyre

received £4000 a year, though they had avowedly no duties to perform. The Clerk of the Pells, who held an office of the same kind, had a salary of £3000 a year. There were four clerkships of the Signets, and an equal number of clerkships of the Privy Seal.

The legal dignitaries were equally mindful of the duty of providing for their own household. Lord Chancellor Thurlow's nephew, a clergyman, held the sinecure offices of Patentee for Execution of Bankruptcy Laws, Clerk of Transfers in Chancery, Prothonotary of the Court of Chancery, &c., yielding £11,000 a year. Lord Kenyon, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, made his eldest son Custos Brevium, with £2696 a year; and a younger son, still more fortunate, drew £6000 a year as fees and compensation. His successor, Lord Ellenborough, who boldly defended sinecures as right and proper, made his eldest son Chief Clerk of the Court of King's Bench, to which, as his lordship frankly admitted, no duties were attached; but the office yielded its fortunate holder nearly £10,000 a year. And Lord Eldon, not to be behind such praiseworthy examples, made one of his sons a registrar of deeds for the West Riding of Yorkshire, with £1200; and another registrar of affidavits and receiver of fines in the Court of Chancery, with a salary of £2000 a year. Sinecures, in short, were nestled in every nook and corner of the public service; and the aristocracy as a body, and the borough-mongers in particular, seem to have regarded the national treasury as the most legitimate and proper source for the supply of their wants and the support of their families. Lord Arden, one of the Perceval family, was Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, with a remuneration of £10,000 a year. The Chief-Clerk of the House of Commons, according to Abbot, the Speaker (afterwards Lord Colchester), received from fees at least £12,000 a year, while the tenth part of that sum would have been ample payment for his services. The Earl of Chatham, the commander of the discreditable Wal-

cheren expedition, had a pension of £4000 a year; £1800 as governor of Jersey; was also colonel of the 4th regiment of Foot; and his countess, if she survived him, was to receive a pension of £3000 a year. There were no fewer than four tellers of the Exchequer, each of whom drew £2600 a year. The Duke of Grafton received a hereditary pension of £11,900 a year; but not content with this unearned and unmerited share of the national funds, he obtained in addition £2800 a year as Sealer of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. The Countess of Mansfield received £1000 a year from the Barbadoes planters, and the Duchess Dowager of Manchester £2982 a year as late Collector of the Customs outwards. Another right honourable lady was Sweeper of the Mall in the Park, a third was Chief Usher in the Court of Exchequer. The Duchess Dowager of Newcastle had a pension of £780. The Countess Dowager of Clare received £1000 a year. Indeed, the pension list was studded over with the names of the mothers, wives, sisters, and other female relatives of wealthy noblemen or of ministers of the Crown. In fact, as a bitter satirist said, 'Every want is to be provided for out of the taxes, whether it be for the support of an aged parent, sister, niece, illegitimate child, or cast-off mistress.' These are only a few examples out of hundreds that might be adduced. Lord Colchester states that one of the four patentees of the sinecure situation of Custos Brevium was a woman, a second a Roman Catholic, the third a lunatic, and the fourth an infant. There was, indeed, no office, however humble, which was thought beneath the dignity even of a duke, provided that an adequate salary was attached to it. Hence the names of noble lords and their sons, as well as of wives and daughters, and of right honourable gentlemen, appear in great numbers as holding the offices of ushers, clerks, tide-waiters, harbour-masters, searchers, packers, wharfingers, prothonotaries, and other humble and menial situa-

tions. Lord Henry Seymour, an uncle of Lord Castlereagh, was craner and wharfinger at the port of Dublin, and when his office was abolished he received £1251 a year as compensation. The Hon. R. H. Fitzgibbon was Usher in the Court of Chancery, with an income of £2940 a year. The Earl of Leitrim was port-searcher at Dublin, with £1359 per annum. Two of the Seymours received £1000 a year as wine tasters for the royal household. Two of the Beresfords received £2157 a year each as compensation for the loss of their office as joint storekeepers of the Customs. Lord Avonmore received £901 a year as searcher, packer, and gauger at the port of Cork.

It was customary not only to make grants of offices that were vacant, but also to anticipate vacancies by granting them in reversion, constituting persons the heirs, as it were, of the present possessors. Sometimes these reversions were granted to two or three persons at once, so that if one chanced to die before the office in question became vacant, one of the others might succeed to it. Such reversions have been granted to children in the nursery, and in this way offices were virtually disposed of for many years to come. Matters were even worse in Ireland. The Clerk of the Pleas in that country received from fees illegally exacted not less than £10,000 a year, and his deputy pocketed £7000 a year from the same illegal source. Scotland did not escape the influence of the universal system of jobbery. Lord Melville (Henry Dundas) enjoyed a salary of £2800 a year as Keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland—a purely sinecure office. The Earl of Rosslyn, who was an officer in the army, was made Director of Chancery in Scotland at a salary of £1810. The Duke of Gordon drew £3000 a year as Keeper of the Great Seal. The Duke of Montrose, who was Master of the Horse with a salary of £1266, received an additional £2000 a year for the sinecure office of Justice-General of Scotland. William Dundas, cousin of Lord Melville, was even more fortunate, receiving

£5000 a year from his offices of Lord Clerk Register, Keeper of the Signet, &c. The Duke of Athole enjoyed a pension of £4059 a year, and each of his three daughters received £100 a year as long as they remained unmarried. A return made to the House of Commons in 1809 shows, that at that time the sinecure offices in Great Britain and Ireland, and the Colonies, cost the country not less than £356,555 a year.

Official patronage in the Army was as grossly abused as in the Civil service. It was no uncommon occurrence to find commissions held by boys in the nursery or at school, and to be told that 'the major was crying because his pap was not ready for him.' 'A boy with brains,' says Mr. Walpole, 'might possibly be sent to the Bar; a boy with interest might do very well for the Church; a boy with land might hope to represent the family borough. But a boy who had not brains, interest, or land, was generally sent into the army. If he were killed, he required no further provision; if he survived his comrades, the pecuniary value of his commission became a small fortune. Boys, it must be remembered, who had any interest at all, did not starve for many months on the pay of a subaltern. Sir Charles Stewart was by no means the most unduly favoured of his generation, and his career is not a bad example of the promotion which young men of good family might obtain in the British army at the close of the eighteenth century. Sir Charles Stewart was an ensign at thirteen, a lieutenant at fifteen, a captain at sixteen, a major at seventeen, and lieutenant-colonel at less than nineteen years of age. When he received his first commission he was an Eton boy, and no one thought it necessary to take the boy from school because he happened to be receiving pay in his country's service.'

But birth and favour, though a sure, were by no means the only passport to position in the army. There can, unfortunately, be no doubt that bribery and corruption of the most degrading kind were sometimes, at

least, employed to obtain promotion in the service. The disgraceful disclosures made in the course of the inquiry by the House of Commons into the charges brought against the Duke of York by Colonel Wardle, left no doubt of the fact, which it turned out was well known at the Horse Guards, that the mistress of the commander-in-chief, the wife of another man, and a woman who had risen from a very low situation in life, had unbounded influence over him, and received large sums of money from officers of position for employing that influence in their behalf. The cautious and candid Romilly writes, 'It was established beyond the possibility of doubt that the duke had permitted Mrs. Clarke, his mistress, to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions at her recommendation; and that she had taken money for the recommendations. That the duke knew that she took money, or knew that the establishment which he had set on foot for her was partly supported by the money thus illegally procured by her, did not otherwise appear than from her evidence. She, however, asserted the fact directly and positively, and her evidence was supported, in many particulars which seemed the most incredible, by such strong corroborations, that her immoral character, her resentment, and her contradictions were not sufficient to render her evidence altogether incredible.' The Government and their supporters, who formed a large majority of the House of Commons, made a strenuous effort to shield his Royal Highness, and carried by 364 votes to 123 a resolution moved by the prime minister, Mr. Perceval, that 'it was the opinion of the House that the evidence reported to it afforded no ground for the House to charge the Duke of York in the execution of his official duties as commander-in-chief with the personal corruption alleged against him in that evidence, or with any connivance at the corrupt and infamous practices which are therein disclosed.' But this verdict of acquittal did not carry with it the approval

of the people, and the duke was constrained by the pressure, not only of public opinion, but of the prime minister himself, to resign his office of commander-in-chief. It was never intended, however, either by the Court or the Ministry, that the retirement of his Royal Highness should be more than temporary, and accordingly, the office was conferred upon Sir David Dundas, a worn-out veteran seventy-four years of age, but a devoted adherent of the Court. Two years afterwards, when it was supposed that the popular clamour against the duke had died away, Sir David dutifully resigned his office, and the duke was reinstated in his former position. Dundas was, of course, liberally rewarded for his convenient services. He accumulated a large fortune, which he settled upon his nephew, leaving his widow to be provided for by a pension conferred upon her by the Government.

The mode in which patronage was exercised in the Church excited even greater scandal than in the Civil Service or in the Army. While divines like Paley and others of the same class, distinguished for their abilities and learning, and the eminent services which they had rendered to the cause of religion, were passed over by patrons both lay and clerical, the highest ecclesiastical offices, and the richest preferments were conferred upon men whose only claim was the influence exerted by powerful political friends on their behalf. Ten of the most important and lucrative sees, including the two archbishoprics and the Palatinate of Durham, were held at this time by the sons, grandsons, or brothers of peers. Nearly the whole of the remaining sixteen were given to the tutors of prime ministers and dukes, or to persons possessing powerful interest at court or with the Government. The prelates in turn used their patronage without scruple for the benefit of their families. The most notorious of these clerical nepotists was Dr. Tomline (who afterwards assumed the name of Pretymán), bishop of Lincoln, and subsequently of Winchester, Pitt's tutor, whom the premier wished

to make archbishop of Canterbury, but was prevented by George III., who objected to Tomline on account of his humble birth. 'This mean and cunning prelate,' as Sydney Smith terms him, not only accumulated an enormous fortune, but heaped preferments upon his sons until even his episcopal compeers cried shame on him. The Rev. G. T. Pretymán, one of his sons, became chancellor and canon residentiary of Lincoln, prebendary of Winchester, rector of St. Giles Chalfont, rector of Wheat-Hampstead, and rector of Harpenden. Richard Pretymán, another son, became precentor and canon residentiary of Lincoln, rector of Middleton-Stoney, rector of Walgrave, vicar of Hannington, and rector of Wroughton. A third son, John Pretymán, became prebendary of Lincoln, rector of Sherrington, and rector of Winwick.

Dr. Sparke, bishop of Ely (who owed his promotion to his having been tutor to the Duke of Rutland), the annual value of whose see and dependencies, exclusive of patronage, was £27,742, was a worthy associate of the bishop of Lincoln. His eldest son, the Rev. J. H. Sparke, was rector of Leverington and of Littlebury, incumbent of Bexwell, prebendary of Ely, steward of the bishop's manorial courts, and chancellor of the diocese—yielding him, in the aggregate, £4500 a year. The Rev. Edward Sparke, the bishop's youngest son, succeeded to the consolidated livings of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Feltwell, the vicarage of Littleport, and a prebendal stall in Ely. He was also registrar of the diocese and examining chaplain to his father, and derived from these numerous appointments an income of £4000 a year. The Rev. Henry Fardell, the bishop's son-in-law, was equally well provided for—the livings of Waterbeach and Wisbeach and a prebendal stall in Ely yielding him not less than £3700 a year. The primate of all England, Archbishop Sutton, though moderate and reasonable compared with the Sparkes and the Pretymáns of the

church, used—not to say abused—his ecclesiastical patronage after the fashion of his clerical contemporaries. Seven of the Suttons shared among them sixteen rectories, vicarages, and chapelries, besides preacher-ships, and dignities in cathedrals. Three of the primate's nine daughters were married to clergymen. Hugh Percy, son of the Earl of Beverley, married one daughter, and was portioned off with eight different preferments, estimated to be worth about £10,000 per annum—a goodly dowry. This fortunate pluralist ultimately became bishop of Carlisle. Another daughter married the Rev. James Croft, who became archdeacon of Canterbury, prebendary of Canterbury, rector of Cliffe-at-Hone, and curate of Hythe—all preferments in the gift of the archbishop. Bishops' sons and sons-in-law, however, were not the only pluralists. The prelates themselves, in not a few cases, did not hesitate to accumulate preferments in their own persons. Majendie, bishop of Bangor, for example, whose father was a German, and filled a situation in the royal household, and who, before his elevation to the episcopate, had been the king's neighbour at Kew, held no fewer than eleven parochial livings. His was no doubt an extreme case, but he by no means stood alone in his acquisitive propensities. There were in one diocese alone at this time no fewer than 216 clergymen who each held two livings, forty who held three each, thirteen who held four each, one who held five, and one who held six, besides dignities and offices. As a matter of course, in these circumstances, a large number of the clergy were non-resident. The law, indeed, required every incumbent to reside on his own living for a certain number of months in each year; but the bishops had a discretionary power of relaxing this rule, which, it is alleged, they employed in general very loosely, though sometimes capriciously and harshly. There were at this time 10,421 benefices in England and Wales, and between 6000 and 7000 incumbents were non-resident. In the diocese of Ely there

were only forty-five resident incumbents on 140 livings, which embraced a population of more than 82,000 souls, and afforded an aggregate income of upwards of £60,000 a year. Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, who was one of the representatives of the University of Oxford, and a staunch, almost bigoted friend of the Church, was anxious to remedy this flagrant evil by an enactment, that every non-resident clergyman should provide a curate, with a suitable salary, to take charge of his parish. But so fierce was the opposition of the pluralists to this moderate and equitable proposal, that he was compelled by his clerical constituents to withdraw the bill. Perceval, on three several occasions, brought in the measure which Sir William Scott had been obliged to drop; but with all the power of the Government to support him, he was unable to carry it.

Such was the position of the country in regard to sinecures and pluralities, when the Ministry and the Parliament were compelled to deal with these subjects in 1817. The finance committee reported that they 'saw no reason to doubt that the annual income now derived from the offices which are thus brought under the observation of the House, as being at the disposal of the Crown, and fit to be abolished or regulated, may be estimated at from ninety to a hundred thousand pounds.' The mere enumeration of the offices which they recommended the legislature to abolish, will serve to show the extent to which the country had been burdened with payments that were entirely superfluous, and in not a few cases positively mischievous:—The Chief Justices in Eyre, the Auditor of the Exchequer, the Clerk of the Pells, four tellers of the Exchequer, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, the Commissary-General of Trustees, one of the joint Paymasters-Generals and his deputy, the Paymaster of Marines, law clerk at Secretary of State's Office, collector and transmitter of State Papers, Clerk of the Parliaments, four clerks of the Signet, and four clerks of

the Privy Seal, Comptroller-General of Accounts, Excise and Inspector-General, Registrar to Commissioner of Excise, and Inspector-General of Coffee and Tea—all of which, it was said, may be abolished without inconvenience to the public services. The abolition of the corresponding offices in Scotland and Ireland was also recommended, and upwards of twenty sinecure offices in the courts of law which were in the gift of the Crown. Nearly an equal number of sinecure offices of the same class in Ireland, and half a dozen in Scotland, were also placed in the category of useless and expensive places. Sweeping changes were also recommended to be made in the military and naval services, and in their official establishments, though far short in every department of what has since been accomplished.

The Government had hitherto resisted every attempt to abolish sinecure offices and to diminish public expenditure; but the excitement produced by the universal dis-

tress prevailing in the country, compelled them to take steps to allay the existing discontent. In the session of 1817, in which the reports of the committee were presented, the Government brought in no fewer than six acts, abolishing certain offices in the Court of Exchequer, the Chief Justices in Eyre, the clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal, and the offices in Scotland and Ireland which had been specified as useless and expensive. The last of these measures enabled the Crown to grant pensions to a certain number of persons who had ‘discharged high and efficient offices’ in a faithful and meritorious manner, on their retirement from the public service; but the total amount of the pensions which the sovereign was empowered to grant was not to exceed one-half the sum which the abolished offices had cost. The reforms thus effected were of no small importance, both in an economical and moral point of view, and laid the foundation for other and much more important changes in the public service.

CHAPTER VIII.

Repeal of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Treaty with Spain for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Parliamentary Grant for the Building of New Churches—Reform of the Constitution of the Scotch Burghs—Allowances to Royal Dukes on their Marriage—The Alien Bill—Dissolution of Parliament.

THE Parliament commenced its sixth session on the 27th of January, 1818. The speech of the Prince Regent, which was read by Commission, after a cold and formal reference to the Princess Charlotte, proceeded to notice the improvement that had taken place in almost every branch of domestic industry, and alleged that the present state of public credit afforded abundant proof that the difficulties under which the country was labouring were chiefly to be ascribed to temporary causes. So important a change in the condition of the country, it was observed, 'could not fail to withdraw from the disaffected the principal means of which they had availed themselves for the purpose of fomenting a spirit of discontent, that unhappily led to acts of insubordination and treason.' 'And his Royal Highness,' it was added, 'entertains the most confident expectation that the state of peace and tranquillity to which the country is now restored will be maintained against all attempts to disturb it, by the persevering vigilance of the magistracy, and by the loyalty and good sense of the people.' A similar statement was made in the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons. 'In the course of the autumn,' it said, 'a gradual reduction in the price of provisions, and still more, an increased demand for labour in consequence of a progressive improvement in the state of agriculture, as well as of trade and manufactures in some of their most important branches, afforded the means of subsistence and employment to numbers of those who had been taught to ascribe all the privations to which they were unfortunately

subjected to defects in the existing constitution.' Mr. Wyndham Quin, the seconder of the address in the Commons, said, 'the country feels an increased circulation in every artery, in every channel of its commerce. Last year the fires were extinguished in most of the ironworks; now they are in full activity, and the price of iron has risen from eight or nine to about fourteen pounds a ton. The demand for linen, the staple of the north of Ireland, is unprecedented both as to quantity and price. The funds are now 80; last year they were about 63. Money is most abundant, and when lent at mortgage on good security, lowering in rate of interest, and to be had at four and a-half per cent; at the same time that sales of land are effected at better prices than last year.' Mr. Ward, too (afterwards Lord Dudley), says, 'I have excellent accounts from Staffordshire. At one moment the iron trade was as brisk as ever, but since it has a little gone off; no distress, however.'

There was reason to fear, however, that this prosperity was not built on a stable foundation, and that in part, at least, it arose out of unhealthy speculation. The average of wheat, which at the end of September, 1817, had fallen from 111s. 6d. in June, to 74s. 4d., by the close of the year had risen again to 85s. 4d. There was a great deal of speculation going on, not only in corn, but also in silk, wool, cotton, and other articles of foreign and colonial produce, and the imports had in consequence very largely increased. 'A state of prosperity,' says Mr. Tooke, 'it doubtless was as long as it lasted to those who were gain-

ing or appeared to be gaining by the rising markets; but to the bulk of the population these rising markets were the occasion of privation and suffering.' In the meantime, however, the increase in the price of labour and the diminution in the price of food removed one main cause of discontent among the working classes, and reconciled them somewhat to their situation.

There was no reference in the speech to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or to the extraordinary powers intrusted to the Government. As soon as it was read, and before the address in answer could be moved, Lord Holland threatened to introduce a bill for the repeal of the Suspension Act, but was informed by the premier that a bill for that purpose would be brought in on the following day. The standing orders were immediately repealed, in order that the measure might pass without delay. It was read three times on the 28th, and next day it was brought down to the Commons, and there read three times and passed. 'Ministers,' says Romilly, 'were desirous that there should be no discussion on it, and in that wish the Opposition, in my opinion, not very wisely acquiesced. I took occasion, however,' he adds, 'to observe upon the conduct of Government, which had postponed the meeting of Parliament to so late a period, that it had been impossible to repeal the Act till after the time when the ministers themselves admitted that it had ceased to be necessary.' He declared his conviction that the suspension was a most unnecessary and mischievous measure, and his apprehension that it would be 'a most dangerous precedent.'

The Opposition, though they allowed the repeal of the obnoxious Act to pass without discussion, raised a debate on the address, in which they affirmed that the recent trials had furnished no evidence of the existence of any such treasonable conspiracy as the ministers had assumed. The Marquis of Lansdowne said, 'In the trials at Derby, where it was the business and the particular object of the Attorney-General to prove that

the discontented there had a correspondence with others in different quarters, he had completely failed. He could not prove that in any part of the country there had been the slightest connection with these conspirators. This terrible conspiracy, too, was suppressed without the slightest difficulty by eighteen dragoons!' No doubt the Derby insurgents had been justly convicted; but he went on to say, 'it was not the suspension of the Habeas Corpus that put down the insurrection or the conspiracy, whichever it might be called; it had been extinguished by the due administration of the law—by apprehending and bringing the persons accused to trial; and the same law could have been applied with equal efficiency though the Habeas Corpus had remained in force.' He affirmed that the riot was not of a political character; it had not sprung from hostility to the institutions of the country, but from 'partial discontent, with which the great body of the population of the place where it broke out were untainted. Even in the very villages through which the insurgents passed the people ran away from them, and in no part of the country was there any trace to be found of the existence of a conspiracy to alter the king's government.'

In the House of Commons Sir Samuel Romilly, who was conspicuous for his candour and moderation, maintained that the Derby insurgents, though they had committed a capital crime, were not guilty of treason. 'Brandreth,' he said, 'had committed a murder, and those who aided and abetted it were in law equally guilty. But in his conscience he believed from the information he had received that the whole of that insurrection was the work of the persons sent by the Government—not indeed for the specific purpose of fomenting disaffection, but as emissaries of sedition from clubs that had never existed. It had been declared that the prosecutions had been discontinued because everything was tranquil, and the ministers were willing to show their clemency. But if there had

been any truth in the statements of the atrocious crimes which these men meditated, were they persons to whom clemency ought to be shown? Were men conspiring to burn factories, to attack barracks, and create a revolution, to be discharged without a trial and without punishment? But though the country was so tranquil that it was deemed unnecessary to resort to the ordinary modes of legal trial and the alleged offenders were discharged, yet the persons against whom there had never been supposed to be evidence sufficient to put them upon their trials, those who had been arrested under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, were kept in prison; so that those against whom the strongest case was made out were discharged, those against whom the case was weakest were kept in confinement.' After commenting on the proceedings in Scotland and the Derby insurrection, Sir Samuel put strongly the fact that the ministers had previous information of Brandreth's designs, yet they did not seize him. He was suffered to go on till he had effected all the mischief in his power, and the only use proposed to be made of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was not made of it. With regard to the prosecution of Hone, 'if the prosecutions were not vindictive, why were they undertaken? The publications themselves were stopped before the Attorney-General attempted to suppress them; but this injudicious attempt brought them again into public notice and gave them infinitely greater currency than they would have obtained in their original state, with a great mass of concealed, forgotten, and unknown parodies attached to them. The least criminal of the parodies was the last prosecuted, and the prosecution was persevered in after a double failure, because the Attorney-General thought it would have manifested weakness in himself to have relinquished it.'

As soon as the repeal of the Suspension Act had taken place, the ministers took steps to justify their conduct in the mode of employing the extraordinary powers

which that act had conferred upon them. In the beginning of February, certain papers relating to the state of the country, sealed up in green bags, were, by the command of the Prince Regent, presented to both Houses of Parliament, and were again referred to secret committees. Before the end of the month, both committees reported upon the documents submitted to them. As the members of both had been appointed by the Government, and most of them had constituted the committees of the previous session, they of course concurred with the ministers in the view which they gave of public affairs, and in their approbation of the steps which had been taken for the suppression of the disturbances. Indeed, the Peers by a majority refused to refer to the committees any of the numerous petitions from persons who complained that they had been aggrieved by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. The Lords affirmed that a general rising had been intended, and the day fixed on which it was to take place; but the execution of the 'desperate designs' of the conspirators had been 'thwarted by the vigilance of the Government, the great activity and intelligence of the magistrates, the ready assistance afforded under their orders by the regular troops and yeomanry, the prompt and efficient arrangements of the officers intrusted with that service, the knowledge which had from time to time been obtained of the plans of the disaffected, and the consequent arrest and confinement of the agitators.' With reference to the Derbyshire insurgents, it was stated that they 'were not formidable for their numbers; but they were actuated by an atrocious spirit, and the language used by many of them, and particularly by their leaders, left no reason to doubt that their object was the overthrow of the established government and laws, extravagant as these objects were when compared with the inadequate means which they possessed.' It was admitted that 'in the villages through which they passed a strong indisposition was

manifested towards their cause and projects,' and the insurrection was characterized as 'of small importance in itself.' 'Not only in the country in general,' it was added, 'but in those districts where the designs of the disaffected were most actively and unremittingly pursued, the great body of the people have remained untainted even during the periods of the greatest internal difficulty and distress.'

The report then proceeded to notice the arrests that had taken place during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was deemed unnecessary to say anything respecting those persons against whom bills of indictment had been found by grand juries, and of those who had been brought to trial or had fled from justice. But warrants had been issued by the Secretary of State against ten persons who had not been taken, and against forty-four others who had not been brought to trial. Of these seven had been discharged on examination. Against thirty-seven warrants of detention had been issued on suspicion of treason. One had been released after being finally committed; another had been discharged on account of illness; a third had died in prison. It appeared to the committee that 'all these arrests and detentions were fully justified by the circumstances under which they had taken place.' 'Up to a certain period, expectations were entertained of being able to bring to trial a large proportion of the persons so arrested and detained; but these expectations have from time to time been unavoidably relinquished.' In conclusion, the report declared that it had appeared to the committee that the Government, in the execution of the powers vested in them, had acted with due discretion and moderation.

The report of the Commons went over the same ground, and referred in similar terms to the Derbyshire insurrection and to the movements near Nottingham and in Yorkshire. 'In adverting,' they said, 'to the state of the metropolis during the same period, they have observed with concern

that a small number of active and infatuated individuals have been unremittingly engaged in arranging plans of insurrection, in endeavouring to foment disturbances that might lead to it, and in procuring the means of active operations, with the ultimate view of subverting all the existing institutions of the country, and substituting some form of revolutionary government in their stead.' It was admitted, however, that they had made few proselytes, and that none of these belonged to the higher classes of society. Like the Lords, the committee of the Commons applauded the temperate and judicious manner in which the Ministry had executed the extraordinary powers intrusted to them, but expressed it as their opinion that the vigilance of the police and the watchful care of the Government would probably be sufficient, under present circumstances, to prevent any serious disturbance of the public peace.

These reports of the secret committees of the two Houses were intended to pave the way for measures to protect the Government and the magistrates from proceedings that might be taken against them, for the illegal acts they had committed in suppressing the recent disturbances. Accordingly, on the 25th of February, a bill was introduced into the Upper House by the Duke of Montrose, entitled a 'Bill for indemnifying persons who, since the 26th of January, 1817, have acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody persons suspected of high treason or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies.' The bill was resisted at every stage by the Opposition in both Houses, who argued that, if the Ministry had been guilty of illegal and oppressive practices for which they needed to be indemnified, then the reports of the secret committees, which asserted that they had acted with moderation, must be untrue. If, on the other hand, they had so acted, and had kept within their powers, they did not require an indemnity. The defence of the measure in the Upper House mainly

devolved upon the Premier and the Lord Chancellor, who found it no easy matter to hold their ground against the powerful attacks of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earls of Lauderdale and Rosslyn, and Lords Erskine, Holland, and King. But all the amendments proposed by the latter were rejected by large majorities. The second reading of the bill was carried on the 27th of February by 100 votes to 33, and the third reading, on the 5th of March, by a majority of 93 to 27. A strong protest was entered on the Journals of the House, signed by five peers, embodying a summary of the arguments against the bill which had been employed in the debate. It was urged that it was now evident that there had been no such wide-spread treasonable conspiracy as had been alleged, and not even any extensive disaffection to the Government; that a vigorous exercise of the ordinary laws of the country would have been quite sufficient to repress disturbances and restore tranquillity; that the Suspension Act merely authorized the detention of persons accused, and was not intended to indemnify ministers for arrests made on mere suspicion, and for the numerous cases in which suspected individuals, against whom no evidence was ever produced, were subjected to long and severe imprisonments; that the bill protected unwarrantable and malicious, as well as justifiable proceedings, and that it sanctioned not the occasional resort in cases of necessity to secret means of obtaining evidence, but the systematic encouragement given to spies and informers.

In the Commons an equally strenuous opposition was offered to the Indemnity Bill, but with the same result. The first reading of the bill was carried on the 9th of March by a majority of 190 to 64; the second reading on the 16th by 89 to 24; and the third reading on the 13th by 82 to 23. The debates on the measure were both keen and protracted, and it was during the discussion on the motion for going into committee that Canning referring to one of the persons (a man of seventy-four years of

age), who had been imprisoned while suffering from rupture, termed him the 'revered and ruptured Ogden.' This expression, which was an offence equally against good taste and good feeling, raised a great clamour, and was long kept up against the brilliant but not always prudent orator. The most powerful speeches made against the bill were those of Mr. Lambton (afterwards Earl of Durham), Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Brougham. Romilly denounced it as a most objectionable and dangerous measure. It was improperly called a Bill of Indemnity, he said; 'the object of indemnity was only to protect individuals from public prosecutions, without interfering with the rights of private men; but the object of this bill was to annihilate such rights. Its true description was a bill to take away all legal remedies from those who had suffered from an illegal and arbitrary exercise of authority, and to punish those who presumed to have recourse to such remedies by subjecting them to the payment of double costs.'

Sir Samuel went on to argue that ministers required no indemnity for the exercise of powers granted by Parliament, and that if they were now to be indemnified it must be for conduct which the Suspension Act did not authorize, not for detaining men in custody under that law, but for committing them to prison against all law. 'With regard to another object of the bill, the indemnifying of the magistrates for illegal acts of power committed by them, it was most dangerous by such a bill to inform magistrates that whenever the Habeas Corpus was suspended they might exercise what acts of authority they thought would be most agreeable to ministers, and that everything would be covered by an indemnity. The petitions on the table furnished evidence how grossly the law might be violated where there seemed some invitation to it by ministers.' After a scathing exposure of the practices of Castles, Oliver, and other spies employed by ministers, Sir Samuel concluded with the following

appeal:—‘That this example may appear with greater force to future times our journals will preserve that long detail of multiplied sufferings which are enumerated in the various petitions that have been presented to us, and with them the record of our having twice refused to institute any inquiry into the truth of them. When those who are to come after us shall suffer under the evils we are now inflicting upon them, when their liberties shall be violated after the example which we are establishing, and they shall reflect with bitterness on the memories of those who have been the authors of all their wrongs, it is at least some consolation to us to reflect that it will be remembered that there was a small number of members of this House who endeavoured to avert this evil; who, though overpowered by numbers, and discouraged by the triumph of a confident majority, yet made the best stand they could in defence of the constitution, the laws, and the liberties which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors; and who feel more satisfaction in having thus discharged their duty, though without success, than their opponents can derive from the victory they have gained.’

The prognostications of the great lawyer have fortunately not been fulfilled. No Government since his day has ever ventured to suspend the Habeas Corpus in Great Britain.

The Opposition did not confine their attacks upon the Government to the discussions on the Address and the Indemnity Bill. Mr. William Smith brought Hone’s three trials and the general question of informations *ex-officio* before the House of Commons on the 3rd of February. A week later Lord Archibald Hamilton proposed a motion on the subject of the political prosecutions in Scotland, which was ably supported by Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. J. P. Grant. On the following day a spirited debate took place on a motion of Mr. Fazakerley, ‘That it be an instruction to the secret committee to inquire and report whether any steps had been taken

to detect and punish the spies employed by ministers, who by their conduct had encouraged the evils they were only to detect.’ The motion was supported by Lord Milton, Mr. Bennet, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Tierney, who brought out clearly the nature and extent of the proceedings of Oliver and the other spies in encouraging secret designs and fomenting public disturbances; but it was rejected by 111 votes to 52. Wilberforce, however, though he opposed the motion, expressed his strong disapprobation of the employment of spies in any circumstances. Among the most prominent opponents of the Ministry at this period, and their suspension of the Habeas Corpus, was Viscount Folkestone, eldest son of the Earl of Radnor. The connections and accomplishments of this young, handsome, and high-spirited politician, of themselves gave him considerable position in the House, which was further heightened by his refined taste and cultivated mind, and his honest, conscientious, and fearless spirit. Though his father was a decided Tory of the old school, and his mother a personal friend and at one time in the household of Queen Charlotte, he took a prominent part against the Duke of York in the Clarke and Wardle case. His thoughtful critical turn of mind made him distrust the commonly received maxims of government, and always disposed him to side with the minority. Oppression in any form or place he could not endure, and he espoused the interests of the natives in India and of the lower classes at home with the same chivalrous warmth. It was natural that a person of Lord Folkestone’s character should regard with great indignation the conduct of the Government in connection with the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; and on the 17th of February he moved the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the petitions of persons complaining of the hardships they had suffered by imprisonment during the late suspension of the Habeas Corpus. But his motion was rejected on a division by a

majority of 167 to 58; and a similar motion in the House of Lords by the Earl of Carnarvon was negatived without a division. The proceedings of the Government spies and informers were once more brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. G. Philips, who moved that it was the duty of the House to investigate the nature and extent of the practices alleged, in certain petitions presented to the House, to have been pursued by Oliver and others; but the motion obtained only 69 votes against 162. This obstinate refusal of the Government to allow any inquiry into this subject was undoubtedly one main ground of the impression which prevailed respecting the complicity of the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, in the nefarious practices of the agents whom he had employed to detect treasonable conspiracies. The moderate and sensible opinion expressed respecting the conduct of the Ministry by Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), was regarded by judicious and candid persons of both parties as just and correct. 'He should support the motion,' he said, 'but not on the ground that ministers were guilty of employing spies for the purpose of fomenting disturbances in the country. His belief was that Oliver and others had been solely employed to discover what was doing in the disturbed districts. Where blame was fairly to be cast on ministers was, he thought, in the manner in which those spies were chosen. Though ministers did not warrant the fomenting of disturbances, yet they left it in the power of those acting under them to do so. He thought ministers had been much calumniated; but they would be most so by themselves if they refused to inquire into those acts when inquiry, according to their own statement, would fully acquit them of the charges laid against them.'

A much more agreeable subject was brought before the House of Commons in the treaty with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade, carried on by the subjects

of that country. The British Government had been induced by the urgent solicitations of Wilberforce, supported by the pressure of public opinion, to use their influence with the Continental powers at the Congress of Vienna to suppress this vile traffic. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France had readily complied with the request made by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, the representatives of a Government to which they were so deeply indebted. But Spain, though professing her willingness to abolish the slave trade, wished delay, on the plea that her subjects had embarked a large capital in that traffic, and would suffer serious losses if it were suddenly abolished. An offer was made to her by Britain of the sum of £850,000, together with a loan of ten million of dollars, if she would consent to immediate abolition; but this exceedingly liberal offer was refused. The reiterated representations of the British Government, however, at length opened the eyes of the purblind and sluggish court of Madrid to the necessity of taking some steps to avert the moral indignation of Europe on account of their persistence in this inhuman traffic, and they at last agreed (September 23, 1817) to a treaty which made it illegal for Spanish ships from the date of the treaty to carry on the slave trade on any part of the coast of Africa to the north of the equator, and bound them to abolish the trade entirely from May 30, 1820. As a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaty the right of search was conceded, under certain regulations. But by way of compensation for this act of justice and common humanity, Spain was to receive the sum of £400,000 from the British Government. This generous arrangement was warmly commended, not only by Mr. Wilberforce, but by Sir James Mackintosh and other leading Whigs, and was also cordially approved by public opinion. Unfortunately the treaty was systematically evaded by the Spanish court, according to its usual practice, and was productive of very little good.

Another act of generosity at this time

on the part of the Government, though it met with no opposition, would not receive the approbation of all classes and parties at the present day—the proposal that a grant of a million should be made from the Treasury for the purpose of building new churches. In the speech read by the Lords Commissioners at the opening of Parliament, it was stated that ‘the Prince Regent has commanded us to direct your particular attention to the deficiency which has so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging to the Established Church when compared with the increasing and increased population of the country.’ There could be no doubt of the fact that there was a great deficiency of church accommodation, not only in the large towns, but even in many of the rural parishes. In the diocese of London, there were eighty parishes containing in the aggregate 930,337 inhabitants, giving an average of 11,629 to each parish, in which the places of worship were not sufficient to contain one-half of the people. In the see of Winchester the average was 8789 to a parish, and in that of Chester 8195, with a similar deficiency of church accommodation. There were parishes containing 4000 inhabitants and upwards, having an aggregate population of 2,947,698 souls, and they had only church room for 419,193 persons, or for one person in every seven. The state of matters was not much better even in the smaller parishes. A list of these was given whose population exceeded 2000 persons, containing 4,659,786 people, with church room for 949,222—that is, for only one person in every five. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after giving statistics of the deficient church accommodation in these districts, proposed that a grant of £1,000,000 sterling, raised by an issue of exchequer bills, should be applied, under the direction of commissioners appointed by the Crown, to the erection of parochial churches. It was true, he said, that ‘in these estimates he had made no allowance for those members of the community who did not belong to

the Established Church; for without meaning the least disparagement to the Dissenters, he thought that the Church, which existed for the benefit of all, and derived support from all, was bound to afford accommodation to all.’ The resolution was unanimously agreed to, for at this period no member of either party seems to have doubted the propriety of making provision out of the funds of the State for the supply of the accommodation required by the Church. On this point, as on many others, a great change has taken place in public opinion; for whatever difference of sentiment may still exist as to the justice and expediency of a church establishment, no application has for many years been made to Parliament for a grant of public money for the erection of additional places of worship in connection with the Established Church, either of England or Scotland.

A question was brought forward this session of great importance and interest to the people of Scotland—the reform of the constitution of the burghs, which had remained unchanged and unimproved for several centuries. The retiring councillors were intrusted with the power, at the end of each year, of electing their successors; and they almost always either re-elected themselves or persons of their own party, who, at the end of another twelve months, by a well-understood arrangement, gave way in turn to their predecessors. The great body of the inhabitants of a burgh had, in consequence, no voice in the election of their magistrates, and no control over their proceedings. As might have been expected at a time when public opinion could scarcely be said to exist in Scotland, these municipal corporations were nests of jobbery and corruption. The burgh property was, in nearly all cases, squandered in the most extravagant and shameless manner; the town councils of several of the most populous burghs were bankrupt; and most of them were in pecuniary difficulties. So far back as the year 1785, the subject of burgh reform was keenly

agitated in Scotland; but every proposed change in the system was resisted with the utmost vehemence. The American war and the protracted continental struggle diverted public attention, for a season, from this and all other questions of domestic policy; but on the return of peace the former agitation was renewed, mainly in consequence of a singular accident which befell the burgh of Montrose. It appears that certain irregularities had taken place in the election of the magistrates for that town in the year 1817, and an appeal was made to the Court of Session to set aside the election on that ground. The suit was successful. The election was declared null and void, and in consequence the burgh, in its corporate capacity, became extinct, and was left, not only without a town council, but without any means of obtaining one. In these circumstances, application was made to the king in council to revive the functions of the corporation; and the Crown, instead of reviving the old constitution, was induced to comply with the petition of the inhabitants, and to issue what was called a 'poll-warrant,' that is, a warrant to elect the magistrates addressed to the burgesses at large, and to make a change in the 'set' or constitution of the burgh. The subject was brought before the House of Commons by Lord Archibald Hamilton, brother of the premier duke of Scotland. His lofty spirit and disinterested character, combined with his birth and rank, manly beauty, and noble demeanour, gave him great influence in the House of Commons; though reserve, if not pride, and the infirmity of increasing deafness, made him too exclusive to be popular. 'He was too punctilious for my taste,' wrote Mr. Abercromby; 'but I venerated him as a man of the soundest and steadiest public principles, and a thoroughly high-minded gentleman. In both these relations he was scrupulously correct, and commanded as much general respect as any statesman of his day.' Lord Archibald Hamilton argued that the proceeding referred to was a

usurpation of an illegal power. The Crown was right, he admitted, in reviving the lapsed power of election; but he contended that if any change was to be made in the burgh itself, it ought to be made by Parliament, and not by the mere will of the Crown, or rather of the ministers. He could find no legal authority in Scotland, he said, living or dead, that would sanction this extraordinary power which had been exercised by the Crown, in altering the constitution of a burgh in such a way as materially to affect the representation in the House of Commons; for this act had constituted new offices, to which the right of voting for a member of parliament was attached. It was no argument, he contended, in favour of the proceedings to say that the new set granted to Montrose was superior to the old one. If the Crown, on its own specific authority, could give a constitution better and more enlarged than that which originally existed, it might, under the same power or assumption of power, give one worse and more contracted. Thus the form, if not the existence, of all the other Scottish burghs was dependent upon the mere will of the Crown, or rather upon the will and caprice of its ministers. There was a society in Scotland called the 'Convention of Burghs,' which claimed the power by law, and certainly had in fact exercised it, of altering the constitution of several burghs. Now, if the convention had such a right, and if His Majesty's Government had also the same right, to which of these authorities must the burghs submit? Many of the burghs of Scotland were at this moment so overwhelmed with debt that little or no revenue remained to meet their current expenditure; and the burgesses felt considerable alarm for their own individual and private property, as it had been affirmed, on high legal authority, that the inhabitants were liable for the debts of the town council. The views expressed by Lord Archibald Hamilton were vigorously supported by Mr. Abercromby (afterwards Speaker of the

House of Commons and Lord Dunfermline) and by Sir R. Ferguson. Lord Castlereagh and the Lord-Advocate, who defended the action of the Government, were hampered by their knowledge that the members of their party in Scotland entirely disapproved of their procedure in granting a more liberal constitution to Montrose. Lord Castlereagh admitted that there was a defect in the law of Scotland with respect to burghs, since the burgesses had no power at present to take cognizance of their pecuniary affairs, or to exercise any control over the administration of their funds. But to confer on the burgesses the right to elect their magistrates could not, he affirmed, be of any practical benefit, except with a view to a reform in Parliament. The Lord-Advocate admitted that an opinion had been given by counsel that the inhabitants were liable for the debts of the burgh; but he pleaded that no legal proceedings had ever been undertaken to carry these opinions into effect, and he contended that the power which the Crown had exercised was virtually recognized in the 'Declaration of Grievances.' The Government, however, he said, had no intention of sanctioning a similar alteration in every borough which, by neglect, might become disfranchised.

A declaration to this effect was, indeed, necessary to calm the fears which the procedure of the Ministry had excited in the minds of their supporters in Scotland. The example of a popular election of a town council in Montrose had stimulated the inhabitants of other Scottish burghs to claim a similar privilege; and legal ingenuity was set to work in trying to discover a flaw 'in the rather nice and technical mysteries of a town council election,' in the hope that if the existing 'set' or constitution could be set aside, they, too, would obtain the privilege of electing an independent magistracy. Meetings of the burgesses and inhabitants were held in all the large towns, and in many of the smaller burghs also, to agitate for this much needed reform. The excitement was greatly increased by the

bankruptcy of the burgh of Aberdeen, which took place at this time, with liabilities to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds. The magistrates accompanied the announcement of this state of affairs with an address, in which they declared it to be their decided opinion that the existing mode of electing the town council and of managing the affairs of the burgh were 'radically defective and improvident, tending to give to particular individuals or parties an excessive and unnatural preponderance, and to foster and encourage a system of secrecy and concealment, under which the best-intentioned magistrates might be prevented from acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the true situation of the burgh.' A similar acknowledgment was soon after publicly and formally made by the town council of Dundee, though the pecuniary affairs of that burgh had not been so grossly mismanaged as those of Aberdeen. There was good reason to believe that the town council of Edinburgh, also, was in a state of bankruptcy, though a good many years elapsed before the fact was admitted.

In the hope that a change might be effected in the constitution of these and some other burghs, several complaints of illegal election were brought before the Court of Session. One of these, which was directed against the town council of Edinburgh, attracted a great deal of attention, and led to an angry controversy. It failed, however, and only two of these actions—viz., those from Aberdeen and Inverness—were successful. But the Government had by this time become aware of the offence which they had given to their supporters in Scotland, and the danger to which their supremacy in the burgh constituencies was exposed by the sanction they had given to the popular election of a town council in Montrose. They resolved, therefore, that they would grant no more poll-warrants, but adopted the scheme of restoring lapsed councils by warrants addressed to the members of the council who had been last

duly elected. This inconsistent procedure led to a great deal of costly and angry litigation. The burgesses, on the one hand, challenged the right of the Crown to grant any other than poll-warrants; and the Officers of State, on the other hand, challenged its right to grant these. 'The Court of Session,' says Lord Cockburn, 'was not supposed to have gained credit under these discussions. Instead of applying a severe candour and a more strictly judicial calmness to questions plainly involving party passions, it was allowed to transpire too obviously through the tone and manner of most of the judges, that they were neither ignorant of the objects of the litigants nor indifferent about the results.' It was, indeed, a notorious as well as a most reprehensible fact, that at the close of the last century and the early portion of the present, the judges of the Court of Session were, with few exceptions, violent political partizans; and it was well known that these political opinions of the judges not unfrequently exercised a powerful influence on their judicial decisions.

The lamented death of the Princess Charlotte had the effect of directing public attention to the unsatisfactory position of the royal family, more especially with reference to the succession to the crown. Queen Charlotte had borne fifteen children to George III., twelve of whom were still alive; but none of them had any legitimate issue. The Duke of York was married to the Princess of Prussia in 1792, but he had no children. The Duke of Cumberland had married in 1815 a daughter of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and niece to Queen Charlotte, who had been twice married before her union to the duke; first to the Prince of Prussia, and secondly to the Prince of Solms-Braunfels, from whom she had been divorced. The Prince Regent and three of his brothers countenanced the marriage by their presence at the ceremony; but the Queen firmly refused either to attend the wedding or to receive her niece, and public opinion cordially

approved of her refusal. The Duke of Cumberland, who had himself led a not very reputable life, was universally unpopular, and the prospect of a child of his succeeding to the throne was exceedingly repugnant to the feelings of all classes of the community. The Duke of Sussex had married in 1793 Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore, a lady of high character, who bore him a son and a daughter; but as the consent of the King had not been obtained, the marriage was declared invalid. The Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, were unmarried, and were all three advanced in life. So long as the Princess Charlotte lived they appeared quite contented to continue in the enjoyment of their own selfish pleasures, and their freedom from legitimate domestic responsibilities; but as soon as her death opened the prospect of succession to the throne, which might descend to their children, the three royal dukes hastened to enter into negotiations for marriage, with the additional stimulus of an expected increase to the incomes that had been granted them by Parliament.

The matrimonial projects of his brothers were brought under the notice of Parliament about the middle of April by successive messages from the Prince Regent, along with a recommendation that 'a suitable provision should be made for such of them as should contract marriage with the consent of the Crown'—terms which were clearly intended to exclude the Duke of Sussex and to include the Duke of Cumberland. Previous to this, however, private negotiations had been carried on with the Government respecting the additions that were to be made to the incomes of the royal dukes. The Duke of Clarence received annually £20,500 from the consolidated fund, which he wished to have raised to £40,000, besides £1095 as Admiral of the Fleet, and £187 as Ranger of Bushy Park. The Duke of Kent had an income of £25,205, £7205 of which was derived from his office of governor of Gibraltar,

and his colonelcy of a foot regiment. The Duke of Cambridge received £882 15s. as colonel of the Coldstream Guards, and £18,000 from the consolidated fund. The two brothers asked each an addition of £12,000 a year to their incomes. But it was discovered at the time that the five royal princes had previously obtained a grant of £20,000 from the Admiralty Droits; that the Duke of Clarence had in addition received a loan of £20,000, of which only £3000 had been repaid; and that the sum of £6000 had been advanced to the Duke of Kent, who had paid back only two instalments of £500 each. In these circumstances Lord Liverpool had misgivings as to the reception which the demands of the royal dukes were likely to meet with from Parliament, and he took the precaution to explain them to a private meeting, held at his own residence, of about seventy of his most influential supporters. His proposals were received in a manner which clearly indicated the reception they were certain to meet with from the House of Commons—'Nobody said a word, but everybody rose up and went away.' The royal family received among them at this time from the public purse no less a sum than £1,373,000, and even the most steadfast friends of the Court and the Government shrunk from an attempt, in the existing circumstances of the country, to add an annual sum of £55,500 to the public burdens. The Ministry saw that it was hopeless to attempt to carry their proposals in the face of the strong disapprobation of their own supporters, and they had to submit to the necessity of considerably modifying their terms. Instead of £19,500 they proposed an addition of only £10,000 to the income of the Duke of Clarence, and of £6000 instead of £12,000 to the Dukes of Kent, Cambridge, and Cumberland. But even these modified proposals met with the most strenuous opposition.

On April 15 Lord Castlereagh moved a resolution to the effect that an additional yearly sum, not exceeding £10,000, should

be paid out of the consolidated fund 'to make a suitable provision for the Duke of Clarence upon his marriage.' His lordship contended, amid marked tokens of disapprobation, that nothing should be deducted from the incomes of their Royal Highnesses on account of the sums which they derived from other sources. Mr. Canning, in supporting the motion, observed that in voting for this sum 'they would vote only for one half of the sum originally proposed—a sum the propriety of which both his noble friend thought, and himself then and still thought, maintainable by fair argument, but which they had no hesitation in surrendering to the expressed opinion of that House.' The opponents to the grant were not, however, conciliated. Mr. Holme Sumner, Tory member for Surrey, moved that the amount proposed should be reduced to £6000, and expressed explicitly his opinion that before any increase was granted, it ought to be ascertained that the money would be available for the purpose for which it was given. Mr. Sumner's motion was carried by a majority of 193 to 184. 'The result was received with loud shouts of approbation,' amidst which Lord Castlereagh rose and observed that, since the House had thought proper to refuse the larger sum to the Duke of Clarence, he believed he might say that the negotiation for the marriage might be considered at an end. The Duke was indeed bitterly mortified at this defeat, and intimated to the House of Commons next day through Lord Castlereagh, 'that he declined to accept the inadequate sum which had been voted to him.' He shortly afterwards, however, thought better of it, and finding that nothing more could be got, he accepted the allowance along with the arrears. He was probably somewhat reconciled to the reduction by his successful attempt to provide for his illegitimate daughters at the public expense. On the 9th of September, 1818, he obtained for them a pension of £2500 a year out of the 4½ per cent. West India duties.

The proposal to grant an additional

£6000 a year to the Duke of Cambridge was carried, after a lengthened debate, by a majority of 177 to 95. The Duke of Kent was by far the most popular of the royal brothers, and the fact that he was about to marry the sister of Prince Leopold was a powerful recommendation in his favour. And yet the grant of an additional £6000 a year even to him was resisted by fifty-one members, among whom were Lords Althorp and Folkestone, Mr. Coke of Holkham, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Tierney, though 205 voted in its favour.

The proposal, however, to make a similar provision for the Duke of Cumberland met with the most determined opposition, both from Tories and Whigs. The personal character of his Royal Highness, the circumstances of his marriage, and his violent and extreme political opinions, combined to render him an object of strong dislike to both parties, and to all classes. At the time of his marriage, in 1815, the Ministers proposed that an addition of £6000 a year should be made to his income; but the proposal gave rise to a keen debate, in which his Royal Highness was very roughly handled. What services had he ever rendered to the country, it was asked, to entitle him to such a grant? and an appeal was made to the public voice for the truth of the assertion, that 'of all the branches of the royal family the Duke of Cumberland was the one to whom the public feeling would be least inclined to grant any pecuniary boon.' The bill was vehemently opposed at every stage by formidable minorities, and thrown out on the second reading by 126 votes to 125. The duke fancied that now when his brothers were to receive an addition to their incomes, a similar boon might be conferred upon him; but it soon appeared that his unpopularity was in no degree abated. After a warm discussion the motion was negatived by a majority of 143 to 136, and 'loud cheering took place in the House when the result of the division was known.'

The public were a good deal surprised to learn that the marriage of the Duke of

Clarence was to take place after all. On the 13th of July he wedded the Princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, and on the same day the Duke of Kent was married to Victoria, a Princess of Saxe Coburg, and widow of the Prince of Leiningen. The marriage of the Duke of Cambridge to Augusta, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, had taken place previously on the 1st of June. The royal brides had certainly not been chosen for their personal attractions; but they all filled in a dignified and creditable manner the elevated position in which they were placed. They all bore children to their husbands, but the two daughters of the Duchess of Clarence died in infancy. The only son of the Duchess of Cumberland became King of Hanover; the only son of the Duchess of Cambridge is the present Commander-in-chief of the British army; while the only child of the Duchess of Kent now holds the sceptre of the British empire, and her reign has more than fulfilled the high expectations that were cherished as to the benefits which would have flowed to the nation had the Princess Charlotte succeeded to the throne.

Efforts were made by various members of the Lower House to remedy several of the grievances of which the public complained, namely, the abolition of the salt duties, of the tax on leather, and of the Irish window tax, the abolition of the Scottish commissary courts, of the punishment of death for the crime of privately stealing in shops, and of parliamentary rewards given on conviction of certain offenders, and the amendment of the law of tithes and of poor-law settlements; but they were all defeated by the ministerial majority. The proposal to renew the Alien Act led to protracted and keen discussions, though the efforts made by Sir Samuel Romilly and others to limit the scope of the measure proved unsuccessful. During the continuance of the continental war the ministers were empowered by the legislature to expel from the country aliens who

were regarded by them as dangerous, or were objects of suspicion. The power to take this step had been repeatedly renewed for periods of two years at a time. At its last renewal in 1816, however, it was strenuously opposed by the Whig members of parliament. In 1818, when it was again proposed to renew the Alien Act for other two years, the Opposition were still more energetic and persevering in their efforts to defeat the measure, and resisted even its introduction. When Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in the Continuance Bill, Lord Althorp opposed the motion, and was supported by Sir Samuel Romilly, who denounced it in indignant terms, and declared that it proceeded upon the principle that the Government of Great Britain was to minister to the wishes of the despots of Europe. Every man, no matter of what country or creed, had always looked in his distress to England for an asylum. But now, instead of being an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, England was to be turned into a sort of depot for the persecuted, whence their tyrants might have them brought back at will. The bill was resisted, not only at its introduction, but at every subsequent stage. The efforts of its opponents, however, either to throw out the obnoxious measure or amend it in committee, were defeated by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament; and so determined were the Ministry to carry the bill as they had passed it, that they doggedly refused to exempt from its operation even the aliens who were resident in the United Kingdom on the 1st of January, 1814, who had continued to reside in it since that period, and had been married to natural-born subjects of the realm. When the bill had reached the House of Lords, the ministers accidentally discovered that, by an act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1795, all foreigners who possessed a certain amount of stock in the Bank of Scotland became naturalized subjects; and they learned that a good many foreigners had recently made pur-

chases of this stock. They therefore added a clause to the bill, declaring that no foreigner who had purchased such stock since the 28th of October last, or who should in future do so, should thereby be naturalized. The clause was stoutly resisted by the Opposition, but was carried in committee by a majority of 42 to 20. A petition was presented from the persons whose rights were injuriously affected by this hasty *ex post facto* legislation, praying to be heard by counsel against the retrospective clause; but this most reasonable request was refused after another division. The standing orders were next suspended after three more divisions, and the bill, with the added clause, was the same day read a third time and passed. When it was sent down again to the House of Commons, a petition was presented against the disqualifying clause by the persons whose interests were affected by it, which would, no doubt, have been again summarily set aside; but it was met by a more formidable objection, founded upon the privileges of the House. Sir Samuel Romilly opposed it, he says, as being unjust towards the persons who, on the faith of a Scottish act of Parliament, confirmed by five different British statutes since the Union, had invested their money in the purchase of stock, and were to be thus violently deprived of the advantages which had induced them to make the purchase; as being an *ex post facto* law, and therefore repugnant to all true principles of legislation; and as being contrary to all parliamentary usage, and in substance a tacking by the Lords of a new and distinct bill to that which the Commons had sent up to them. To a bill to *continue* the existing law, the Lords had added, in the form of a clause, a bill to *repeal* an existing law; and by merely adding it as a clause, they allow of only one question being put upon it in the Commons, and deprive them of the several opportunities which they would have had of considering it in its different stages, if it had come down to them in the form of a bill. In addition to

these objections, Sir Samuel pointed out that the amendment was one which the Commons could not agree to without giving up one of their most important privileges—that of originating money bills. The effect of the clause introduced by the Lords was to subject all the individuals whom it denaturalized to the charged duties on aliens, and, if any of them had purchased estates, to have their lands forfeited to the Crown as the property of aliens. This objection proved fatal to the clause. One privilege which a naturalized foreigner acquired was the right to import goods into the country at lower rates of duty than foreigners who were aliens. The clause, therefore, which deprived them of this privilege was in effect a money clause, which could not be legally inserted in the bill by the Lords. This objection was fatal to the amendment, as the Speaker, on being appealed to, at once admitted. The House of Commons, as Mr. Walpole remarks, had ‘very little sympathy for the unfortunate foreigners; but they had a great respect for their own privileges.’ They decided not to agree to the clause, and the Ministry were obliged to give way. In order to cover their defeat, they resolved to introduce a new bill to supply the place of the rejected clause. It was much less objectionable, however, than the previous proposal. It was not retrospective, as the clause had been, but only prospective; and it was to last for little more than nine months, instead of two years. The Opposition made an attempt to prevent even this limited measure from coming so speedily into operation; but it was hurried through all its stages in both Houses of Parliament on the 8th and 9th of June, and on the following day the Parliament was dissolved by the Prince Regent without any previous prorogation—a step which excited much surprise and unfavourable comment, as it had not been taken since 1681, when Charles II. suddenly dissolved his fifth parliament, after it had sat only a week.

The Prince Regent himself had certainly

no reason to find fault with the Parliament which was dissolved on the 10th of June, 1818; but it was a most unpopular assembly in the estimation of the country, and had towards the close of its existence fallen almost into general contempt. The measures which it had sanctioned would now-a-days be regarded with universal and strong disapprobation. Sir Samuel Romilly, who was at no time a person of extreme views, and if he had lived in the present day would have been regarded as a very moderate Whig, a few hours before the termination of its political existence, summed up in severe and dark colours, and with judicial accuracy and solemnity, the principal misdeeds of the expiring Parliament—

‘Let us recollect,’ he said, ‘for what deeds we have to account. Let us recollect that we are the Parliament which, for the first time in the history of this country, have suspended the Habeas Corpus Act in a period of profound peace. Let us recollect that we are the confiding Parliament which intrusted His Majesty’s Ministers with the authority emanating from that suspension, in expectation that, when it was no longer wanted, they would call Parliament together to surrender it into their hands—which those ministers did not do, although they subsequently acknowledged that the necessity for retaining that power had long ceased to exist. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which consented to indemnify His Majesty’s Ministers for the abuses and violations of the laws of which they had been guilty, in the exercise of the authority vested in them. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which refused to inquire into the grievances stated in the numerous petitions and memorials with which our table groaned; that we turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the oppressed; that we even amused ourselves with their sufferings. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which sanctioned the use of spies and informers by the British Government; debasing that Government, once so celebrated for good

faith and honour, into a condition lower in character than that of the ancient French police. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which sanctioned the issuing of a circular letter to the magistracy of the country, by a Secretary of State, urging them to hold persons to bail for libel, before an indictment was found. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which sanctioned the sending out of the opinion of the King's Attorney-General and the King's Solicitor-General as the law of the land. Let us recollect that we are

the same Parliament which sanctioned the shutting of the ports of this once hospitable nation to unfortunate foreigners, flying from persecution in their own country.

'This, sir, is what we have done; and we are about to crown all by the present most violent and most unjustifiable act. Who our successors may be I know not; but God grant that this country may never see another Parliament so regardless of the liberties and rights of the people, and of the principles of general justice, as this Parliament has been.'

CHAPTER IX.

General Election—Gains of the Whig Party—Return of Sir Samuel Romilly for Westminster—His Death, and that of Warren Hastings, and of Sir Philip Francis.

THE general election of 1818 was contested with unusual keenness and acrimony on both sides. The unpopularity of the Ministry excited the hopes and stimulated the exertions of the Opposition, and they contested every seat where they had any apparent chance of success. The Government and the great borough-mongers held between them more than one-half of the entire seats in the House of Commons, so that there was no contest possible in a moiety of the constituencies; but there was no lack of candidates for the remainder. 'It is said,' wrote Charles Greville, Clerk of the Council, in his celebrated 'Diary,' 'that there will be a hundred contests, and that Government will lose twenty or thirty members.' There were, in fact, 115 contested elections, and the number would have been much greater but for the precarious health of the aged king, whose death, which might be soon expected, would necessarily cause another dissolution at no distant day. The gains to the Whig party in these elections were much larger than had been anticipated. In the rotten boroughs, of course, the weightiest purse carried the day; but the large towns and the most important and populous counties returned a strong body of Liberals. Lord Milton was returned for Yorkshire, Lord Lyttleton's son for Worcestershire, Paul Methuen for Wilts, Earl Gower and Mr. Littleton for Staffordshire, T. W. Beaumont for Northumberland, Coke of Holkham for Norfolk, Lord Althorp for North Hants, George Byng for Middlesex, Lord Stanley for Lancashire, the Hon. C. A. Pelham for Lincolnshire, E. B. Portman for Dorset, Lord Morpeth for Cumberland, Mr. Lambton for Durham county, Lord George

Cavendish for Derbyshire, the Marquis of Tavistock for Bedfordshire, and Viscount Ebrington for Devon. Whigs were returned also for Cambridgeshire, Bucks, Berks, Cheshire, Herts, Hereford, &c., and for Bristol and other large towns. The ministerial candidates were defeated in Southwark. The contest for the city of London terminated in the rejection of Sir William Curtis, a staunch ministerialist, who had represented the city for nearly thirty years, and the return of four Whigs, with Alderman Wood at their head, who had been the only Whig among the former members. Brougham made a vigorous attempt to wrest the county of Westmoreland from the Lowthers, who had long reigned supreme there. The late members, Viscount Lowther, Lord Lonsdale's eldest son, and his uncle, the Hon. Col. Lowther, offered themselves for re-election, and were supported by all the other large landed proprietors, with the exception of the earl of Thanet, who had inherited the estates of the ancient family of the Cliffords, now extinct in the male line. The independent candidate was vigorously supported by the smaller freeholders and the 'Statesmen,' who farmed their 'paternal acres.' But the whole official power of the county was unscrupulously put forth against him, and hundreds of 'faggot votes' were created on the Lowther estates while the election was proceeding; and though Brougham's speeches produced a great effect on the multitudes who assembled to hear the eloquent orator expose and denounce the thralldom in which the county had been held by one territorial magnate, and he was at the head of the poll on the evening of the first day, he was compelled to retire on the fourth day of the

contest, when he had polled only 889 votes against Colonel Lowther's 1157.

The contest at Westminster excited still greater interest, not only in London, but throughout the whole country, than any other election struggle that took place at this time. That celebrated borough had been represented in the late Parliament by Lord Cochrane and Sir Francis Burdett; but the great sea-captain was about to take the command of the naval forces of Chili, in South America, and declined to offer himself for re-election. 'A little committee of tradesmen,' who had persuaded themselves that they were all powerful in Westminster, and fancied that they could bring in any man whom they thought fit to propose as a colleague to Sir Francis Burdett, resolved to bring forward the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, a brother of Lord Kinnaird's, with whose name, up till that moment, the constituency was wholly unacquainted. Mr. Kinnaird, like Sir Francis, was the advocate of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and the ballot. The Whig party in Westminster addressed a requisition, very influentially signed, to Sir Samuel Romilly, to allow himself to be put in nomination, at the same time requesting him to abstain from all personal attendance, trouble, and expense, and assuring him that they required from him no pledge, since the uniform tenor of his life, his known attachment to the Constitution, his zealous and unremitting efforts for the amelioration of the laws, the correction of abuses, and the support of the cause of freedom, justice, and humanity, wherever assailed, were a sure pledge to them of his qualifications to represent them in Parliament. Romilly, notwithstanding that he had refused pressing invitations from Liverpool, Coventry, Chester, Hull, Huntingdonshire, and Glamorganshire, assuring him that if he would come forward his success at any of these places was certain, and that the expense would be inconsiderable, thought it his duty to accept the Westminster requisition; though, as he truly said, 'it gratifies

no vanity of mine, and, whatever be the result, it will contribute in no degree to my happiness.' The Government candidate was Sir Murray Maxwell, a distinguished naval officer. Henry Hunt, a presumptuous, vain, and ignorant demagogue of broken fortune, and profligate habits, also offered himself, with no expectation of being elected, but merely that he might have 'an opportunity of making violent speeches and abusing the men he once extolled.' Old Major Cartwright was also put up by 'some absurd Radical reformers, without any hope or even wish of his own.'

The election began on the 18th of June. The show of hands was in favour of Romilly and Hunt. The former was at the head of the poll on the first day, and kept that position throughout. The committee of Burdett and Kinnaird, much to their discredit, published violent hand-bills against Romilly, in which they accused him of being 'a lawyer, one of the Whig faction, and a person who sat on a committee against the much injured Princess of Wales.' Finding, however, that Burdett, at the close of the poll on the third day, had received little more than a third of the votes given for Sir Murray Maxwell, who stood second, and that they were seriously endangering his election by canvassing for Kinnaird in opposition to Romilly, they determined to withdraw that gentleman as a candidate, and to canvass for Burdett alone, using every exertion to place him at the head of the poll. But in this they failed, though on the fifth day they succeeded in placing him two votes above Maxwell. The poll was kept open fifteen days, and at the close the numbers were, for Romilly 5339, for Burdett 5238, for Maxwell 4808, and 84 for Hunt, who 'under every sort of disgrace had continued a candidate to the end, some days polling one or two votes, and some days none.' Major Cartwright withdrew at the end of the third day, having polled only sixty-five votes. Covent Garden during the election was a scene of almost incessant confusion and riots Captain

Maxwell was grossly insulted by the populace each day as he appeared on the ground; and on the evening of the fifth day, as he was retiring from the hustings, he was attacked by some ruffians, and was so severely injured that he was not able again to appear in public while the contest lasted. On one of the days of the election the Riot Act had to be read and the military called out.

While the struggle was proceeding, Romilly attended daily in the Court of Chancery, and 'went on with his business there as quietly as if there had been no election in the kingdom.' But at its close he thanked the electors in a brief but powerful speech—the last which this great law reformer and noble-minded patriot ever delivered. At the close of it he said, 'I am sensible that the thanks which it will become me to give, and which will be worthy of you to receive, are thanks not to be expressed in words, but in actions; not in this place, but within the walls of the House of Commons. The representative of Westminster should express his thanks by a faithful discharge of the sacred duties which you have imposed upon him; by a constant and vigilant attention to the public interests; by being a faithful guardian of the people's interest and a bold asserter of their rights; by resenting all attacks, whether open or insidious, which may be made upon the liberty of the press, the trial by jury, and the Habeas Corpus—the great security of all our liberties; by defeating all attempts to substitute in place of that Government of law and justice to which Englishmen have been accustomed, a Government supported by spies and informers; by endeavouring to restrain the lavish and improvident expenditure of public money; by opposing all new and oppressive taxes; by endeavouring to procure the abolition of useless and burthensome offices, a more equal representation of the people in Parliament, and a shorter duration of the Parliament's existence; by being the friend of religious as well as of civil liberty; by seeking to restore this country to the proud

station which it held amongst nations when it was the secure asylum of those who were endeavouring to escape in foreign countries from religious or political persecution. These are the thanks which the electors of Westminster are entitled to expect; and when the time shall come that I shall have to render to you an account of the trust you have committed to me, I trust in God that I shall be able to show that I have discharged it honestly and faithfully.'

Those who listened to these noble patriotic sentiments little thought that the orator would never enter upon the duties which he described in such glowing terms, and that before Parliament met his career would be closed. In a brief note appended to Romilly's diary it is stated, 'Lady Romilly died on the 29th October, 1818. The husband survived but for three days the wife, whom he had loved with a devotion to which her virtues and her happy influence on the usefulness of his life gave her so just a claim. His anxiety during her illness preyed upon his mind and affected his health; and the shock occasioned by her death led to that event which brought his life to a close on the 2nd of November, 1818, in the sixty-second year of his age. This melancholy termination of a career so eminently useful, as well as honourable and illustrious, produced a profound sensation throughout the country; for no man of his day was more esteemed or more universally beloved than Romilly. Even those who, like Lord Eldon, were diametrically opposed to his political principles deeply lamented his loss. When the chancellor came into court next morning, says his biographer, he was 'obviously much affected. As he took his seat he was much struck by the sight of the vacant place within the bar which Romilly was accustomed to occupy. His eyes filled with tears; "I cannot stay here," he exclaimed, and rising in great agitation broke up his court.'

'Few persons,' says Lord Brougham, 'have ever attained celebrity of name and exalted station in any country or in any

age, with such unsullied purity of character as this equally eminent and excellent person. He was a person of the most natural and simple manners, and one in whom the kindest charities and warmest feelings of human nature were blended in the largest measure with that firmness of purpose and unrelaxed sincerity of principle, in almost all other men found to be little compatible with the attributes of a gentle nature and the feelings of a tender heart. As his practice, so his authority at the bar and with the bench was unexampled, and his success in Parliament was great and progressive. . . . The friend of public virtue and the advocate of human improvement will mourn still more sorrowfully over his urn than the admirers of genius or those who are dazzled by political triumphs. For no one could know Romilly and doubt that as he only valued his own success and his own powers in the belief that they might conduce to the good of mankind, so each augmentation of his authority, each step of his progress, must have been attended with some triumph in the cause of humanity and justice. . . . In his private life and personal habits he exhibited a model for imitation and an object of unqualified esteem. In his family and in society, where it was his delight and the only reward of his unremitting labours to unbend, he was amiable, simple, natural, cheerful. The vast resources of his memory; the astonishing economy of time, by which he was enabled to read almost every work of interest that came from the press of either France or England; the perfect correctness of his taste; his freedom from affectation; the wisdom of not being above doing ordinary things in the ordinary way—all conspired to render his society peculiarly attractive, and would have made it courted even had his eminence in higher matters been far less conspicuous. While it was the saying of one political adversary, the most experienced and correct observer among all the parliamentary men of his time (Mr. Charles Long, afterwards Lord

Farnborough), that he never was out of his place while Romilly spoke without finding that he had cause to lament his absence; it was the confession of all who were admitted to his private society that they forgot the lawyer, the orator, and the patriot, and had never been aware, while gazing on him with admiration, how much more he really deserved that tribute than he appeared to do when seen from afar.'

Several other men of great eminence passed away in the course of this year. Warren Hastings, the celebrated Governor-General of Bengal, died on the 22nd of August in his eighty-sixth year, having survived the termination of his memorable trial no less than a quarter of a century. No one will deny him the possession of rare talents both for command and administration, and he was unquestionably the ablest of all the great men to whom the destinies of our empire in the East have been intrusted. 'He preserved and extended an empire,' says Lord Macaulay; 'he founded a polity; he administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu, and patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo.' But it must be admitted that he was not either a righteous or a merciful man. His principles were lax, and he had little respect for the rights or sympathy for the sufferings of others. Three months later, Sir Philip Francis, the inveterate enemy of Hastings, followed him to the grave at the age of seventy-eight, having survived for half a century the publication of the famous 'Letters of Junius,' of which he is commonly believed to be the author. Lord Ellenborough, who, as Mr. Law, was leading counsel for Hastings during his impeachment, died on the 13th of December in his sixty-ninth year. The death of Queen Charlotte, on the 17th of November, was an event of no political importance; but it led to a good deal of unbecoming and unpleasant discussion, when Parliament met, respecting the arrangements for the care of the king's person.

CHAPTER X.

Opening of the New Parliament of 1819—Commercial Disasters—Distress of the Working Classes—Duke of York appointed Keeper of the King's Person—Windsor Establishment Bill—Weakness of the Ministry—Currency Question—The Bank Committee—Mr. Peel's Erroneous Financial Policy of the Government—Foreign Enlistment Act—Reform of the Criminal Law—Sir Francis Burdett—Parliamentary Reform.

WHEN the new Parliament met, on the 14th of January, 1819, it was evident that the Opposition had gained, both in numbers and spirit. Tierney, who had been appointed their leader in place of the late Mr. Ponsonby, declared that they had increased from 140 to 173, and the state of public feeling towards the Government strengthened not a little the ranks of their opponents. The speech of the Regent, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, declared that his Royal Highness had 'the gratification of announcing a considerable and progressive improvement of the revenue.' 'He had the greatest pleasure,' he said, 'in being able to inform Parliament that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country are in a most flourishing condition;' and he observed that 'the favourable change which has so rapidly taken place in the internal circumstances of the United Kingdom afford the strongest proofs of the solidity of its resources.' Unfortunately the real condition of the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country did not warrant such confident assertions respecting its prosperity, either present or prospective; and the ministers proved to be as much mistaken now as when, three years before, they had made the Regent congratulate the country on 'the flourishing condition of the commerce, manufactures, and resources' of the kingdom, when it was on the eve of a period of unexampled distress. The year 1818 had closed in the midst of numerous and extensive bankruptcies, and they continued throughout the first months of 1819. 'The largest,' says Mr. Tooke, 'in point of amount, of the articles of which there was so great

an excess of the importation, was cotton; and it was in this article that the fall in price was the greatest, and the failures among those concerned in it consequently the most extensive. The error usual on such occasions had been committed; the stocks on the spot had been greatly reduced in 1816, and a rise of price of this reduced stock was perfectly justified; but then, as in more recent instances, the advanced price was not confined to the small stocks on the spot, but was paid for large quantities in the countries of growth to be shipped hither.' The result was that 'importers, speculators, and manufacturers were successively ruined by having embarked too largely upon the anticipation of the maintenance of the former range of high prices. There were also very extensive failures in New York, but more especially in Charleston, and other southern parts of the United States at the close of 1818, and at the commencement of 1819.' These commercial disasters, of course, exercised a most unfavourable influence on the condition of the manufacturing population. They had the effect both of throwing not a few out of employment, and of reducing still farther the rate of wages, already too low to compensate for the high prices of food. Great dissatisfaction in consequence prevailed among the working-classes, especially among those engaged in the cloth and coal trades, and on the part of the Lancashire cotton-spinners. About 15,000 of them struck work so early as the month of June, 1818, and they not only assembled in great numbers and paraded the streets, but made attacks on their fellow operatives who refused to join the strike, and on the

factories where they were at work. These riotous proceedings were not suppressed without bloodshed; and though tranquillity was ultimately restored by the intervention of the military, a spirit of sullen discontent continued to smoulder in the manufacturing districts of the country.

Meanwhile, however, the eager speculations and large importations of foreign commodities throughout the past year had greatly augmented the public revenue; and the Government, persistently blind to the real state of the country, imagined that the increase of the sum derived from the duties levied on foreign goods was a sure sign of national prosperity, and they proceeded with their usual disregard of economy in carrying out their fiscal schemes.

The death of the queen, who had been intrusted with the care of the king's person, rendered it necessary that new arrangements should be made for the superintendence of the aged monarch, who was not only insane, but wholly blind and deaf. On the 25th of January the prime minister introduced a bill into the Upper House, transferring this trust to the king's second son, the Duke of York. To this proposal no opposition was made in either House. But it was otherwise with the 'Royal Household or Windsor Establishment Bill,' which followed. In 1812, £100,000 a year had been appropriated by Parliament to the king's household, and £58,000 a year to that of the queen. The allowance to her majesty, of course, lapsed with her death; but the Ministry proposed that £25,000 a year of the late queen's income should be set aside, to be given in pensions to old servants in her household. They could not but admit that £100,000 a year was much too large a sum for the maintenance of the infirm old king, and they proposed to reduce it one-half. So far these proposals met with the approval of the Parliament, though the ministers had to withdraw some of the pensions which they had proposed to bestow on certain of her majesty's servants. But the queen, in addition to

the sum allotted for the maintenance of her household, had received £10,000 a year as the keeper of the king's person, and the Ministry proposed that the same salary should be continued to the Duke of York. It was quite well known that this part of the Government scheme would provoke the strongest opposition. Apart from the question of economy, there appeared to be a violation of the dictates both of justice and right feeling in the attempt to make the lunacy of the king conducive to the pecuniary advantage of the son, who could not allege that his office as *custos* of the royal person would subject him to any additional expense. Accordingly, when the House of Commons went into committee on the report of the select committee respecting the Royal Household Bill, there was a keen debate on the question of the duke's salary. The Ministry were in a feeble, tottering condition, and had to a great extent lost the respect both of the country and the House; and the consciousness of their weak condition seems to have produced a feeling of irritation in their minds, which did not tend to strengthen their cause or to conciliate their opponents. Lord Castlereagh, in opening the debate, used very strong language respecting the proposition which the Opposition intended to submit. If it should be carried, he said, it would consign the names of the members of the new Parliament to infamy in the estimation of the country. A menace so injudicious and unwarranted was not likely to deter such men as Lord Althorp, Lord Milton, and Mr. Brougham from doing what they considered their duty; and Mr. Tierney, the leader of the Opposition, at once moved an amendment, to the effect that the expense attending the care of his majesty's person should be defrayed out of the privy purse or the other private funds of the Crown. Apart from the £50,000 a year which had been voted for the support of the royal establishment at Windsor, his majesty had a privy purse of £60,000 a year, and he derived an additional revenue

of upwards of £10,000 a year from the duchy of Lancaster. Surely the expense of taking care of the king's person might be defrayed out of this large sum. The principle universally adopted in the Court of Chancery was to make the support and care of a lunatic a charge upon his estate, and this course Tierney contended ought to be followed in the case of the king. He was answered by Mr. Peel, at this time Secretary for Ireland, who pleaded that the privy purse had hitherto been regarded as a sacred and inviolable fund, and informed the House that the Duke of York was determined to accept no salary which was derived from that source. The debate was continued on the Government side by Mr. Huskisson, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and by the Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, and Sir Robert Gifford, the Solicitor-General, while the amendment was supported by the leaders of the Opposition, and especially by Scarlett (afterwards Lord Abinger), who spoke for the first time in answer to Peel and the Solicitor-General. 'The Opposition,' says Grenville, 'came to Brookes' full of admiration of his speech, which is said to be the best first speech that ever was made in the House of Commons. I who hear all parties, and care for none, have been amused with the different accounts of the debate. One man says Peel's speech was the best of the night, and the finest that has been made in the House for a length of time; another prefers the Solicitor-General's; then on the other side it is said that Tierney was excellent; Mr. Scarlett beyond all praise. The friends of Government allow great merit to the two latter speakers, but declare that Peel was unanswerable, besides having been beautifully eloquent; and that Scarlett's speech was a fallacy from beginning to end. Again I am told that Peel was not good; his was a speech for effect, evidently prepared, showy, but not argumentative; Scarlett triumphantly refuted all his reasonings.' 'Thus it is,' he adds, 'that a fair judgment is never formed upon any question; the spirit of party in-

fluences every man's opinions.' Wilberforce, a much higher authority, who voted against the grant, says this was the best debate he had witnessed for a long time. 'Castlereagh, Tierney, Peel, Bankes, the Solicitor-General, Scarlett, all did well.' He had himself intended to take part in the debate, and had, he adds, 'really the plan of a good and very telling speech, from its taking up some of Peel's points;' but he came away without speaking, partly from his distress about Castlereagh, who had been pained by some expressions of Wilberforce in a speech a few days before.

The debate excited an amount of interest in the public out of all proportion to the importance of the question at issue, and the Duke of York was so affected by the opposition to the grant and the strong feeling out of doors, that he wished to withdraw his claim for a salary. But the Prince Regent would not permit him to take this step, which he is said to have alleged was dictated by the desire on the part of the duke to obtain popularity at his expense. The Ministry, weak as they were, carried their proposal by a majority of 281 to 186, though the ranks of the Opposition must have been strengthened on this occasion by the accession of a number of the usual supporters of the Government. When the resolution of the committee was reported to the House there was another keen debate, in which Canning, Brougham, and Denman took part, but the vote was carried by 247 to 137. When the House of Lords entered into committee on the bill, Earl Grey, in a long and powerful speech, proposed the omission of the clause respecting the Duke of York's salary, and was supported by the Marquis of Lansdowne and other peers. The defence of the ministerial proposal chiefly devolved on the Lord Chancellor, who contended that the privy purse was as completely the property of the king as anything belonging to any of their lordships was private property to them. Now, the private property

of any subject during mental alienation was placed under proper care that it might be forthcoming for his use at the return of his reason; and he would put it to their lordships whether the sovereign ought to be deprived in his affliction of that which was allowed to the humblest of his subjects, the benefit of the principle which arose from a hope of his recovery? It did not follow, however, that the king's privy purse was liable, like the private property of a subject, to the maintenance of the proprietor during lunacy; the king being entitled, both in health and in sickness, to a maintenance from the nation irrespectively of his privy purse. His lordship vindicated the allowance to the Duke of York as necessary to the *custos* of the king's person, on the same principle on which the maintenance of the king's household was necessary—the principle of keeping up the royal dignity, and enabling the representative of the sovereign to support the expenses and continue the bounties which had ever been connected with the royal state.' The amendment was not pressed to a division, but the discussion was exceedingly damaging, both to the monarchy and to the royal family.

The weakness of the Ministry at this time had now become apparent to every one, and was keenly felt by themselves; and the proceedings of the first session of the new Parliament had contributed not a little to depreciate them in public estimation. 'The Ministry,' wrote a shrewd observer, 'is in a strange state. The majority of the House of Commons seems equally determined on two points; first, that it shall always stumble; second, that it shall not fall. The result of the great battle that was fought upon Tierney's motion (18th May, for a committee on the state of the nation) seemed to promise more strength; but Thursday (3rd June, when the second reading of the Enlistment Bill was only carried by a majority of thirteen) was a complete relapse into languid support and negligent attendance.' The proposal to add

Brougham's name to the Bank Committee, which was violently resisted by the Ministry, was defeated by only 173 votes to 135. The motion of Sir James Macintosh, on the 2nd of March, for the appointment of a committee on Capital Punishments (in support of which he delivered a speech that excited universal admiration, and was pronounced temperate and eloquent even by his opponents), was carried by 148 to 128 against the previous question moved by Lord Castlereagh. On the 3rd of May, the motion of Mr. Grattan for the appointment of a committee on the Roman Catholic question was negatived by a majority of only two; and on the 6th of the same month, Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion for a committee on the reform of the Scottish burghs was carried against Ministers by a majority of five. Lady Bathurst, the wife of one of the Cabinet Ministers, said to Charles Greville that 'she felt more apprehensive now than ever she had done for the safety of the Government, and that it was impossible for Ministers to stay in if they were defeated, as they had occasionally been in the last Parliament; and that if they were defeated, she should attribute it all to Vansittart, who is a millstone about their necks.' 'The impression of the weakness of the Government increases daily,' wrote Mr. Fremantle, member for Buckingham, to the Marquis of Buckingham, patron or proprietor of the borough, 'and the unity and strength of the Opposition, of course, improves.' The Ministry are 'so completely paralysed that they dare do nothing, and it becomes a Government of committees of the House of Commons.' 'It is difficult,' wrote Charles Wynn, member for Montgomeryshire, to the same nobleman, 'to describe to you the daily increasing appearances of weakness in the Government, which are such as, if I had not seen all I have seen during some years past, would make me think it quite impossible that they should go on for a month. They evidently have no hold on the House.'

It has transpired that the prime minister

himself shared in the conviction that the Government was in an unsatisfactory and unsafe condition. On the 10th of May he wrote to Lord-Chancellor Eldon—‘I am sanguine enough to think that we have a reasonable chance of success in carrying out the measures which were discussed on Saturday; but whether I may turn out right or wrong as to this, I am quite satisfied, after long and anxious consideration, that if we cannot carry what has been proposed, it is far, far better for the country that we should cease to be the Government. After the defeats we have already experienced during this session, our remaining in office is a *positive* evil. It confounds all ideas of government in the minds of men. It disgraces us *personally*, and renders us less capable every day of being of any real service to the country, either now or hereafter. If, therefore, things are to remain as they are, I am quite clear that there is no advantage in any way in our being the persons to carry on the public service. A strong and decisive effort can alone redeem our character and credit, and is as necessary for the country as it is for ourselves. As to a postponement for two years, it would be mere self-delusion, and is far more objectionable in my judgment in every bearing than at once renouncing all idea of setting the finances of the country right.’

The measure to which Lord Liverpool referred in this letter to the Lord-Chancellor was the resumption of cash payments. During the protracted continental war the Bank of England had been authorized by the Legislature to issue notes, which it was not bound to pay in gold and silver; but it had been distinctly stipulated that within six months after the close of the war cash payments should be resumed. The evils resulting from an inconvertible currency had for a considerable time attracted the attention of political economists, and had excited a lengthened controversy between the advocates of a paper and the supporters of a metal currency. In 1810 Francis

Horner, who had thoroughly mastered this important question, moved for and obtained the appointment of the celebrated Bullion Committee, which recommended that cash payments should be resumed at the end of two years. On the 6th of May, 1811, Mr. Horner, who was chairman of the committee, brought forward a series of resolutions, setting forth the opinions embodied in its report—stating that the only legal money which can pass is gold and silver—that such being the fact, the fall or deviation in the currency was occasioned by too abundant an issue of paper by the Bank of England and country bankers—and that the only security for the country was to convert this paper into legal currency, at the option of the holder, at the then price of exchange. Vansittart, who was then out of office, but gave a general support to Perceval’s administration, moved counter resolutions, affirming that ‘the promissory notes of the Bank of England have hitherto been and are at this time held to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm;’ in other words, that a one pound bank-note and a shilling are equal in value to a golden guinea—‘a standing topic of ridicule ever since,’ says Tooke. Vansittart’s resolutions also affirmed the inexpediency of fixing ‘a definite period for the removal of the restriction of cash payments at the Bank of England prior to the time already fixed—of six months—after the conclusion of a definite period of peace.’

After the termination of the war Horner once more brought the subject under the notice of the House of Commons; and on the 1st of May, 1816, he moved that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of restoring the cash payments of the Bank of England, and the safest and most advantageous means of effecting it. In a speech, displaying the most thorough knowledge of the subject in all its bearings, he pointed out the evils which had already resulted from an inconvertible paper currency, and the mischief which would be caused by renewing the restriction on the bank payments for

two years as was proposed by the Government. 'Had they felt no evils,' he asked, 'from the long suspension of cash payments? Were they sensible of no evils after all that had passed in the course of the discussions of the agricultural distress, during which no one had been hardy enough to deny that a great evil had arisen from the sudden destruction of the artificial prices? Would any man say that there had not been a great change in the value of money? What this was owing to might be disputed; but for his own part he had not the least doubt from inquiries which he had made, and from the accounts on the table he was convinced, that a greater and more sudden reduction of the circulating medium had never taken place in any country than had taken place since the peace in this country, with the exception of those reductions which had happened in France after the Mississippi scheme, and after the destruction of the assignats. He should not go into the question how this reduction had been effected, though it was a very curious one, and abounded in illustrations of the principles which had been so much disputed in that House. *The reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce.* This fall had produced a reduction of the country bank paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. The Bank of England had also reduced its issues, as appeared by the accounts recently presented. The average amount of their currency was not during the last year more than between twenty-five and twenty-six millions, while two years ago it had been nearer twenty-nine millions, and at one time even amounted to thirty-one millions. But without looking to the diminution of the Bank of England paper, the reduction of country paper was enough to account for the fall which had taken place.

'Another evil which had resulted from the state of the currency, which he had foreseen and predicted, but which had been deemed

visionary, was that during the war we had borrowed money, which was then of small value, and we were now obliged to pay it at a high value. This was the most formidable evil which threatened our finances; and, though he had too high an opinion of the resources of the country and of the wisdom of the Government to despair, he was appalled when he considered the immense amount of the interest of the debt contracted in that artificial currency compared with the produce of the taxes. . . . Looking forward to the operation of this restriction in time of peace, it would be found to leave us without any known or certain standard of money to regulate the transactions, not only between the public and its creditors, but between individuals. The currency which was to prevail was not only uncertain, but cruel and unjust in its operation; at one time upon those whose income was fixed in money, and to all creditors; at another time, when by some accident it was diminished in amount, to all debtors. Was not this an evil sufficient to attract the attention of a wise, a benevolent, and a prudent government? If they looked at the agricultural interest, was not a fluctuation of prices the greatest of evils to the farmer? For, supposing prices were fixed and steady, it was indifferent to him what was the standard. As long as we had no standard—no fixed value of money—but it was suffered to rise and fall like the quicksilver in the barometer, no man could conduct his property with any security, or depend upon any sure and certain profit. Persons who were aware of the importance of this subject must be surely anxious to know whether there were any imperative reasons for continuing the present system; to know whether it was intended to revert to the old system; and, if not now, when that system would be reverted to, and what would be the best means for bringing about that measure?'

Mr. Horner, while thus earnestly advocating the resumption of cash payments, was careful to point out that he did not

recommend that this should be done at once, but only that steps should be immediately taken with a view to that resumption. He would not specify any time within which the existing restriction should be removed, but he was of opinion that it was the duty both of the Government and the directors of the Bank at once to set about the means of accomplishing the object, which the public had a right to expect. Necessity was the only reason ever urged in justification of this restriction; and when the necessity ceased the country naturally expected that the restriction should cease also. With regard to the best means by which the Bank might be enabled to resume its payments in cash, it might be enacted that the Bank should gradually pay its several notes according to their value. Thus as the Restriction Act was to expire in July, it might be provided that the Bank should pay all notes of one pound within six months; afterwards its two pound notes within the next six months; and all its notes above five pounds after that period. By such an arrangement the Bank would be guarded against the consequences of any sudden change, while the just claims and expectations of the public would be gratified.

Mr. Horner's motion was strenuously opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Huskisson on the part of the Government, though they all admitted that the resumption of cash payments was most desirable and, indeed, necessary, and that nothing but rendering bank notes exchangeable for cash or bullion could possibly restore the currency to a sound state. Mr. Horner, in his 'luminous' reply, pointed out in trenchant terms the inconsistency of the arguments which had been used in support of continuing the Bank Restriction Act, and stated that if the expediency of resuming cash payments at the end of two years, which had been admitted, were put into the Bill, and that the intermediate period should be spent in making preparatory arrangements for that purpose, he would withdraw his motion and

lend his aid to the forwarding of such arrangements. But this was evidently not the intention of the ministers, and by the present measure they left the time of resuming cash payments as undefined as it was in 1797. The motion was rejected by a majority of 146 to 73. It was subsequently agreed that the resumption of cash payments should be postponed until the 5th of July, 1818, but when that period arrived the restriction was continued to the end of the next session of Parliament.

It had now become evident to every person acquainted with financial affairs, that the Ministry could not go on longer repeating year by year the follies and blunders of their incapable Chancellor of the Exchequer; and at the commencement of the session of 1819 Mr. Huskisson, who alone among the Ministry had studied and adopted the principles of sound political economy, forwarded a memorial to Lord Liverpool on the resumption of cash payments, and the method in which this should be carried into effect. This step, indeed, could no longer be delayed with safety. The Bank itself had become impatient of these repeated short and temporary suspensions of cash payments and wished the matter settled. It would appear that the Lord Chancellor had very characteristically recommended that the question should once more be postponed for two years; but Lord Liverpool, as we have seen, had peremptorily refused to listen to the suggestion. He was well aware that the delay for two years of the parliamentary discussion necessary to originate the settlement of the currency, and to make preparations to carry it into effect, would have been regarded by the country as tantamount to a total abandonment of this important measure.

On the 2nd of February the subject of the resumption of cash payments was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Tierney, who moved that a committee should be appointed to consider whether any, and what reasons exist, for continuing the restriction on payments in cash by the Bank beyond

the period now fixed by law for its termination. His speech contained a bitter attack on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose whole course of finance, he said, for system it was not, had rested solely upon paper. Year after year he had done nothing but resort to contrivances to glide over from session to session without inquiry. The Government, of course, refused to accept Mr. Tierney's motion, but proposed another closely resembling it, to the effect that a committee should be appointed 'to consider of the state of the Bank of England with reference to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the period fixed by law.' This motion was carried by a great majority, and a secret committee of twenty-one members was chosen by ballot, of whom fourteen were ministerialists. Mr. Peel (afterwards Sir Robert), who was at that time only thirty years of age, was appointed chairman of this important committee. Peel was already regarded as a statesman of great promise. He took high honours at Oxford, and was brought into Parliament soon after he came of age. He was appointed to the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonies in 1811, and on the retirement of Wellesley Pole, in 1813, he was promoted to the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. In 1818 he was elected one of the representatives of the University of Oxford in the room of Abbot, who was transferred to the Upper House on his retirement from the Speakership. Two years after Peel, for reasons which were never fully explained, resigned his office, but continued to give an independent support to Lord Liverpool's government. His election to the chairmanship of the committee appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Bank met with general approval. His opinions on the currency question, though not fixed, inclined towards the propriety of continuing the suspension of cash payments. His father, the first Baronet, was known to hold very decided convictions in favour of this step, and there is good reason to believe that the Ministry counted on Peel adopting the same views.

A similar committee was appointed by the House of Lords, of which Lord Harrowby, President of the Council, was elected chairman. In the beginning of April both committees presented interim reports, suggesting 'the expediency of passing forthwith a bill prohibiting the continuance of the payment in gold by the Bank of its notes issued previously to the 1st of January, 1817, according to its public notices given to that effect.' Mr. Peel, in moving for leave to bring in this bill, stated that between six and seven millions in gold had already been paid by the Bank in fulfilment of its voluntary engagements. 'The issue of that treasure,' he observed, 'had not been attended with any good to the nation; and he thought, indeed it might have been foreseen, that unless this issue had been accompanied by a simultaneous reduction of the number of bank notes, the gold would find its way to those places where there was a greater demand for it. There was little doubt at present as to the place of its destination, for by a report of the minister of finance in France it appeared that, within the first six months of the year, 125,000,000 francs had been coined at the French mint, three-fourths of which, it was understood, had been derived from the gold coin of this realm.' Some objections of no great weight were made against the bill; but the standing orders were suspended in both Houses, and it was passed through all its stages, and became law with all possible expedition.

On the 6th of May Mr. Peel presented to the House of Commons an elaborate report from the committee of which he was chairman, embracing the whole extent of the subject remitted to them. It was divided into two parts—the one containing the result of their inquiries into the state of the Bank of England, and the other setting forth their opinion with respect to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the period appointed by law. The liabilities of the Bank, it was stated, amounted on the 30th of January, 1819, to £33,894,580, and its assets in Govern-

ment securities and other credits to £39,096,900, exclusive of the debt of £14,684,800, due from the Government and repayable on the expiration of the charter. The amount of the advances made by the Bank to the public had, on the 29th of April last, reached the sum of £19,438,900, and the largeness of this debt was urged by the Bank as one of the main impediments to its early resumption of cash payments, and it was stated that, in order to make preparations for this resumption, a repayment would be required to the extent of ten millions. The committee earnestly recommended that Parliament should make immediate provision for the repayment of this sum, and should also establish some permanent provision binding and defining the authority of the Bank to make advances to the Government, and to purchase Government securities, and bringing under the constant inspection of Parliament the extent to which that authority may be in future exercised.

With respect to the second head of inquiry—the expediency of returning to cash payments—the committee were of opinion that it should be done gradually; and they recommended that the Bank should be bound to exchange its notes, not for coin, but for bullion of standard fineness, in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, at rates diminishing from time to time from £4 1s. to £3 17s. 10½*d*, per ounce, the Mint price of gold. But from the 1st of May, 1823, the Bank was to pay its notes in the legal coin of the realm.

These recommendations of the secret committees were embodied in a series of resolutions, which were moved by Lord Harrowby in the House of Lords on the 21st of May, and, after a discussion, in which Lords Grenville, King, and Lansdowne expressed their approval of the Government plan, and Lord Lauderdale alone objected to it, were adopted by the House. Three days later the resolutions were proposed by Mr. Peel in an elaborate and able speech. He frankly admitted at

the outset that the facts elicited in the committee had induced him entirely to change his views on the subject. ‘He was ready to own,’ he said, ‘without shame or remorse, that he went into the committee with a very different opinion from that which he at present entertained; for his views of the subject were most materially different when he voted against the resolutions brought forward in 1811 by Mr. Horner as chairman of the Bullion Committee. Having gone into the inquiry determined to dismiss all former impressions that he might have received, and to obliterate from his memory the vote which he had given some years since when the same question was discussed, he had resolved to apply to it his undivided and unprejudiced attention, and adopt every inference that authentic information or mature reflection should offer to his mind; and he had no hesitation in stating, that although he should probably even now vote, if it were brought before the House, in opposition to the practical measure then recommended, he now, with very little modification, concurred in the principles laid down in the first fourteen resolutions submitted to the House by that very able and much-lamented individual. He conceived them to represent the true nature and laws of our monetary system.’

These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, and bills founded on them were introduced and passed without material alterations. The 1st of May, 1822, was substituted for the 1st of May, 1821, as the date at which the Bank should be obliged to begin paying gold for its notes at the Mint price. The Bank, however, did not avail itself of this concession, but began on the 1st of May, 1821, to give gold in exchange for its notes of whatever amount.

The memorandum which Mr. Huskisson forwarded to the prime minister was not limited to the question of the resumption of cash payments; it insisted also on the necessity of a large reduction in the unfunded debt, and pointed out the serious

objections to the financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The 'mystery of our financial system,' it said, 'no longer deceives any one in the money market; selling exchequer bills daily to redeem funded debt daily, thus funding these exchequer bills once a year, or once in two years, in order to go over the same ground again; whilst the very air of mystery and the anomaly of large annual or biennial loans in times of profound peace, create uneasiness out of the market, and in foreign countries an impression unfavourable with respect to the solidity of our resources. In finance expedients and ingenious devices may answer to meet temporary difficulties; but for a permanent and peace system the only wise course, either in policy or for impression, is a system of simplicity and truth.'

Mr. Huskisson recommended that the Sinking Fund should be abolished, and that the surplus income alone should be applied to the redemption of the debt. His colleagues, however, were profoundly ignorant of the principles which ought to regulate the financial affairs of the country, and in spite of his remonstrances they resolved to adhere to their old blundering method. On the 8th of February Lord Castlereagh, in a very lengthened speech, proposed the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the national income and expenditure. His motion was, of course, adopted, and a committee was selected mainly composed of staunch supporters of the Ministry. In the beginning of April the committee presented an elaborate report on the subject remitted to them, and on the 3rd of June the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a committee of the whole House, proposed a series of resolutions founded on this report. They began by affirming that, since the termination of the war in 1815, taxes had been repealed or reduced to the amount of £18,000,000 per annum, and that when the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland had been consolidated in January, 1817, the mere interest upon the debt of Ireland, including the

Sinking Fund applicable to its reduction, had exceeded the entire net revenue of that country by nearly £1,900,000, 'without affording any provision for the civil list and other permanent changes, or for the proportion of supplies to be defrayed by that part of the United Kingdom.' It was then stated that the supplies to be voted for the present year amounted to £20,500,000; that the existing revenue applicable to the supplies could not be estimated at more than £7,000,000, leaving the sum of £13,500,000 to be raised by loan or other extraordinary sources; that the Sinking Fund might be estimated at about £15,500,000, exceeding the sum required to be raised for the service of the year by about £2,000,000 only. In these circumstances it was declared 'that to provide for the exigencies of the public service, to make such progressive reduction of the national debt as may adequately support public credit, and to afford the country a prospect of future relief from a part of its present burdens, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the income of the country beyond the expenditure of not less than £5,000,000; and that with a view to the attainment of this important object, it is expedient now to increase the income of the country by the imposition of taxes to the amount of £3,000,000 per annum.

On the 7th of June, when the House again resolved itself into a committee to consider these resolutions, they met with a strong opposition from Mr. Tierney, Mr. Brougham, and other Whig members of Parliament, who especially denounced the imposition of new taxes at the present juncture, when the country was just recovering from the distress of previous years, and a rigid economy would effect large reductions on many branches of expenditure. In addition to the supplies of the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to fund £10,597,000 of unfunded debt. He required to raise, therefore, not £13,500,000, but £24,000,000. He resolved to raise one half of this sum in the ordinary

way by a loan, and to borrow the other moiety of £12,000,000 from the Sinking Fund. A new Sinking Fund was created on the money so borrowed; but all this 'mystery,' as Huskisson termed it, and this manipulation of sums raised and borrowed, could not conceal the fact that three-fourths of the fund was to be applied to the current expenses of the year; that 'while the Sinking Fund was cutting off one portion of debt at one end,' the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'was adding to it in equal proportion at the other by exchequer bills;' and that contracting fresh loans to pay off debt added nothing to the resources of the country. The previous question was moved by Mr. Tierney, but on a division the resolutions were carried by a majority of 329 against 132. The feeling in the country, however, was strongly opposed to the financial policy of the Government, and especially to the proposal to impose new taxes on foreign wool, malt, tobacco, coffee, tea, and other articles of general consumption, at a time when there was actually a clear surplus of £2,000,000 a year. The enormous increase of the tax on wool was specially obnoxious. The woollen manufacture, one of the most important industries in the country, and largely dependent on foreign wool, was at this moment in a declining state; and yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer resolved to raise the duty from 6s. 8d. to 56s. a cwt. No wonder that the consternation of the manufacturers and merchants was very great, and that 'their outcry against Vansittart increased daily and was quite universal.'

Although the Government was in a weak condition, and met with several defeats in their opposition to the resolutions proposed by independent members of the House, they succeeded in carrying most of their measures. One of these, which was most obstinately resisted, was the Foreign Enlistment Bill, the object of which was 'to prevent the enlisting or engagement of His Majesty's subjects to serve in foreign service, and the fitting out or equipping in His

Majesty's dominions vessels for warlike purposes without His Majesty's license,' under the penalty of being found guilty of a misdemeanor for the first offence, and of felony for the second. Even on the motion of the Attorney-General for leave to bring in the bill, it was denounced by Sir James Mackintosh; Mr. George Lamb, the newly elected member for Westminster in the room of Sir Samuel Romilly, and brother of Lord Melbourne; and by other members of the Opposition. The second reading was opposed by Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Denman, and other leading members, and was carried by a majority of only 155 votes against 142. Another keen debate took place on the motion for going into committee, in which a speech was delivered by Sir James Mackintosh of remarkable learning and eloquence, which, says the chronicler, 'was heard with profound attention, and greeted by long-continued cheers from both sides of the House.'

'Canning answered him, but not successfully,' says Grenville, and his speech must have presented a marked contrast to his sentiments a few years later, when he vindicated his recognition of the South American colonies as free and independent states. The third reading gave rise to another animated discussion, in which Sir William Scott, Dr. Phillimore, and Mr. Robert Grant supported, and Mr. Scarlett, Lord Nugent, and Mr. Grenville denounced the measure. The bill was finally carried by 180 votes to 129. In the House of Lords also it encountered a vigorous opposition from Lord Holland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Bute, and the Earl of Carnarvon, and was feebly advocated by Earl Bathurst and the Earl of Westmoreland; but on a division it obtained 100 votes against 47 for an amendment proposed by Lord Holland. The resistance to the bill was mainly caused by the knowledge of the fact that it was intended to prevent assistance being given to the South American States, who were struggling to emancipate themselves from the yoke of Spain. One

member remarked that it ought to be entitled 'a bill to prevent British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service.' Another member declared that the bill proceeded from no regard to neutrality, from no returning sense of justice, but from a wish to prevent the people of this country from going to the assistance of those who were struggling for their liberties against a despotism, one of the worst that ever afflicted mankind. A third, after declaring that the Spanish domination in South America was one of unparalleled oppression and iniquity, reminded the Ministry that while the British officers and men who were fighting in the cause of the States were prevented from obtaining arms and ammunition, these supplies were not only permitted to Spain, but British ships of war convoyed vessels laden with these articles to their destination. But the Ministry, though beaten in argument, were successful at the division, and their bill became law.

A motion made by Mr. Tierney, on the 18th of May, that the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation, led to a very lengthened debate, but was negatived by a majority of 357 against 178. Various attempts were made to reform the criminal law; but the only reforms of any importance that were effected during the present session were the repeal of certain old Scottish acts, which punished with banishment and the forfeiture of all his moveable property a person sending or bearing a challenge to fight a duel, whether it took place or not, and the abolition of the old and barbarous right of trial by battle, and of appeals against a pardon granted by the Crown to a person found guilty of murder, felony, or mayhem. Sir Francis Burdett contended that the appeal, in cases of murder, was an ancient constitutional right, which ought not to be abolished; but though supported by a petition from the Common Council of the city of London,

his amendment for retaining the right of appeal in criminal cases found only four supporters against eighty-six who opposed it. Bills were also passed for the general amendment of the poor laws, and of the laws respecting the settlement of paupers, so far as regards renting tenements; for the regulation of cotton factories, and the limitation of the hours of labour of young persons employed in them; for carrying into effect a treaty concluded with the Netherlands for the suppression of the slave trade; and to amend the act of the last session for carrying into effect the convention with Portugal for the same purpose.

On the 1st of July, within a few days of the end of the session, the Marquis of Tavistock, eldest son of the Duke of Bedford, one of the largest landed proprietors in the kingdom, presented a petition from 1800 respectable householders of Liverpool, praying for representation in Parliament. The house of Russell had long occupied a prominent place in the ranks of reformers and friends of progress; but they had no sympathy with the extreme views advocated by the demagogues of those days. Lord Tavistock, in presenting the petition intrusted to him, said the reform which appeared to him to be the best was one which would be moderate in the changes that it would introduce in existing institutions, and radical in the correction of the abuses which had gradually grown up under them. He expressed his hearty disapproval of all those wild and impracticable theories which had lately been broached, and of the conduct of those who called themselves the people of England, and yet sowed distrust and disunion among the friends of reform by taking up a plan one day and laying it down the next, when it suited them—running down every plan that they thought to be practicable, and vilifying all those who, in their projects of reform, were one step short of themselves.

After the petition had been presented, a scheme of reform was proposed by a man to

whom the words of Lord Tavistock applied with peculiar force. Sir Francis Burdett commenced his public career as an extreme Radical, and he ended it as an extreme Tory. He advocated universal suffrage, electoral districts, and annual parliaments; and for more than a quarter of a century he pursued a course of incessant agitation in behalf of these and other schemes of a similar kind, 'often in concert with obscure and worthless adventurers, that made him the terror of a large portion of the community, and the scourge of successive administrations.' His birth, rank, and large landed estate made him a much more formidable adversary to the governing classes than the other Radical reformers with whom he was identified by the supporters of the Ministry; and he was in consequence regarded with much greater political animosity than even Cobbett or Hunt. Sir Walter Scott speaks of his public character and conduct in the very strongest terms of reprobation; and his behaviour in 1810, in connection with the imprisonment of Gale Jones, when he defied the authority of the House of Commons and resisted the Speaker's warrant—proceedings which led to dangerous riots and the loss of several lives—drew down upon him the condemnation of such reformers as Romilly and Brougham. And yet Burdett was at heart a thorough aristocrat. He had a high appreciation of his rank and his position in society. 'He revered the monarchy, he was assiduous in his attendance at Court, he discountenanced all attacks on the influence of the Crown, maintaining that the monarch was the natural protector of the lower classes against the higher.' His education had been neglected, and his knowledge was not extensive. He was very vain, fond of popularity, jealous of those who were his rivals for the applause of the populace, and ambitious to be regarded as the head of the democratic party in England. He had great vivacity of thought and a ready flow of words, which, set off by a fine, clear

voice, and a graceful person, made his speeches much more acceptable to the masses than to the members of the House of Commons, where he had little weight, and usually received very little support.

On the present occasion he made his annual motion for the eighteenth time on the question of parliamentary reform. All that he now proposed, however, was that the House should pledge itself to take the state of the representation into its most serious consideration early in the next session of Parliament. The speech in which he supported his motion was long and rambling; but it contained a number of arguments and illustrations which must have told with effect even upon an unfriendly audience, and could not fail to elicit popular sympathy and approbation. He rested his proposal on the maxim that representation and taxation should go together. On this principle, he said, he stood as upon a rock. He quoted Blackstone and other great constitutional authorities in support of his views, and referred to the state of the country in proof of the evils that had resulted from the violation of the principle which he had enunciated. The people were overburdened with taxation. The agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country were in a most unsatisfactory condition. The manufacturers declared that it was impossible for them to continue under the present weight of taxation. Their poverty-stricken workmen, notwithstanding their unremitting toil, were still unable to procure a pittance sufficient to sustain their miserable existence. The farmers asserted that they could not hold on, unless duties were imposed on foreign wool and still heavier duties on corn. The clothiers of Yorkshire, on the other hand, affirmed that it was impossible for them to carry on their business unless they obtained a monopoly of the home market, and were allowed to import foreign wool duty-free. The only way to redress the grievances of both classes, Sir Francis contended, was to reduce the taxation under which the country groaned.

But in the present corrupt state of the representation it was impossible to reduce the 'monstrous, dangerous, and unconstitutional military establishment,' and to effect other economies without which remission of taxation could not be carried out. A more economical administration was hopeless until a reform had been effected in the present system of representation, which, he contended, was not less derogatory to the dignity of the Crown than injurious to the interests of the people. The motion was seconded by Mr. George Lamb; but neither he nor the other speakers who supported it approved of the peculiar kind of reform advocated by the mover. Lord John Russell, though admitting the propriety of disfranchising the notoriously corrupt boroughs, could not support a motion 'that went the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry was calculated to throw a slur upon the representation of the country, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarms.' Even Joseph Hume went no farther on this occasion than to observe that the majority of the people of Scotland were favourable to a moderate

reform, and that he should vote for the motion in compliance with the opinion of his constituents. On the division only 58 members voted for the motion, against 153 who opposed it.

Parliament was prorogued on the 13th of July by the Prince Regent in person. After some commonplace remarks on the business of the session, his Royal Highness spoke of the attempts which had been recently made in some of the manufacturing districts to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country. He was determined, he said, to employ the powers intrusted to him by the law for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity, and he urged the members, on their return to their several counties, to use their utmost endeavours, in co-operation with the magistracy, to defeat the machinations of those who under the pretence of reform had in reality no other object than the subversion of the constitution.

The condition of the country, indeed, was creating general anxiety, and great apprehensions were entertained that the Government had neither the foresight nor the vigour requisite to deal with the impending crisis.

CHAPTER XI.

Parliamentary Reform—Meetings held throughout the Country—Arrest and Imprisonment of Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Harrison—The Female Reform Society—General Excitement throughout the Country—Military Drilling of Radicals—The ‘Peterloo Massacre’—Evacuation of France by the Allied Armies—Coercive Measures of the Government—The ‘Six Acts’—Death of George III. and of the Duke of Kent—The Cato Street Conspiracy—Execution of Thistlewood and Four of his Accomplices—Government Spies—The Radical Rising—Bonnymuir—Trial and Execution of Three of the Insurgents—Trial and Sentence of Hunt and his Associates.

THE distress that prevailed in the manufacturing districts of the country not unnaturally revived the demand for a reform of the parliamentary representation. From the beginning of the year reform meetings were held at intervals in a number of the large manufacturing towns, at which resolutions were passed in favour of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Application was made to the borough-reeve and constables of Manchester to summon a public meeting for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the repeal of the corn laws. On their refusal, an anonymous advertisement appeared, calling a meeting for the 18th of January. Hunt, who had been invited to preside, was met by a great multitude, and conducted into the town with flags, on which were inscribed such mottoes as ‘Hunt and Liberty,’ ‘Rights of Man,’ ‘Universal Suffrage,’ ‘No Corn Laws.’ The meeting was held on a piece of unoccupied ground near St. Peter’s church—the scene a few months later of a much more memorable incident. Hunt, in a characteristic speech, scoffed at the proposal to petition a House of Commons that ‘kicked their prayers and petitions out of doors,’ and he called on his audience to ‘come forward like men and Englishmen, and claim their rights.’ Other speeches of the same character were delivered, and a remonstrance to the Prince Regent was adopted instead of a petition to Parliament. The people, however, quietly dispersed.

The Manchester meeting served rather to afford Hunt an opportunity of displaying his egregious folly and vanity than of exciting the working classes to agitate for

reform, and the rest of the winter and the spring passed without any disquieting movement on their part. But the depression of trade and the consequent want of employment increased as the season advanced. There was ‘much poverty and much discontentment,’ which, according to Lord Bacon, form ‘the matter of seditions.’ The effect of the unsafe speculations and extravagant overtrading of the previous year were still widely felt in the glut of the markets, the want of confidence and credit, the large number of bankruptcies, the difficulty of obtaining employment, and the consequent fall of wages, while bread maintained a high price. Meetings of the operatives were in consequence held to consider their class grievances; but in a short space of time these meetings assumed more of a political aspect, and the reform of Parliament was spoken of as the best remedy for the distress suffered by the working classes. In the month of June, assemblages of this nature were held at Hunslet Moor, near Leeds, where upwards of 30,000 men were said to have met, and at Ashton-under-Lyne and Glasgow. No breach of the public peace, however, occurred at any of these meetings. The leaders were earnest in their exhortations to the people to preserve a peaceful demeanour, and to avoid even the appearance of disturbance or riot; but they nevertheless spoke strongly of oppressive taxation, and the large number of sinecure offices and pensions as the chief causes of the prevailing distress. The present representation was denounced as a mere mockery, and annual parliaments and universal suffrage

were held up as the only effectual remedies. The meeting at Glasgow, which assembled on the Green, and amounted to between 30,000 and 40,000 persons, excited great alarm in the minds of the authorities, who had a large body of soldiers in readiness to act if necessary; but the proceedings throughout were of the most orderly character. The assembly consisted mainly of poor cotton spinners and weavers, who were either out of employment or working at starving wages; and their object was to petition the Prince Regent to afford them the means of emigrating to Canada, the emigrants promising to repay the expense by annual instalments. An amendment was proposed, declaring that nothing but annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and reduction of taxation would prove an effectual remedy for the prevailing distress. It was said to have been carried, though this was doubtful, and the meeting dispersed in the most peaceable manner.

At the Ashton-under-Lyne meeting violent and foolish speeches were made by the chairman, who called himself the Rev. Joseph Harrison, and by a Dr. Healey, who professed to be a medical practitioner. The meeting at Stockport on the 28th of June, where a cap of liberty was displayed on the top of a flagstaff, was presided over by Sir Charles Wolseley, a foolish and hot-headed Staffordshire baronet, who told his hearers that he had commenced his political career in France; that he was one of the assailants of the Bastille at the commencement of the revolution in that country, and that he was ready to perform a similar service at home; and he swore that he would be faithful to the cause of annual parliaments and universal suffrage so long as his heart's blood should flow in his veins. On that day fortnight a meeting was held at Birmingham, attended by about 15,000 persons, who elected Sir Charles Wolseley as 'legislatorial attorney and representative' for that town. A remonstrance was read which the newly elected member was to present to Parliament; and as Sir Charles

was absent, a deputation was appointed to convey to him the instructions of his constituents. He pledged himself to them that he would claim his seat in the House of Commons, and it would appear that the meeting imagined that they had really succeeded in obtaining in this way a member to represent them in Parliament. Sir Charles was not allowed long to enjoy his senatorial honours in peace. These proceedings, which the general public regarded only with contempt, seem to have alarmed the Government, and provoked them to take action against the leaders. Indictments were immediately presented against both the baronet and Harrison for seditious words spoken at the Stockport meeting, and Sir Charles was arrested in his own house on the 19th of July, by a constable named Birch. Two days later, a meeting was held at Smithfield, London, at which Hunt presided. A strong body of policemen and soldiers was stationed in the vicinity of the place, but the proceedings passed off without the slightest disturbance. Harrison, who was on the hustings, was arrested by the same constable who had taken his coadjutor, Sir Charles Wolseley, into custody, and conveyed back into Cheshire. At Stockport Birch was attacked by some sympathizing friends of Harrison, and was severely wounded by a pistol shot. The baronet and his associate were tried for sedition in the following April at the Cheshire assizes, and were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Several persons who had taken a prominent part in Sir Charles Wolseley's election were also prosecuted and convicted.

In the previous year, at a meeting held at Lydgate, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, women had for the first time taken part in this agitation for reform. It was proposed by Bamford, apparently without premeditation or consultation with others, that the females present at the meeting should take part with the men in the show of hands when the resolution he had proposed was put to the meeting. 'This,' he says, 'was

a new idea; and the women, who attended numerously on the bleak ridge, were mightily pleased with it; and the men being nothing dissentient, when the resolution was put the women held up their hands amid much laughter; and ever from that time females voted with the men at the Radical meetings.' The example thus set, he adds, was not only soon after copied at meetings for charitable and religious purposes, but also brought about the formation of female political unions, with their committee-women, chairwomen, and other officials. The innovation thus introduced began now to attract public attention. 'An entirely novel and truly portentous circumstance,' says the *Annual Register* for 1819, 'was the formation of a *Female Reform Society* at Blackburn, near Manchester, from which circular letters were issued, inviting the wives and daughters of workmen in different branches of manufacture to form *sister societies* for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and of instilling into the minds of their children "a deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers." A deputation from this society attended the Blackburn reform meeting, and mounting the scaffold, presented a cap of liberty and an address to the assembly. The example of these females was successfully recommended to imitation by the orators at other meetings.'

These proceedings had excited a good deal of apprehension and anxiety in the public mind; but up to this stage the Government had regarded them with apparent indifference, and with the exception of the arrest of Sir Charles Wolseley and Harrison, no steps had been taken to interfere with the action of the Reformers. 'Your exhortations to the king's servants,' wrote Lord Eldon to his brother, Sir William Scott, 'I doubt can't reach many of them, for with the exception of Liverpool, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Wellington, Van, and myself, they are all, fourteen in number, in different parts of Europe. We meet daily, but can resolve on nothing.

In fact, the state of our law is so inapplicable to existing circumstances that we can't meet the present case; and I am as convinced as I am of my own existence, that if Parliament don't *forthwith* assemble there is nothing that can be done but to let these meetings take place, reading the Riot Act if there be a mob at any of them. Prosecutions for *sedition* spoken at them we have now in plenty afoot, and they may come to trial some months hence. They are not worth a straw, and blamed as I was in 1794 for prosecuting for *high treason*, all are convinced here that *that* species of prosecution can alone be of any use. I think, however, that it won't be attempted. The case is as large and complicated as mine was in 1794, and nobody has the spirit to attempt it.'

Another innovation, introduced at this time in the proceedings of the Reformers, served to increase not a little the public alarm—they now began to practise military drilling. One of the Lancashire magistrates wrote to the Home Secretary on the 5th of August 'that the drilling parties increase very extensively.' Two days later it was reported that 'in various parts of the neighbourhood of Bury there are nightly assemblies of great numbers of men, who meet together to learn and practise military training;' and proceedings of the same kind had been seen in the vicinity of Bolton. It appears that a large number of persons had been drilled on Sunday, the 8th of August, at Tandle Hill, near Rochdale, and that a similar meeting was to be held on the Sunday following, which, however, was to be the last. Informations to the same effect were taken by the magistrates in various other parts of Lancashire, and were transmitted to Lord Sidmouth. The Home Secretary seems to have at once adopted the opinion that this training must have been going on in secret for a long time, and had only now been brought to light, and that it was part of the preparations of the Radicals to bring about a revolution by physical force. There can

be little doubt, however, that this was an entire mistake. There is abundant evidence to show that the drilling did not take place until the first days of August, and that it was intended merely as a preparation for a great meeting which was about to be held at Manchester on the 16th of this month. Bamford, whose honesty and truthfulness are above all suspicion, distinctly affirms that this was the case. 'It was deemed expedient,' he says, 'that this meeting should be as morally effective as possible, and that it should exhibit a spectacle such as had never before been witnessed in England. We had frequently been taunted by the press with our ragged and dirty appearance at these assemblages, with the confusion of our proceedings and the mob-like crowds in which our numbers were mustered; and we determined that for once at least these reflections should not be deserved.' Injunctions were accordingly issued by the committees that the members should attend to the rules of cleanliness and sobriety, and it was resolved to practise drilling for a week or two for the purpose of securing order in their movements. 'These drillings,' says Bamford, 'were also to our sedentary weavers and spinners periods of healthful exercise and enjoyment. When dusk came and we could no longer see to work, we jumped from our looms, rushed to the sweet cool air of the fields, or the waste lands, or the green lane sides. Or in the grey of a fine Sunday morn we would saunter through the mists fragrant with the night odour of flowers and of new hay, and ascending the Tandle Hill salute the broad sun as he climbed from behind the high moors of Saddleworth. . . . There was not any arms—no use for any—no pretence for any; nor would they have been permitted. Some of the elderly men, the old soldiers, or those who came to watch, might bring a walking-staff; or a young fellow might pull a stake from a hedge in going to drill or in returning home; but assuredly we had nothing like arms about us. There were no armed meetings; there were no

midnight drillings. Why should we seek to conceal what we had no hesitation in performing in broad day? There was not anything of the sort.' It is quite evident that the drilling was not clandestine or armed, and that it was not undertaken with a view to any ulterior unlawful object. At the same time it might have been ultimately perverted to purposes quite different from its original object, and it was liable to misconstruction by lookers on, as Bamford himself frankly admits. 'Some extravagances,' he says, 'some acts, and some speeches, better let alone, did certainly take place. When the men clapped their hands in "standing at ease" some would jokingly say "it was firing," whilst those who were sent to observe us—and probably we were seldom unattended by such—and who knew little about military motions, would take the joke as a reality, and report accordingly; whence probably it would be surmised that we had arms, and that our drillings were only preparatory to their more effective use.'

The Reformers of Manchester had resolved to follow the example of Birmingham, and to elect a legislatorial attorney for their town also. On the 31st of July an advertisement appeared in one of the local newspapers calling a meeting of the inhabitants on the 16th of August for the purpose of choosing a representative and petitioning for a reform of Parliament. The magistrates on this issued a notice, intimating that they would not permit an assemblage of the people for a purpose clearly illegal. The persons who had called the meeting addressed a requisition numerously signed to the borough-reeve and constables, requesting them to convene a meeting at an early day 'to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining reform in the Commons House of Parliament.' The magistrates, however, refused to comply with this request, and the leaders of the movement gave public notice that the meeting would be held on the day previously intimated.

The place selected for the meeting was a small piece of vacant ground, then on the outskirts of the town, but long since completely covered with buildings. It was in the vicinity of St. Peter's Church, and was known as St. Petersfield or Peterloo. It was on this spot that the meeting of the Blanketeers' was held in 1817. Hunt was invited and consented to take the chair, and it was understood that he was to have been chosen as the legislative attorney for Manchester if an election had taken place.

Great preparations had been made both in Manchester and in the towns and villages around to insure the success of the meeting, and deputations amounting to several thousands in number were appointed to attend and take part in the proceedings. On the other side, the magistrates, who were in a state of great excitement and alarm, were on the alert to preserve the peace and to protect the inhabitants from any outrage on the part of the multitude. A body of troops had at their request been sent to Manchester, the yeomanry of Lancashire and Cheshire were called out, and a large body of special constables sworn in for the occasion.

The mode in which the reformers of Middleton, under Bamford's personal guidance, proceeded to the place of meeting, may be regarded as a fair specimen of the whole. By eight o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 16th, the entire population of the town was astir. The persons, about 3000 in number, who intended to go to the meeting were drawn up in regular order, and were headed by twelve youths in two rows, each holding in his hand a branch of laurel, 'as a token of amity and peace.' There were two silk flags in the array, the one blue, the other green, bearing the inscriptions in letters of gold, 'Unity and Strength,' 'Liberty and Strength,' 'Liberty and Fraternity,' 'Parliaments Annual,' 'Suffrage Universal,' and a cap of liberty was borne between them. The men marched five abreast, having a leader, bearing a sprig of

laurel in his hat, over every hundred, with superior officers similarly distinguished over them. Bamford himself walked at the head of the column, attended by a bugleman to sound his orders. Before setting out on their march to Manchester, Bamford formed them into a hollow square, and gave them a short address on the importance of their conducting themselves in a steady and becoming manner. He recommended them 'not to offer any insult or provocation by word or deed, nor to notice any persons who might do the same by them, but to keep such persons as quiet as possible; for if they began to retaliate, the least disturbance might serve as a pretext for dispersing the meeting.' He further informed them that the committee had laid down a rule forbidding any sticks or weapons of any description to be carried in the ranks; and if any had been brought, they must be at once laid aside. 'I may say with truth,' continues Bamford, 'that we presented a most respectable assemblage of labouring men; all were decently, though humbly, attired, and I noticed not one who did not exhibit a white Sunday's shirt, a neckcloth, and other apparel in the same clean, though homely condition.'

After this address from their leader, the Middleton reformers resumed their march at a slow pace. On their way they were soon joined by the Rochdale people, whose numbers were equal to their own; and as they proceeded, they received various other accessions to their ranks. Several hundreds of women, mostly young wives and girls, and even a number of children, accompanied them, dancing to the music, and singing snatches of popular songs. Processions from other towns and villages had reached Manchester before them, marching in similar array, with banners and music. The members of the Lees and Saddleworth Union were under the leadership of Dr. Healey, the quack doctor, who walked in front of a black flag, on which was inscribed, in staring white letters, 'Equal Representation or

Death ; ' Love, ' with two hands joined and a heart. ' The idea, ' says Bamford, ' of my diminutive friend leading a funeral procession of his own patients—such it appeared to me—was calculated to force a smile even at that thoughtful moment. ' An immense multitude had by this time assembled in St. Peter's field, and by one o'clock the whole space was completely occupied with at least 50,000 or 60,000 men. At this hour, Hunt himself appeared on the scene, seated, along with a number of friends, in an open barouche, preceded by a band of music and flags flying, and was hailed by one universal shout from the vast concourse. ' They threaded their way slowly past us and through the crowd, ' says Bamford, ' which Hunt eyed, I thought, with almost as much of astonishment as satisfaction. ' ' The Orator ' proceeded to the temporary hustings erected upon two waggons, and prepared to address the meeting.

Meanwhile the magistrates were in a state of great uneasiness and anxiety, and appear to have been quite at a loss what course to take. They had been at first inclined to prevent the meeting ; but after some hesitation, they resolved that they would allow it to be held. They had in their possession warrants for the arrest of the leaders ; but most injudiciously, for reasons which they did not attempt to explain, they resolved to defer the execution of the warrants until the people had all assembled, and the proceedings had commenced. They met in a house which adjoined and overlooked the place of meeting ; and as soon as Hunt had taken his place on the hustings, they ordered Mr. Nadin, the chief-constable, to arrest him. Nadin, however, pointed out to them that it was utterly impossible for him to do so. Instead of delaying the execution of the warrant until the meeting had dispersed, the magistrates resolved to call in the military to enable the arrest to be made at once. They had at hand, besides 200 special constables, six troops of the 15th Hussars, a troop of horse artillery with two

guns, the 31st regiment of infantry, some companies of the 88th regiment, the Cheshire yeomanry, comprising between 300 and 400 men, who had arrived only that morning, and a troop of Manchester yeomanry, numbering about forty members. A letter was sent to the commander of the Manchester yeomanry, and another to Colonel L'Estrange, of the 31st regiment, who as senior officer was in charge of the troops, requiring them to come to the house where the magistrates were. The yeomanry arrived first at a brisk trot, and were received with a tremendous shout by the multitude. Hunt, when he saw them approach, assured the people that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and called upon them to stand firm and to give three cheers, which was done. The yeomanry, after halting for two or three minutes, drew their swords, and, waving them, attempted to penetrate the dense crowd ; but they were speedily scattered, hemmed in, and brought to a stand. Matters were in this state when the hussars rode up. Sir William Jolliffe, who was a lieutenant of the cavalry regiment, says, when he came in sight, the yeomanry ' were scattered singly or in small groups over the greater part of the field, literally hemmed up and wedged into the mob, so that they were powerless either to make an impression or to escape ; in fact, they were in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe, and it required only a glance to discover their helpless position and the necessity of our being brought to their rescue. '

Mr. Hulton, the chairman of the bench of magistrates, seems to have entirely lost his head at this juncture. He says he imagined that the yeomanry were completely beaten, though there is no evidence that a hand had been lifted against them ; and when Colonel L'Estrange asked him what he was to do he exclaimed, ' Good God, sir, do you not see how they are attacking the yeomanry ? Disperse the crowd. ' The colonel at once obeyed the

order. The words 'Front' and 'Forward' were given, the trumpet sounded the charge, and the cavalry dashed into the defenceless crowd, making for the hustings where Hunt and the other leaders were stationed. No resistance was offered. 'The charge swept the mingled mass of human beings before it,' says Sir W. Joliffe. 'People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over another, so that by the time we had arrived at the end of the field the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground. The hussars generally drove the people forward with the flats of their swords; but sometimes, as is almost inevitably the case when men are placed in such situations, the edge was used both by the hussars and, as I have heard, by the yeomen also.' When the cavalry had cleared their way to the hustings the commanding officer, brandishing his sword, told Hunt that he was his prisoner. Hunt replied that he would readily surrender to any civil officer who would show his warrant, and Nadin then took him into custody.

Bamford's description of the scene, as might be expected, gives a much more vivid view of the sufferings of the multitude, trodden and hewn down so suddenly and unexpectedly. He says, he 'called out "Stand fast" to those around him when he saw the troops charging the multitude, "they are riding upon us; stand fast."' 'And there was a general cry,' he adds, 'in our quarter of "Stand fast." The cavalry were in confusion; they evidently could not, with all the weight of men and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings, and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads, and then chopped limbs and wound-gaping skulls were seen; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion. "Ah! Ah!" "For shame! for shame!" was shouted. Then "Break! break! They are killing them in front and they cannot get away." And there was a general cry of "Break! break."

For a moment the crowd held back as in a pause; there was a rush heavy and resistless as a headlong sea, and a sound like low thunder, with screams, prayers, and imprecations from the crowd, moiled and sabredoomed, who could not escape. In ten minutes from the commencement of the havoc the field was an open and almost deserted space. The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewed staves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two dropping; whilst over the whole field were strewn caps, bonnets, hats, shawls, and shoes, and other parts of male and female dress, trampled, torn, and bloody. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Some of these still groaning, others with staring eyes were gasping for breath; and others would never breathe more. All was silent save these low sounds, and the occasional snorting and pawing of steeds. Persons might sometimes be noticed peeping from attics and over the tall ridgings of houses; but they quickly withdrew as if fearful of being observed, or unable to sustain the full gaze of a scene so hideous and abhorrent.'

Seventy injured persons were taken to the infirmary, of whom about thirty were suffering from sabre wounds; the others from contusions or fractures. Five or six individuals lost their lives, among whom was a special constable ridden over by the hussars, and one of the Manchester yeomanry, whose skull was fractured either by a blow from a brick-bat or by a fall from his horse caused by that stroke.

The Manchester magistrates seem at once to have had misgivings as to the step which they had taken, in ordering the soldiers to make an attack on an unarmed and peaceable meeting of their fellow-countrymen assembled to petition for an object strictly lawful and constitutional. They had certainly incurred a great responsibility, and had shown themselves sadly wanting in foresight and discretion, if not also in humanity. If they had regarded the

meeting as illegal they ought to have prevented it by issuing a notice to that effect, as they had done in the case of the meeting called to elect a legislative attorney. They might have arrested Hunt and the other leaders on their way to the meeting, or have deferred their arrest till the proceedings had terminated. Above all, there was nothing in the conduct of the Peterloo assemblage which threatened any disturbance or breach of the peace, and therefore no reason why it should have been dispersed by force, when numerous other meetings of a similar kind had been permitted without any evil results having taken place. It is quite evident, and, indeed, was virtually confessed, that after deliberating for two days they had been unable to form any definite plan of action, and had only resolved to wait till they should see what might happen. The sight of the immense multitude seems to have completely unnerved them. The order issued to the Manchester yeomanry, to walk their horses up to the hustings through the densely packed crowd, was foolish in the extreme. The fancied danger to the men isolated or scattered among the multitude evidently terrified their chairman almost out of his wits; and the command given to the soldiers to disperse the meeting was the result of the mingled trepidation and passion of a person manifestly unfit for the responsible position which he unhappily occupied at that crisis.

The magistrates were evidently uneasy as to the consequences of the course which they had followed so hastily and inconsiderately. They lost no time in despatching one of their number, accompanied by another gentleman, to London to lay before the Government their own version of the lamentable incident for which they were responsible. These deputies reached the metropolis on Wednesday (18th August), and a cabinet council was immediately summoned to hear their story. Eight out of fourteen ministers were still abroad, but, as Lord Eldon significantly remarks,

‘in that there is no harm; the other six are fully as many as can actually converse upon any subject.’ The Chancellor, as usual, was disposed to take high ground. He had still a hankering after the opinion he gave in 1794, when he conducted the prosecution of Hardy and Horne Tooke, and was signally defeated in his attempt to establish against them a charge of high treason. He endeavoured to persuade the other ministers present that the Manchester meeting was not only illegal, but treasonable. ‘A conspiracy by force to make a change in either House of Parliament,’ he said, ‘manifested by an overt act, is treason.’ Lord Redesdale, ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland, had no doubt on the subject. ‘Every meeting for Radical reform,’ he wrote, ‘was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the existing constitution and Government by bringing it into hatred and contempt, but it was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that constitution of Government, including the king as its head, and bound by his coronation oath to maintain it.’ With these opinions before them, enunciated by such high legal authorities, it was natural that the law officers of the Crown should inform the ministers present ‘that they were fully satisfied that the meeting was of a character and description, and assembled under such circumstances, as justified the magistrates on dispersing it by force.’ Without further consideration Lord Sidmouth wrote with all haste to the Prince Regent, who was at this time (19th August) in his yacht at Christchurch, to inform him of the decision of the ministers; and his Royal Highness instantly conveyed his ‘approbation and high commendation of the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities at Manchester, as well as of the officers and troops, both regular, yeomanry, and cavalry, whose firmness and effectual support of the civil power,’ he was pleased to say, ‘preserved the peace of the town on that most critical occasion.’ With equal precipitation the Home Secretary on the

21st addressed letters to the lords-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire (the Earls of Derby and Stamford), requesting them to convey to the magistrates of the two counties 'the great satisfaction derived by his Royal Highness from their prompt decision and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity.'

Lord Sidmouth's conduct in thus rashly, and with a very imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of the case, committing the Government irretrievably to the approval of the magistrates' conduct, has been severely and, indeed, is now almost universally, condemned. His biographer, who was well aware of this fact, has attempted to defend the conduct of the Home Secretary by a plea which simply amounts to this, that in order to secure the support of the magistracy throughout the country, it was necessary to vindicate their proceedings, whether right or wrong. 'Lord Sidmouth,' he says, 'was well aware that this proceeding would subject him to the charge of precipitation; but he was acting upon what he considered an essential principle of government—namely, to acquire the confidence of the magistracy, especially in critical times, by showing a readiness to support them in all honest, reasonable, and well-intended acts, without inquiring too minutely whether they might have performed their duty a little better or a little worse. So impressed was his lordship with the importance of this principle that he constantly declared in after life that, had the question recurred, he should again have pursued a course the policy of which was not less obvious than its justice. If, indeed, the Government had left these magistrates exposed to the storm of popular indignation until the verdict against Hunt and his associates in the succeeding year had demonstrated the legality of their conduct, the magistracy at large must, from the dread of abandonment, have failed in duty towards that royal authority which either could not or would not stand by them in the hour of peril; and thus, in all probability, the most

calamitous consequences would have ensued.'

The justification of the conduct of the magistrates turned entirely on the question, whether the meeting which they commanded the soldiers to disperse was legal or illegal. The confident opinion which Lord Eldon expressed on this point was based on the supposition that the meeting was treasonable. In a letter which he wrote at this period to his brother, Sir William Scott, he says, 'Without all doubt the Manchester magistrates must be supported; but they are very generally blamed here. *For my part, I think, if the assembly was only an unlawful assembly that task will be difficult enough on sound reasoning.* If the meeting was an overt act of treason their justification is complete. An unlawful assembly, *as such merely*, I apprehend, cannot be dispersed, and what constitutes riot enough to justify dispersion is no easy matter to determine.' In entire consistency with these views the Chancellor urged that Hunt and his associates should be indicted for treason, but the other members of the Cabinet prudently declined to follow his advice. Lord Sidmouth, four days after he had issued his cordial commendation of the conduct of the magistrates, informed the Regent that the evidence against the prisoners did not afford sufficient ground for proceeding against them for high treason, and the Ministry were compelled to withdraw the charge, and indict them for a conspiracy to alter the law by force and by threats. The meeting then, on Lord Eldon's own showing, must have been a perfectly lawful assembly.

It was evident at a glance, that if the principles on which the magistrates acted and which the Government commended were sound, the right of the people to hold meetings was completely abrogated. Lord Eldon, whose public speeches were not always quite in harmony with his private sentiments, in defending the magistrates in the House of Lords argued that 'numbers constituted force, and force terror, and terror illegality.' If the Chancellor's argument

wassound, it followed that every numerously attended meeting to petition for any reform in Parliament or for a redress of grievances was an illegal assembly, and every person present at such a meeting incurred the penalties of treason—a result which the Ministry desired, but durst not venture to avow. It need excite no surprise that the moderate and judicious supporters of the Government disapproved of proceedings which led to such consequences as these. ‘What do reasonable people think of the Manchester business?’ wrote Mr. Ward from Paris. ‘I am inclined to suspect that the magistrates were in too great a hurry, and that their loyal zeal and the *nova gloria in armis* tempted the yeomanry to too liberal a use of the sabre; in short, that their conduct has given some colour of reason to the complaints and anger of the Jacobins. The approbation of Government was probably given as the supposed price of support from the Tories in that part of the country.’

When such were the sentiments of the friends of the Ministry, their opponents could hardly fail to feel strong indignation at the countenance given to the authors of the ‘Peterloo massacre,’ as the attack on the Radical meeting was termed. Sir Francis Burdett at once, in a letter addressed to the electors of Westminster, denounced the conduct of the Manchester magistrates in such unmeasured terms that the Attorney-General instituted proceedings against him on an *ex-officio* information for libel.

Undeterred by the tragical result of the Manchester gathering, the Reformers held meetings in the large towns, in every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of denouncing the conduct both of the magistrates and the Ministry. At some of these meetings the speakers appeared in deep mourning, and the flags were bordered with crape. On one was represented a yeoman cutting down a woman with his sabre. On another the word ‘Vengeance’ was inscribed. At the Birmingham meeting, which was attended by Sir Charles Wolseley, a kind

of funeral procession was exhibited. But though these manifestations of popular feeling must have been very galling to the ministers and their supporters, as there was no appearance of any disturbance or excitement to violence, no plea was afforded for any interference, on the part of the authorities, with the proceedings.

Subscriptions were opened in London and Liverpool for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of the wounded, and of obtaining legal redress against the Manchester magistrates and the yeomanry. The Duke of Hamilton, lord-lieutenant of the county of Lanark, sent a subscription of fifty pounds to the committee for the relief of the sufferers, accompanied by a letter, expressing his alarm at the manner in which the Manchester meeting had been forcibly broken up. Attempts were made to bring the perpetrators to justice. Indictments were presented against several of the yeomanry for cutting and maiming with intent to kill; but the grand jury of Lancaster threw out the bills. The juries who were summoned on the coroner’s inquests to inquire into the causes of the death of the unfortunate persons who had lost their lives at the meeting, carefully avoided expressing any opinion condemnatory of the magistrates or the yeomanry. Their verdict in some cases was ‘Accidental death.’ In one, on a child, ‘Died by a fall from his mother’s arms.’ In another, ‘Died by the pressure of the military, being under the civil power.’ The attempt to institute judicial proceedings on such verdicts as these was, of course, unsuccessful.

The decisions of the Lancashire authorities, who were regarded as interested persons, availed little to diminish the disapprobation of the country or to strengthen the hands of the Ministry. More full information respecting the circumstances of the assault of the military on the defenceless operatives, and the conduct of the magistrates, served only to increase the public excitement and indignation. The

Common Council of London held a meeting on the 9th of September for 'the purpose of considering the late transactions at Manchester, and the steps to be taken in consequence.' After a keen debate resolutions were adopted, by a majority of seventy-one to forty-five, declaring that the Manchester meeting was legally assembled; that its proceedings were conducted in an orderly and peaceable manner; and that the people comprising it were therefore acting under the sanction of the laws, and entitled to the protection of the magistrates. The conduct of the magistrates and the military was condemned in the strongest terms as 'unprovoked and intemperate, highly disgraceful to the character of Englishmen, and a daring violation of the British constitution;' and the Regent was entreated to institute an inquiry into the outrages that had been committed, and to cause the perpetrators to be brought to signal and condign punishment. An address, founded on these resolutions, was presented personally by the Common Council to the Prince Regent. His Royal Highness was advised, not very judiciously, to reply in angry terms, imputing to the Common Council ignorance of the circumstances which preceded the Manchester meeting, and incorrect information respecting the incidents which occurred at it. Such a rebuke was not calculated to allay the public agitation, and the example set by the metropolis was quickly followed by Norwich, Westminster, York, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other large towns; and the Ministry came in for a full share of the censure pronounced upon the magistrates, on the ground that the royal sanction had been given by their advice to such illegal and violent proceedings. A number of county meetings also were held, the most important of which was the assembly of the freeholders of Yorkshire, called by a requisition to the high-sheriff, and held at York on the 14th of October. The meeting was attended by 20,000 persons, including the leading Whig landowners of that great county, among

whom was Earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of the West Riding, who had also signed the requisition to the sheriff. The resolutions passed at it expressed no opinion respecting the conduct of the Manchester magistrates or the military, but merely petitioned for inquiry. The Ministry, however, were greatly alarmed at the countenance given to the meeting by Lord Fitzwilliam. His lordship was the head of an ancient and powerful family, had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795, and was one of the wealthiest noblemen in the kingdom, having inherited not only the family estates of the Fitzwilliams in Northamptonshire and Ireland, but also (through his mother, the heiress of the marquis of Rockingham) the extensive possessions of the Wentworths in Yorkshire. He was one of the most influential leaders of the Whig party, and was personally popular among all classes of the community. The Ministry were both alarmed and angry at the indication thus given that the Whigs intended to take the question at issue out of the hands of the Radicals, but at the same time, as Brougham expressed it, to 'avow their determination to stand by the constitution, and to oppose all illegal attempts to violate it.' At the instigation of Lord Sidmouth, the Cabinet resolved promptly to mark their displeasure at Lord Fitzwilliam's conduct, and he was immediately dismissed from the office of lord-lieutenant of the West Riding—a high-handed proceeding, which did not tend to diminish their unpopularity in the country.

The 'Peterloo Massacre,' as it was termed, produced a deep and permanent effect on the public mind, and formed a marked epoch in the history of the protracted struggle for parliamentary reform. Great irritation was produced among the lower classes, and anxiety as to the consequences was felt by the leaders of the Whig party, who dreaded that Government would take advantage of the excitement and of the fears of the higher classes to propose measures for the restric-

tion of popular liberties. 'Indignation meetings' continued to be held in rapid succession by the working-classes in all the manufacturing districts, at which resolutions were passed denouncing the conduct of the Government in no measured terms. But it is an instructive fact that the authorities did not venture to follow the example of the Manchester magistrates, except in the single case of a meeting held on a moor, near Paisley, on the 11th of September. The sheriff of Renfrewshire, and the provost and magistrates of Paisley thought fit to issue a proclamation denouncing the intention of bands of persons from different quarters to pass through the town, on their way to and from the proposed meeting, 'with flags and devices of a political and inflammatory nature,' and warning all who should take part in such 'illegal' proceedings that they would be held responsible for their conduct. Of course, no attention was paid to this injudicious and uncalled for edict, and the Reformers, on their return from the meeting, marched through the High Street of Paisley with flags displayed and a band of music playing. The magistrates ordered the banners to be seized. A violent disturbance in consequence broke out; lamps and windows were broken, special constables maltreated, and the sheriff and provost and magistrates, whose foolish conduct had caused the riot, were roughly handled by the mob. In the end the military had to be called out to clear the streets and suppress the disturbances, which was fortunately effected without any loss of life, though several persons were severely wounded.

Meanwhile the Ministry were in a state of great apprehension and perplexity. They saw clearly that the existing laws were powerless to suppress the meetings of the Reformers, and they dreaded a union between the Whigs and the Radicals for the overthrow of the Government. 'The Opposition,' wrote Lord Eldon to his brother, 'are now fools enough to think that they can overturn the Administration with the help

of the Radicals, and that they can then manage the Radicals; and this is the game they will play in Parliament. The insane, however, can only play such a game and think of winning. They may turn out the Administration—that's likely enough; but it will work their own destruction if they do it in connection with the Radicals.' The choice, in the Chancellor's estimation, lay between allowing the country to become 'a land of anarchy, in which it would be impossible to exist,' or passing such laws as would make it 'a land of necessary tyranny, in which existence would not be to be wished.' 'Nothing but Parliament,' he adds, 'can attempt a remedy for present evils. Whether that attempt will succeed I know not; but if Ministers will not try it they ought to make way for other Ministers who either will try it or some other measure which may occur to them, and does not occur to me.' 'We are in a state,' he writes, on another occasion, 'in which we must make new laws to meet this new state of things, or we must make a shocking choice between military government and anarchy.' The Home Secretary was quite as much an alarmist as the Lord Chancellor, and as eager to try the effect of new legislation. On the 26th of September he wrote to Lord Eldon, 'Even your letters, though they justify and sanction, could not strengthen my conviction that the law with respect to the points to which you have particularly referred cannot be suffered to remain as it is.' 'The laws are not strong enough for the times,' he wrote again; 'but they must be made so, if it were meant to afford the country a reasonable hope of permanent tranquillity.' These sentiments were re-echoed by Lord Redesdale, who recommended that a declaratory law should be passed 'to remove all doubt of the treasonable criminality of such assemblies' as the Manchester meeting. The sagacity of Lord Brougham led him to anticipate that the Government would adopt this policy. 'I have little doubt,' he wrote to Earl Grey, on the 24th of October, 'that they seriously

and desperately intend to change the Government into one less free. I should say they did so, if they passed laws restricting meetings and the press. Nor would it stop there.'

Lord Sidmouth was so eager to get repressive measures passed, that early in September he suggested to Lord Liverpool that Parliament should be convened as soon as possible, in order, as he said, that 'the laws might be strengthened and the military force of the country augmented without delay.' The premier, however, did not approve of the proposal, and on the 21st of September the Cabinet decided against it. But the hostile movements in the large towns and in counties made them alter their views, and at another meeting on the 18th of October they resolved to issue an order for the assembling of Parliament on the 23rd of November. The energy and decision which characterized the proceedings of the Ministry at this period presented a marked contrast to their previous feeble and hesitating policy, and made Brougham write to Earl Grey, 'These strange things are plainly none of Lord Liverpool's doings; I see Wellington in them.' There can be little doubt that this conjecture was well founded. The duke had shortly before the events narrated returned to England, and had entered the Cabinet as Master-General of the Ordnance.

The allied sovereigns had stipulated, at the downfall of Napoleon, that in order to prevent a recurrence of the desolating war which had been terminated by the victory of Waterloo, an army of occupation, consisting of 150,000 men, should be maintained in France at her own expense for the space of five or, if necessary, of seven years. The Duke of Wellington was intrusted, by common consent, with the command of the force charged with this critical duty. If the duke had been actuated by a regard to his private interests he would have recommended the maintenance of this arrangement to its full extent; for his emoluments were very large,

and his position was exceedingly influential and honourable. Most of his colleagues, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian, were decidedly in favour of the strict enforcement of the contract. But after the lapse of three years Wellington felt satisfied that the occupation of the French soil by foreign bayonets was no longer necessary, and recommended that they should be withdrawn. A congress was accordingly held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the autumn of 1818, for the purpose of deciding this question. It was attended by the ministers of the several powers, including the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh as the representatives of Great Britain. The Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia also took part in the proceedings. After two preliminary conferences it was finally and unanimously agreed, on the 2nd of October, that the evacuation should take place as speedily as possible. A week later a formal treaty was drawn up and signed, in which it was settled that the army of occupation should be withdrawn by the 30th of November, and the sum remaining to be paid by France of the indemnity stipulated by the treaty of 20th November, 1815, was fixed at 265,000,000 francs. It was acknowledged on all hands that it was mainly owing to the exertions of the Duke of Wellington that the objections made to this satisfactory arrangement were obviated, and the difficulties which arose in carrying it out were smoothed away. 'Sufficient justice,' says a French historian, 'has not generally been done to the Duke of Wellington for the liberal and faithful manner in which he protected the interests of France throughout all the negotiations with foreign powers. The duke was highly favourable to France in everything that related to the evacuation of her territory. His position as generalissimo of the army of occupation gave a great weight to his advice on this question. He was consulted at every step, and his opinion was always given in terms expressive of an elevation of view and sentiment which did honour to

his character. With the cessation of the armed occupation the duke was to lose a great position in France—that of generalissimo of the allied powers—and one which made him in some sort a member of the Government. He was to sacrifice also an appointment of immense pecuniary value; moreover, his Grace knew the personal opinion of Lord Castlereagh and of a large portion of the English aristocracy to be that the continuance of the armed occupation was necessary. All these interests did not check him. He was of opinion that this measure of precaution should cease, seeing that not only had France duly discharged the stipulated payments, but that her government appeared to present the character of order and duration. This opinion was most influential at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Congress did not break up till the middle of November, and before separating the members signed, on the 15th of that month, a 'Declaration,' in which they referred to the treaty of the 9th of October as the accomplishment of the work of peace, and declared that their union had no other object than the maintenance of peace, and that its 'fundamental basis was their inviolable resolution never to depart, either among themselves or in their relations with other states, from the strictest observance of the principles of the rights of other nations.' The treatment which the people of Spain and Naples received from the members of the Holy Alliance shows the real value of these declarations, and how widely their practice differed from their professions.

So expeditiously was the evacuation carried out, that the time fixed for it was anticipated by about a month. The Duke of Wellington reviewed the troops for the last time at Sedan about the end of October, and took leave of them in an order of the day dated, from his head-quarters at Cambray, on the 7th of November. It was impossible, he said, for him to take leave of the troops which he had had the honour to command, without returning thanks to them for their

good conduct during the whole time they had been under his charge. If the evacuation of the country was to be carried out in a satisfactory manner, the result was largely due to the conciliatory behaviour of the generals, the good example they had shown to their subordinate officers, and the strict discipline they had always enforced. It was with sentiments of regret that he had seen the moment arrive that was to terminate his public connection and private relations with the officers which had been so advantageous to himself, and he begged the generals commanding-in-chief to make known to their respective contingents the assurance that he should never cease to take the most lively interest in anything that might concern them, and that he would always cherish the remembrance of the three years during which he had the honour to be at their head.

The Ministry in their tottering condition saw clearly that the accession of the Duke of Wellington would contribute not a little to strengthen their hands, and raise them from the feeble and contemptible state into which they had fallen. Accordingly, while his Grace was still attending the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle they offered him the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Cabinet. Immediately after his return to England in December, 1818, after the breaking up of the army of occupation, the duke took his place as a member of Lord Liverpool's administration. Strengthened and encouraged by the presence of this powerful auxiliary, the ministers ventured to convene Parliament at this unusual period, and to ask from it stringent powers of repression.

Parliament was opened by the Prince Regent in person, on the 23rd of November, with a speech which clearly foreshadowed the nature of the coercive measures that the Government intended to propose to 'check the dissemination of the doctrines of treason and impiety.' In both Houses the Opposition moved amendments to the address, and debates of great keenness and unusual length

ensued. Earl Grey, who moved the amendment in the Upper House, denounced in indignant terms the policy of the ministers who, instead of searching out and striving to remove the causes of the existing discontent and to relieve the people from the heavy burdens that pressed upon them, had recourse to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the suppression of public meetings by the sword, and other stringent coercive measures. Where discontent generally prevailed, he said, there must be much distress, and there never was extensive discontent without misgovernment. Lord Bacon had said that the surest way to prevent seditions is to take away the matter of them; but the Government, in spite of the most urgent warnings and remonstrances, had persisted in adding largely and needlessly to the public burdens, and had aggravated instead of alleviating the sufferings of the people. After condemning the precipitation with which the Manchester magistrates had acted and the 'flippant and impertinent' answer which had been given by the Regent to the address from the City of London, his lordship animadverted in indignant terms on the dismissal of Lord Fitzwilliam, on whom he pronounced a glowing eulogium as 'a man who had been distinguished by his public and constant support of the Crown in every trying difficulty—a man of high rank, extensive influence, and princely possessions—a man beloved and esteemed—a man who, from his particular situation, afforded security to the Government, and firmness and confidence to the people.' The defence of the Ministry against this formidable attack devolved on the Home Secretary and the Lord Chancellor. The former said he would 'boldly take upon him to assert that the Manchester meeting was not only illegal, but treasonable;' and that 'the magistrates would have acted not only unwisely, but unjustly and basely, had they done otherwise than they did.' Lord Eldon again, though, as we have seen, he had repeatedly admitted to his brother that the

meeting could not be proved to be unlawful, yet now declared that 'when he read in his law-books that numbers constituted force, and force terror, and terror illegality, he felt that no man could say that the Manchester meeting was not an illegal one.' The Prime Minister, like the Home Secretary, affirmed that the meeting was not only illegal, but treasonable. He made no attempt, however, to explain, since this was his opinion, how he accounted for the fact that the Government withdrew the charge of treason which they had brought against Hunt and his associates, and substituted for it a charge of sedition. The amendment was of course rejected; it received only 34 votes against 159 who opposed it.

A debate still more keen and protracted took place in the Commons on an amendment proposed by Mr. Tierney, and seconded by the Marquis of Tavistock. The principal speakers in its support were Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Scarlett, Lord Nugent, Mr. Grey Bennet, and Mr. Brougham; while the Ministry and the magistrates were defended by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, Mr. Stuart Wortley (who was severely and deservedly chastised by Mackintosh), Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Canning. The speeches of Canning and Brougham, who closed the discussion, were distinguished for their remarkable argumentative power and eloquence. The amendment was negatived by 381 votes to 181.

Supported by their large majorities, the Government lost no time in bringing forward the coercive measures of which they had given notice. No less than four bills were introduced in the Lords on the 29th of November. The first, by the Lord Chancellor, was 'An act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in the cases of misdemeanor.' It had for its object to prevent delays in trials for misdemeanor, by taking away from defendants the power of postponing their pleas to the term or session subsequent to that on which the information had been filed, or the indictment found against them. The incon-

venience which was thus sought to be remedied had previously attracted the attention of the Chancellor, and he had at a former period intimated his intention of proposing such a measure on general grounds. But as it was introduced in connection with the other restrictive acts, and was auxiliary to them, it was classed in the same category. It was due at this time to the position in which Hunt and his associates were placed. If they had been indicted for treason—the charge on which they were committed—their trial must have taken place immediately. But, as Lord Grenville remarked, ‘an indictment found for a conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force may be traversed by the defendant like the smallest misdemeanor. That traverse adjourns the case from July to April; the prisoner is then released on bail, and it will be little less than nine months from the date of the accusation that the king and the prisoner will have justice done to them upon it.’ ‘Such a judicial proceeding,’ he adds, ‘may operate for vengeance; it can never operate for prevention.’

There can be no doubt that these remarks were well founded, and that the defect pointed out in the mode of conducting judicial proceedings required to be remedied. But there was a much more serious defect which the Government chose to overlook, as its effect was most injurious to the rights, not of the prosecutor, but of the accused. The Attorney-General had at this time the power to lodge an *ex-officio* information against an accused person, without taking any immediate steps to bring him to trial. This power had often been grossly abused. Sir Vicary Gibbs, as we have seen, when Attorney-General, had loaded the files of the court with *ex-officio* informations, most of which were never brought to trial, but were kept suspended for years over the heads of his unfortunate victims. His successors appear to have walked closely in his footsteps. Lord Holland had repeatedly brought this flagrant grievance under the notice of Parliament, but

without effect. On the second reading of the Misdemeanor Bill, he renewed his exposure of this unjust system, and stated that ‘there were at present forty informations depending, some of which had been hanging over the parties accused for one, two, three, four, and even for ten years.’ He was powerfully supported by Lord Erskine and Earl Grosvenor; and though Lord Liverpool made a feeble attempt to defend the existing system, by alleging that the Attorney-General could be impeached if he abused his powers, the Lord-Chancellor admitted that the practice was indefensible, and agreed to Lord Holland’s suggestion, that a clause should be added to the bill, enabling a defendant, against whom an information should have been filed *ex-officio*, to compel the Attorney-General to bring on the trial of his case within a year, or to abandon the prosecution. The bill with this addition became law.

On the same day on which the Misdemeanor Bill was laid before the Lords, three others were introduced by Lord Sidmouth, entitled severally, ‘An Act to prevent the training of persons to the use of arms and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise;’ ‘An Act for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels;’ and ‘An Act to authorize Justices of the Peace, in certain disturbed counties, to seize and detain arms collected and kept for purposes dangerous to the public peace; to continue in force until the 25th of March, 1822.’ On the 3rd of December Lord Castlereagh brought into the Lower House a bill entitled, ‘An Act 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 on the 17th of that month the Home Secretary introduced in the Lords a Bill entitled, ‘An Act for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies; to continue in force until the end

of the session of Parliament next after four years from the passing of the Act.'

These 'Six Acts,' as they were termed, were not all equally objectionable. The Misdemeanor Act in its ultimate shape was a judicious measure, though, as originally introduced, it was defective and in some points objectionable. The Military Training Bill was really necessary for the public safety, and is still the law of the land; but the other four bills received and deserved the most strenuous resistance. The Seizure of Arms Bill met with comparatively little opposition, in consequence of the foolish and unfounded boast of Watson and other Radicals, that several hundred thousands of their aiders and abettors were about to rise in arms. The bill to prevent seditious and blasphemous libels, however, was most strenuously resisted by Earl Grey, Lord Erskine, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Sussex. The bill, when a bookseller was convicted of selling a libellous book, authorized the seizure of the entire work; and a second conviction was to be punished by banishment or transportation. It was urged, of course in vain, that the existing law was quite adequate to deal with any abuses of the press; that the offence of publishing a libel is, more than any other known to our law, undefined and uncertain. Publications which at one time may be considered innocent, and even laudable, may at another be thought deserving punishment. Thus, the author and publisher of any writing dictated by the purest intentions on a matter of public interest, without any example to warn, any definition to instruct, or any authority to guide him, may expose himself to the penalty of being banished from the United Kingdom, and all other parts of His Majesty's dominions, for such time as the court shall order, or be transported to such place as shall be appointed by His Majesty for the transportation of offenders, for any term not exceeding seven years. It was also argued that the bill was inconsistent with the policy of the law

of the country, was a most dangerous invasion of the just freedom of the press, was subversive in one of their main defences of the rights and liberties secured to the nation by a long succession of ages, and at length asserted, declared, and established by the Revolution of 1688. The opposition to the measure was so strong, especially in the Commons, that the Government were compelled to make the concession of withdrawing the punishment of transportation from the bill, and leaving banishment alone as the penalty for a second offence. This concession, however, did not remove the strong objections entertained against the measure. No right-thinking person could be unwilling that the scurrilous and offensive, if not seditious publications of that day, should be suppressed and their authors punished; but there was only too much reason to believe that the Ministry, under cover of taking the proper steps against these publications, would seriously interfere with the liberty of the Press. They had, however, completely overshot the mark, and never ventured to enforce the provisions of the Act which they had with so much difficulty constrained the legislature to adopt. The feeling of the Government towards the Press was made still more manifest by their 'Seditious and Blasphemous Libels Bill,' which enforced a stamp duty on all small pamphlets, evidently with the hope that such publications as *Cobbett's Register* would in consequence be obliged to be discontinued. The leading members of the Opposition in both Houses expressed in the strongest terms their condemnation of this policy, and the speeches of Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Brougham, in vindication of the liberty of the Press, were especially cogent in argument and eloquence; but the Government measure, notwithstanding, became law.

The most stringent and objectionable of these coercive measures was the bill which regulated and restricted the right of holding public meetings. It did not interfere with meetings of counties called by the

Lord-Lieutenant or Sheriff, or with meetings of corporate towns called by the mayor or other first magistrate, or with meetings called by five or more Justices of the Peace. But it prohibited all meetings for the consideration of grievances in church and state, or for the purpose of preparing petitions, &c., except in the parishes where the individuals usually reside. None but residents in the parishes were allowed to attend such meetings; and as an additional restriction to prevent simultaneous meetings, it was enacted that 'previous notice must be given of the day when such meetings are to be held by seven inhabitants to a neighbouring magistrate,' who was authorized to put off the meeting if he should think proper to do so. The bill encountered a determined opposition in all its stages. The unconcealed object of the measure was to restrict the right of holding meetings to the upper classes, and to allow the lower classes to attend meetings only in their own parishes. In plain terms, though the right of meeting was still to be conceded, it was to be made of no value. The country was in a state of distress and suffering; the persons who were affected by the pressure of the times were in a state of penury and privation, and naturally desired to meet in large bodies to petition for redress; and the Government turned short upon them and said, 'No, you shall not meet, because you are poor. You shall not meet, because you are the portion of the people who are most likely to be distressed. You shall suffer, but you shall not have the privilege of complaining.' The bill was so framed as to inflict an additional hardship, as Mr. Brougham pointed out, on such large towns as Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and other wealthy and populous places. They were then unincorporate, and therefore 'excluded from the advantages reserved for other, decayed and comparatively unimportant, places. The chief magistrates of those towns which were corporate would be, under the bill, com-

petent to convene a meeting. But such important places as those he had mentioned could have no meetings.' They had been persistently denied direct parliamentary representation, and they were now to be deprived of the only means which they enjoyed of making known their opinions and wishes. The Government, however, refused to make any concession. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the restriction in question, though they made no attempt to defend it, was in their estimation a most valuable feature of the bill.

If the Opposition had presented a united front to the Government at this juncture, it is possible that they might have been able to modify to a considerable extent, if not to defeat, the worst of these coercive measures; but the divisions in their own ranks rendered them powerless. Lord Grenville, who as the colleague of Mr. Pitt had supported the repressive measures of that minister at the close of last century, still approved of a restrictive policy as the proper remedy for popular discontent, and his followers in both Houses of Parliament voted at every stage in favour of Lord Castlereagh's 'Six Acts.' The upper classes throughout the country were in a state of great alarm, and clamoured loudly for coercive legislation.

The excesses of Hunt and his associates had disgusted all right-thinking persons of both parties and of all classes, and the publications which issued from the Radical press at this time were wholly indefensible. 'The Radicals,' wrote Lord Brougham, 'have made themselves so odious, that a number, even of our own way of thinking, would be well enough pleased to see them and their vile press put down at all hazards.' In the difficult position in which the Opposition were placed, Lord Brougham strongly recommended that some steps should be taken to silence the cry against them that they were countenancing Radicals, and to assist them in fighting against the repressive measures of the Government. 'The more I see and hear,' he wrote Earl

Grey, 'the more I conceive some clear, short, and firm declaration of the party necessary, separating ourselves (without offensive expressions) from the Radicals, and avowing our loyalty, but, at the same time, our determination to stand by the constitution, and to oppose all illegal attempts to violate it, and all new laws to alter its free nature. . . . Happening to see the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, they both asked anxiously if the party were not disposed to make some such avowal; and on my saying I expected to hear on the subject from you, they both desired me to express to you their willingness to sign anything we all agreed on; the Duke of Kent added that he had no wish to put himself forward as a party man, but that the late measures, and particularly Lord Fitzwilliam's dismissal, alarmed him extremely, as indicating evil designs; and that he thought the only means of preventing anarchy and the overthrow of the constitution, was the firmness of such a body as the Whigs in resisting *all* attacks on it; and therefore he desired to sign some such declaration, and should delay his leaving town for that purpose, and to express his opinion shortly in Parliament.' Both royal dukes indeed cordially supported the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lords Holland, Grey, and Erskine, and the other leaders of the Opposition in the Upper House, in their resistance to the coercive policy of the Government, and their names appear, not only in the list of the minority, but were repeatedly attached to the protests against the passing of the most obnoxious of the 'Six Acts.' The liberal section of the Opposition, though quite aware that in these circumstances the contest was hopeless, fought the battle of constitutional freedom with indomitable courage and perseverance, and resisted the restrictive measures at every stage. But the ministers, confident in the number of their supporters, and encouraged by the approbation of the Grenvillites, would make no concession. 'I see, on the part of the Government,'

said Mr. Tierney in the House of Commons, 'an evident determination to resort to nothing but force; they think of nothing else; they dream of nothing else; they will try no means of conciliation; they will make no attempt to pacify and reconcile; force, force, force—and nothing but force.'

Parliament adjourned on the 29th of December, 1819, to the 15th of February, 1820, having devoted the entire session to the discussion and adoption of a series of measures, which, short-lived as it was, have earned for it an unenviable distinction in the history of our country.

Before Parliament assembled again an event took place which, if it had occurred twenty years sooner, would, in all probability, have exercised a great influence on the interests of our country and of Europe. Shortly after midnight, on the 29th of January, the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's announced to the citizens of London that George III. had passed away, in the eighty-second year of his age and sixtieth of his reign. Though the aged monarch had for ten years lived in a state of complete seclusion, blind, deaf, and insane, it was not without emotion that the nation received the tidings of his death. He had outlived the unpopularity of his early years; and now that his reign had come to an end, the people of all classes were disposed to dwell, not on the perversity and obstinacy which had led to the sanguinary contest with our American colonies, and their separation from the mother-country, or on his treatment of Ireland, and his most unwise and unconstitutional contest with John Wilkes and other demagogues, but on the private virtues of their late sovereign, and on the sufferings which had clouded his closing years. They remembered that his domestic life had been pure and exemplary, that he was assiduous in the discharge of the duties of his high office, frugal in his habits, simple and affable in his demeanour, kind to his dependents, and charitable to the poor—that his piety, though narrow, was sincere, and

that his private life had throughout been consistent with his creed. At the same time, though the victories won by his subjects after he had virtually ceased to reign, had cast into the shade the vicissitudes of his earlier years, it cannot be denied that the personal character of George, or its bearing on the welfare of the country, was the reverse of beneficial. His intellect was narrow, and his disposition obstinate and implacable; and unfortunately both for himself and his subjects, his early training had done nothing to remedy these defects. The Princess Dowager, his mother—widow of Frederick Prince of Wales, his father—a woman of neither knowledge, accomplishments, nor abilities, had utterly neglected the education of her son; and her favourite, Lord Bute, to whom she had confided his tuition, had taken no pains to impart to him a knowledge of literature or science, or of those branches which were absolutely necessary to the right discharge of the duties of a sovereign. The Princess Dowager had, however, constantly impressed upon him a high notion of his royal prerogative, and had contributed not a little to strengthen that dogged self-will which was one of the most mischievous defects of his character. So long as his ministers were willing to obey his orders, and to carry out the policy which he dictated, he treated them with the utmost kindness, and gave them his entire and hearty support. But ‘the instant that his prerogative was concerned, or his bigotry interfered with, or his will thwarted, the most unbending pride, the most bitter animosity, the most calculating coldness of heart, the most unforgiving resentment took possession of his whole heart, and swayed it by turns.’ He disregarded both the claims of friendship and the ties of blood when they came into collision with the maintenance of his power or the success of his policy, and was quite unscrupulous in the means which he took to carry out his schemes. He repeatedly threatened to abdicate his throne during the contest with the American colo-

nists, rather than submit, as he said, ‘to be trampled upon by his enemies.’ And at a critical period, when his prime minister urged upon him a junction with the Whig party, he said, ‘If the people will not stand by me they shall have another king, for I will never set my hand to what will make me miserable to the last hours of my life.’ He never forgot an injury, real or fancied, or any act of opposition to his will.

The death of the aged monarch had been preceded by that of his fourth son, Edward Augustus, the Duke of Kent, who died on the 23rd of January, in the fifty-third year of his age. He was an honourable, generous, and noble-hearted man, and was regarded by the general public with greater favour than any of his brothers, some of whom were detested, and the rest only tolerated. He was educated partly at a military academy in Luxemburg, partly at Hanover and at Geneva. In 1790 he was sent to join his regiment at Gibraltar, and in the following year accompanied it to Canada. Soon after he took part in the expedition against the West India islands belonging to France, and behaved with great courage at the siege of Fort Royal in Martinique, and at the attack upon St. Lucia and Guadalupe. In 1796 he was made governor of Nova Scotia, and three years later was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in British America. His residence abroad during these critical years of his life fortunately preserved him from the temptations which ruined the characters and fortunes of his brothers, and kept him aloof from the dissolute society which they delighted to frequent.

In 1800 he was compelled to return home in consequence of ill health. In 1802 he was nominated governor of Gibraltar; but his strictness and severity in enforcing discipline made him unpopular among the troops, and his efforts to promote reforms in the garrison, and to check the drunkenness and licentiousness which prevailed among them at that time, excited a mutiny

and led to his recall. He spent the succeeding thirteen years in England; but mismanagement and extravagant expenditure involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, which seemed to have become chronic in the royal family, and in 1816 he quitted England and took up his residence on the Continent, in order that he might retrench his expenses and live in a manner more suitable to his resources. Even after his marriage, which took place in May, 1818, he continued to live in the simple and economical style of a private gentleman of limited means. He returned to England in 1819; and soon after the birth of his daughter, our present sovereign, he took a cottage in the neighbourhood of Sidmouth, where he died, 23rd January, 1820, after a short illness, the result of a severe cold, which brought on inflammation of the lungs. His death caused general regret in the public, who regarded him as the truest and best of the sons of George III., and were aware that, notwithstanding his embarrassed circumstances, he was always open-hearted and generous in assisting charitable and benevolent objects.

It could scarcely be expected that the coercive measures of the Government would have the effect of allaying the discontent of the working classes, suffering from want of employment and of adequate wages, aggravated by their belief that their distress was mainly owing to excessive and unnecessary taxation, imposed for the maintenance of a large military establishment, and of sinecure places and pensions. The 'Six Acts' compelled them to alter the mode of their agitation, but served only to stimulate their exertions to obtain a reform of Parliament and the establishment of universal suffrage. Their operations had become all the more dangerous, however, that they were now carried on in secret. There is no reason to suppose that the working classes as a body cherished any illegal or revolutionary designs; and, indeed, the failure of the spies employed by the Government to excite any general insur-

rectionary movements in the manufacturing and mining districts of the country, shows that the great body of the operatives were sound at heart. But there were among them some men of a different character, desperate and reckless, who were prepared to go all lengths in revenging themselves on the Ministry and overturning the constitution. At this period a plot, which had been formed by some persons of this class, was brought to light, and excited great alarm and terror throughout the whole community. The leader of the gang was Arthur Thistlewood, who had taken a prominent part with the Watsons in the Spa-Fields riots. He was the son of a land-steward in Lincolnshire, had been a lieutenant in a militia regiment, and had afterwards exchanged into a marching regiment, which he accompanied to the West Indies. There he resigned his commission, and went first to America, and thence to France, where 'he became initiated in all the doctrines and sentiments of the French Revolutionists.' After the peace of Amiens he returned to England, and having, by his profligate habits, been reduced to abject poverty, he in some way obtained admission to the fraternity of the most violent Radicals. He was, as we have seen, one of the leaders of the mob in the Spa-Fields riot; and after the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in 1818, he was committed to prison. On his release, he had the folly and insolence to send a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, for which he was prosecuted and (28th May, 1818) sentenced to a year's imprisonment. His sentence expired at the critical period when Birmingham was about to elect a legislative attorney, and preparations were making for the Manchester meeting. Thirsting for vengeance on the Home Secretary, Thistlewood gathered around him a band of ignorant and desperate men, of whom Ings, a butcher, Tidd and Brunt, journeymen shoemakers, Adams, a disbanded soldier, and Davidson, a man of colour, were the most prominent members. They resolved to attempt the assassination

of the Ministry, and would have done the deed at once but for various circumstances, such as the dispersion of the members of the Cabinet at Christmas, the death of the Duke of Kent and of the king, and the royal funerals, which made it difficult to strike the blow. The conspirators had fancied that a favourable opportunity to make themselves masters of London and plunder the shops would occur at the interment of King George on the 16th of February, when, as they supposed, the greater number of the troops would be withdrawn from the metropolis to attend the ceremony at Windsor. This expectation, however, was disappointed; and owing either to the sanguinary brutality of Thistlewood's uneducated associates, or, as it was alleged, to the instigation of a spy, who had been enrolled in the ranks of the conspirators, it was resolved to put to death the whole of the Cabinet ministers, each in his own house, to set fire to the cavalry barracks, to seize the Mansion-house, the Bank, and the Tower, and to establish a provisional government.

The folly of the conspiracy was equal to its atrocity. It was quite possible that Thistlewood and his associates might have succeeded in assassinating the ministers, but to expect that some thirty obscure and penniless individuals, without friends or resources, could succeed in overturning the Government was little short of insanity. Their designs, however, were almost from the first made known to the Ministry. As early as November a man of the name of Edwards, a poor and penniless creature, who kept a small shop at Eton for the sale of plaster casts, and was one of the conspirators, gave information of their plans to the Home Office. He was immediately taken into the pay of the Government, and day by day betrayed the proceedings of his comrades to his paymasters. Thistlewood and his associates affirmed that Edwards took an active part in instigating their criminal project, and there can be no doubt that he furnished them with the information on

which they acted. On the 22nd of February he told them that there was to be a Cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor Square next day, on which Thistlewood remarked, 'as there has not been a dinner so long, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen there; and it will be a rare haul to murder them all together.' It was arranged that one of the gang was to call at the house, under the pretence of delivering a letter, while the ministers were at dinner. His companions were then to rush in at the open door and seize and bind, or, in case of resistance, kill the servants and secure the entrance, while a select band of fourteen were to proceed to the room where the ministers were assembled and put them all to death. Hand-grenades were also to be thrown in at the windows in order that, in one way or other, their destruction might be secured.

Another of the conspirators, named Hidon, a cowkeeper, had also made Lord Harrowby aware of the details of the plot, and all necessary preparations had been made by the Cabinet to defeat it and capture the plotters. It was resolved to go on with the preparations for the dinner just as if there had been no intelligence of the atrocious project. The ministers, however, after dining at home, assembled at Fife House, Lord Liverpool's residence; but as the Archbishop of York, who lived next door to Lord Harrowby, happened to give a dinner that evening, the conspirators who were appointed to watch the house to see that no police or soldiers were brought there, were under the impression that the carriages which set down the guests at that prelate's house were conveying the ministers to the residence of their colleague. Thistlewood and the rest of his accomplices had meanwhile met in a loft above a stable in Cato Street, off the Edgeware Road, waiting the signal for the attack. Warrants had been granted for their apprehension; a body of police were appointed to make the arrest, and a detachment of soldiers was ordered to assist them. The troops,

however, through some mismanagement failed to appear at the appointed time, and the police officers attempted to make the arrest without them. They mounted the ladder which led from the stable to the loft where the conspirators were engaged in arming themselves, and called on them to surrender. Smithers, one of the police officers, was stabbed to the heart by Thistlewood; the lights were blown out, several shots exchanged, and in the darkness and confusion the greater part of the conspirators made their escape. The soldiers at length arrived, and assisted in capturing the remainder of the party—nine in number—along with their arms and ammunition.

Thistlewood succeeded in forcing his way into the yard, and thence into the street, before the arrival of the military; but he was apprehended in bed next morning in the house of a friend in Moorfields, and his principal associates were arrested soon after in various places. A special commission was appointed for the trial of the prisoners, which commenced on the 17th of April, and lasted three days. Five of them—Thistlewood, Brunt, Ings, Tidd, and Davidson—were found guilty and sentenced to death. They were hanged and then beheaded on the 1st of May. Five more, who withdrew their original pleas and admitted their guilt, were condemned to transportation for life. The atrocious character of their crime deprived them of all public sympathy, and they had no powerful body of accomplices to attempt their rescue. The discovery of this foul conspiracy excited mingled horror and apprehension throughout the whole country. Something like a national panic ensued, and credit was given to the wildest and most improbable rumours that a general insurrection of the working classes was about to take place; that the large towns and the mansions of the nobility and gentry were to be burned down, and the throne overturned. But the most diligent inquiries of the Government failed to discover any ramifications of the conspiracy, or to lead

to the belief that the conspirators had any accomplices beyond the metropolis. It transpired that Thistlewood had a short time before his arrest made a tour through the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland, but without receiving any encouragement to undertake an illegal project or engage in deeds of violence. Much to his disappointment and indignation the respectable portion of the working classes, amid all their distress and discontent, refused to have anything to do with schemes at once so horrible and so foolish as those which Thistlewood was planning. 'No one,' he said, 'who was worth ten pounds was worth anything for the good of his country.' The result of the Cato Street conspiracy was most injurious to the liberal cause, and the flagitious project of these vindictive and worthless desperadoes contributed not a little to strengthen the hands of the Government, and to induce the people to acquiesce even in the arbitrary and oppressive provisions of the 'Six Acts.'

On the day after the execution of Thistlewood, Alderman Wood brought the conduct of Edwards the spy, and his intercourse with the ministers, under the notice of the House of Commons; and on the 9th of May he moved that a select committee should be appointed to inquire into the conduct of this acknowledged traitor. It was not denied that Edwards had taken part in the Cato Street conspiracy, that 'straw was his resting place, his only covering a blanket,' at the time he gave information respecting the schemes of his confederates; but Wood adduced depositions taken before him in his office as a magistrate, to show that Edwards was soon after well dressed and in possession of a sum of money sufficient to enable him to lend Thistlewood some pounds; that when the plot was approaching maturity he had been living for several weeks in affluence, under a fictitious name, in comfortable lodgings in St. George's, Hanover Square; that he was the instigator of the plot, had

supplied money and weapons, and had endeavoured to persuade various persons to join the conspiracy for the destruction of the ministers and of the House of Commons. The alderman complained that Edwards had not been arrested as an accomplice in the plot, or even brought forward as a witness in the trials of the conspirators. The ministers, as might have been expected, refused to take any steps to bring Edwards to justice, and their supporters defended the course they had followed in dealing with that person. One member affirmed that 'spies were absolutely necessary to any good government.' Another denied that Edwards had ever been employed by the Ministry as a spy. It was only as a voluntary informer that he had communicated with Lord Sidmouth, and supplied the information which enabled the Home Secretary to defeat the plot. A third abused Alderman Wood for the steps he had taken in this case, and ridiculed the idea that the Government would proceed against Edwards on the depositions of men who had failed in their duty by not giving information respecting the nefarious designs which had been revealed to them. The motion for the appointment of a select committee was negatived, and Edwards from that time disappeared, but was believed to have spent the remainder of his dishonourable career in ease and affluence in Ireland or on the Continent.

It transpired that, after the plot of Thistlewood and his accomplices had been made known to the Government, an associate of Oliver the spy appeared in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and endeavoured to persuade the discontented operatives there to engage in the conspiracy; and he affirmed that other agents were going about the country with the same commission. The nefarious efforts of the scoundrel, however, met with no success. The scheme was too atrocious and too foolish to receive any support even from starving workmen. There can be no doubt that a considerable number of spies

were dispersed at this time through the disaffected districts; and there is every reason to believe that the partial risings which took place in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and excited great alarm among the upper classes, were fostered and encouraged, if they were not wholly planned, by these emissaries. An incident which occurred in Glasgow, before the trial of Thistlewood and his associates, was traced to this most discreditable source. The Lanarkshire weavers and miners had for some time been suffering great distress; and advantage was taken by some worthless demagogues of the discontent which the privations of these classes had produced, to denounce in violent terms the conduct of the aristocracy and the Government, and to raise an agitation in favour of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. Great consternation in consequence prevailed among the landed proprietors and the manufacturers and merchants, who were induced to believe that Glasgow was the hot-bed of an atrocious conspiracy to overthrow the Government, dethrone the king, and subvert the constitution.

While public feeling was in this excited state, on Sunday, the 2nd of April, a violent and treasonable proclamation was found affixed to the walls in different parts of the city and the neighbourhood. It professed to be issued 'by order of the committee of organization for forming a provisional government.' It spoke of the sufferings endured by the working classes, the state in which they had been sunk for many years, and 'the contempt heaped upon their petitions for redress,' which had at last compelled them to seek it at the hazard of their lives. It called upon 'the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland to come forward and effect a revolution by force, and exhorted the soldiers to keep in mind the glorious example of the Spanish troops.' It recommended the manufacturers to suspend their works till public order should be restored, and commanded the workmen to desist from labour from that day forward. It

urged the people to take up arms for the purpose of redressing their wrongs and regenerating their country, and denounced as enemies to the king and traitors to the nation all who should resist the intended regenerators of their native land.

The proclamation was at first generally regarded as genuine, and excited great alarm. Reports to the same effect, and no doubt proceeding from the same source, were industriously circulated that the working classes in England were already in arms; that an army of 50,000 men were coming from France to their assistance; that a detachment of 5000 was to take possession of Glasgow, seize its banks, its excise and custom houses, and establish a provisional government for Scotland.

On Monday morning the magistrates, who were in a state of great consternation, issued a proclamation ordering all shops to be shut at six o'clock, and the inhabitants to retire to their houses not later than seven in the evening—enjoining all strangers to withdraw from the city before that hour, and declaring that all groups of persons standing together or walking on the streets after that hour would be dealt with as disturbers of the peace. A body of regular troops was hastily collected and marched into the city, and a corps of volunteers, nearly 1000 strong, were also called into active duty. On Tuesday another proclamation was issued by the magistrates, denouncing the treasonable address of Sunday, and declaring 'that the whole military power of the district would be employed in the most decisive manner against all those coming forward to aid and assist a rebellion;' and 'the consequences,' it was added, 'will be on the heads of those who have seduced and misled the inhabitants, and fatal to all who continue to oppose and resist the overwhelming power at our disposal.' The proclamation of the magistrates had the effect of at once restoring public tranquillity. It afterwards transpired that the anonymous document was the work of one of the spies who

infested the west of Scotland at this time, and that he had bribed an apprentice of the name of Fulton to print it. The lad was immediately after despatched to America, in order that he might not be brought to give evidence against his employer.

The panic caused by this forged proclamation extended not only over the mining and manufacturing districts of the west, but even to Edinburgh. The magistrates were forced to believe that an army of 40,000 or 50,000 radical weavers were on their march from Glasgow to seize the castle and the banks, and to establish a provisional government. The Midlothian cavalry were marched in the middle of a winter night to the supposed head-quarters of insurrection. The volunteers were called out and appointed to take charge of the castle, in order that the garrison might be employed on active service. All loyal citizens were invited to assemble in arms, and several thousands of them complied with the invitation. For several hours they remained in a state of anxious expectation, until the real state of matters was made known.

The false alarm, ridiculous as it was in itself, had unfortunately a tragic side. About a hundred of the poor, ignorant, starving weavers and mechanics were induced by the treacherous persuasions of spies, and the harangues of demagogues, to set out on their march to Falkirk, armed with pikes, guns, and pistols, to seize the cannon at the Carron Ironworks. A smaller body of the same class were persuaded to proceed to Strathaven, about sixteen miles from Glasgow, in order to meet Marshal Macdonald, who was said to be on his march to Glasgow at the head of a powerful force, brought from France to assist the people of Great Britain to vindicate their just claims. Both bodies implicitly believed that England was already in a state of insurrection, and that a good many thousands of English radicals were on their march to assist the Scottish operatives in obtaining their rights.

The proclamation had been posted, under cloud of night, at Strathaven, as well as at other places in the district. A weaver of the name of Wilson, belonging to that village, had been persuaded by a spy named Shields, but who assumed various designations, to march at the head of twenty or thirty persons of the same class towards Glasgow, under the assurance that a provisional government had already been established there. They carried with them an old tattered flag, with the words inscribed on it, 'Scotland free, or a desert,' and had an old tin kettle for a drum. The spy contrived to slip away after they had marched a short distance from Strathaven, and his ignorant and deluded victims, suspecting that they had been misled, retraced their steps and returned home. Wilson, however, had scarcely reached his own house when he was apprehended and carried to prison.

The party that had set out for Falkirk met with a much more disastrous fate. They were guided by a spy named King, who, however, quitted them by the way; and travelling all night they reached, on Wednesday morning, an upland heath called Bonnymuir, not far from Kilsyth, where they halted and lay down to rest on the heather. Their numbers had now dwindled down to about thirty, and feeling utterly disheartened, and seeing no appearance of the promised aid from England, they resolved to return home. At this juncture one of the Stirlingshire yeomanry came up, and they stopped him and demanded his weapons. Some shots were exchanged, and the man returned to Kilsyth and reported what he had seen to his commanding officer. A detachment of eleven soldiers belonging to the 7th regiment of Hussars, and an equal number of yeomanry, were immediately despatched

to scour the road. On their approach the handful of radical weavers, though destitute of proper arms or ammunition, boldly offered battle to the royal troops. Forming themselves into a square, they repelled with their pikes for a brief space the attacks of their assailants, but they were speedily overpowered, and nineteen of them were taken prisoners. No lives were lost on either side, but a number of the insurgents and the commanding officer and three of his men were wounded. The prisoners were conveyed to Stirling Castle, and on the 24th of June a royal commission was issued for their trial on a charge of treason. They were all found guilty and sentenced to death, but only two—John Baird and Andrew Hardie—weavers were executed on the 8th of September. Wilson, the Strathaven weaver, who was advanced in life, and in dotage, was tried on the 20th of June and found guilty, and was hanged at Glasgow on the 30th of August. All three declared that they had no intention of committing treason, but that their sole object was to reform the constitution of the country, and to vindicate the rights of the people.

While the Cato Street conspirators were lying in prison, Hunt and his associates were brought to trial and found guilty of sedition. Hunt was sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment, and had, at the expiration of that term, to find securities for good behaviour for five years—himself for £1000, and two other persons for £500 each. Johnston, Healy, and Bamford were sentenced to one year imprisonment. Each of them had to find sureties for their good behaviour for five years—themselves for £200, and two other persons in £100 each. Sir Charles Wolseley and Harrison received eighteen months imprisonment, and had also to find securities.

CHAPTER XII.

Accession of George IV.—His dangerous Illness—His desire to Divorce his Queen—Her Career—The King orders her name to be omitted from the Liturgy—Her return to England, and enthusiastic reception by the People—The Bill of Pains and Penalties—The Queen's Trial before the House of Lords—Examination of Foreign Witnesses for the Prosecution—Brougham's Speech on the Milan Commission—Denman's summing up for the Defence—The Pains and Penalties Bill abandoned—Great Rejoicings at its Failure—The Queen goes to St. Paul's to return thanks for her Deliverance.

THE death of George III. made only a nominal change in the Government. For eight years his son and successor had exercised all the powers of royalty, and now became king in name as he had long been in reality. There was no uncertainty as to the result of George IV.'s accession to the throne. His character for extravagance, self-indulgence, and immorality was notorious; and now that he was nearly sixty years of age, there was very little probability of any change for the better in his habits. The public seem, therefore, to have regarded his assumption of the regal title and position with utter indifference, knowing as they did that there would be no alteration either in the policy or in the members of the Government. But they were startled to learn that it was more than probable that the new king would never enter upon the duties or enjoy the privileges of his position. At the meeting of the Privy Council, which took place on Sunday, the 30th of January, when George IV. declared his accession and took the oaths, he was evidently unwell; and next day, when he was proclaimed, his physicians expressed their uneasiness respecting the illness under which he was suffering—acute inflammation of the lungs. For upwards of a week he was in a state of imminent danger; it seemed highly probable that he would be only mocked with the gift of a crown, and that his reign would be the shortest in the history of Great Britain. But the natural strength of a constitution originally vigorous had not yet been wholly exhausted, and the malady of the sovereign yielded by degrees to the

prompt and energetic remedies employed by his physicians.

It soon became painfully evident that his dangerous illness, though it had brought him face to face with death, had exercised no beneficial influence on his character, for his first act on his recovery was to enjoin the premier to prepare, without delay, a bill of divorce against the queen, and his next to command the Archbishop of Canterbury to omit the prayer for her in the Liturgy. The desire to get rid of his wife was not entertained now by the king for the first time. On the 1st of January, 1818, only eight weeks after the death of the Princess Charlotte, he wrote from Brighton to the Lord-Chancellor—'You cannot be surprised if I turn my whole thoughts to the endeavouring to extricate myself from the cruellest as well as the most unjust predicament that even the lowest individual, much more a prince, ever was placed in, by unshackling myself from a woman who, &c., &c. Is it, then, my dear friend, to be tolerated that . . . is to be suffered to continue to bear my name, to belong to me and to the country, and that *that* country, the first in all the world, and myself its sovereign, are to be expected to submit silently to a degradation under which no upright and honourable mind can exist.'

The deliberations of the Cabinet on this urgent appeal resulted in their sanctioning a commission to Milan, where the princess was then residing, to investigate the reports which were in circulation respecting her conduct—a most unwise step, which after-

wards cost them dear. Having yielded so far to the wishes of the king, he naturally expected that they would prove equally complaisant when he commanded them to prepare a bill of divorce. But Lord Liverpool saw clearly the danger of this procedure, and refused to obey. The king was very angry at this refusal, and reiterated his orders in the most peremptory manner. The Cabinet held repeated meetings and long deliberations, pointed out to His Majesty the impolicy of the course on which he was insisting, and the scandal which it was certain to create; but all in vain. They at last proposed a compromise, and meanly offered, contrary to immemorial practice, to consent to the omission of the queen's name from the Liturgy, on condition that no penal proceedings should be instituted against her. Canning, indeed, explicitly declared that 'he could not have agreed to the omission of her name, if any penal process of whatever kind had been in contemplation.' In the hope that this arrangement would propitiate the king, the ministers at once adopted a minute, ordering the Liturgy to be altered, and the name of the queen to be omitted. His Majesty was not satisfied with this decision of his ministers; and he informed them that, if they were not prepared to accede to his wishes, he was determined to dismiss them from office. On Sunday, 13th February, Lord Sidmouth, apologizing to Lord Talbot for delaying to write him, said—'If you knew how the day was passed, you would not be surprised at the omission. The Government is in a very strange, and, I must acknowledge, in a precarious state.' On that day the Cabinet sat for thirteen hours, and did not break up till two o'clock on Monday morning. There was a general report that ministers had resigned. 'I consider the Government as virtually dissolved,' wrote Lord Castlereagh, 'and that the existing ministers only hold their situations till their successors are named.' It was reported, according to Grenville, that 'His Majesty treated Lord Liverpool very

coarsely, and ordered him out of the room. The king, they say, asked him if he knew to whom he was speaking. He replied, "Sir, I know that I am speaking to my sovereign, and I believe I am addressing him as it becomes a loyal subject to do." To the chancellor he said, "My lord, I know your conscience always interferes, except where your interest is concerned." The king afterwards sent for Lord Liverpool, who refused to go; but afterwards, on the message being reiterated, he went, and the king said, "We have both been too hasty." There is no doubt that the king found that no set of public men could be found to replace his ministers on condition of giving the pledge which he demanded; and the Cabinet ultimately induced him to retract his threats, and to agree to a compromise. If the queen would consent to remain abroad, no steps were to be taken against her; but if she should return to England, proceedings would be instituted to procure a divorce.

It is evident that the ministers, in proposing this arrangement, were ignorant both of the real character of the queen and of the state of public feeling in regard to her husband, as they found to their cost. The king's treatment of her, indeed, from the time she first set foot in England down to that hour, had been not only one continued and gross violation of the ordinary rules of morality, but of the dictates of honourable feeling, and indeed of common decency. The princess herself said, with justice, that when he married her he was the husband of another woman. In his twentieth year he fell desperately in love with Mrs. Fitzherbert, the daughter of a private gentleman of the name of Smith, and the widow of Colonel Fitzherbert. It is an indisputable fact that the prince was secretly married to this lady, and as she was a Roman Catholic, he by this act forfeited his succession to the throne; but so strong was his attachment to Mrs. Fitzherbert at this time, that he declared to some of his bosom friends that he would resign

his pretensions to the crown and go abroad with a small competency rather than separate from her. A rumour that the heir to the throne was married to an 'obscure Papist' was widely circulated and believed, and was even referred to by Pitt in the discussion on the prince's debts in the House of Commons in April, 1787. The prince on this authorized Fox to contradict the allegation in the strongest and most explicit terms; and in order to appease Mrs. Fitzherbert's indignation at this falsehood, he had the effrontery to pretend to her that he had never given Fox authority to make any such contradiction. This dishonourable conduct naturally excited the deepest indignation in Fox's mind, and was never forgotten by him. The dissolute habits and reckless extravagance of the prince speedily involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, though, when he came of age, he had entered on a clear income of £62,000 a year, and received from Parliament a grant of £60,000 to start him in life and pay off the debts he had contracted during his minority. Three years afterwards his father settled on him an additional £10,000 a year; and yet, in 1794, when he was only in his thirty-second year, Parliament had to vote the enormous sum of £650,000 to pay the debts which he had accumulated in little more than ten years.

Marriage seemed the only way in which it was possible for him to be extricated from his pecuniary embarrassments; and his father had long been anxious that his son should form a suitable alliance, in the hope that it might reclaim him from his dissolute habits. But to the prince himself, matrimony was most unpalatable. He had before this time become tired of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and had formed a succession of illicit connections, which had contributed not a little to petrify his feelings, and to render him averse to the restrictions of domestic life. But finding that there was no other way of escape from his difficulties, he expressed his submission to the wishes

of his father, and consented to marry any lady whom the king might select for him. The choice of the king fell upon his own niece, the Princess Caroline, second daughter of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, the generalissimo of the Austrian and Prussian allied armies in their invasion of France. She was at this time in the twenty-seventh year of her age, and had, as Lord Malmesbury describes her, 'a pretty face, not expressive of softness; her figure not graceful; fine eyes, good hand, tolerable teeth, but going; fair hair and light eye-brows, and good bust.' His lordship, who was commissioned to ask her in marriage for the Prince of Wales, was not favourably impressed with the arrangements of the ducal household, or the mode in which the younger members of the family had been trained. The duchess, who was the eldest sister of George III., seems to have been a vain, silly, and loquacious woman, who 'talked incessantly' of her daughter's future expectations. 'If the education of the princess,' the envoy said, 'had been what it ought, she might have turned out excellent; but it was that very nonsensical one that most women receive—one of privation, injunction, and menace.' Her father admitted 'that his daughter writes very ill and spells ill, and he was desirous that this should not appear.' 'She is no fool,' he said; 'but she has no judgment.' 'He entered fully into her future situation, and was perfectly aware of the character of the prince,' and of the dangers to which, both from his disposition and her own, she would be exposed. Lord Malmesbury states that both he and Sir B. Boothby entertained similar apprehensions. 'We regret,' he said, 'the apparent facility of the Princess Caroline's character—want of reflection and *substance*; agree that, with a *steady* man, she would do vastly well, but with one of a different description there are great risks.' Her natural abilities were good; and if they had been properly cultivated, and the levity and impulsiveness of her disposition corrected, she might have been saved from

the worst misfortunes and greatest sufferings of her unhappy life. But she had not even been instructed to pay proper attention to the cleanliness and tidiness of her person, and Lord Malmesbury was obliged to ask a lady to explain to the princess 'what a neat toilet is.' 'She neglects it sadly,' he said, 'and is offensive from this neglect.' 'It is remarkable,' he adds, 'how amazingly on this point her education had been neglected, and how much her mother, although an Englishwoman, was inattentive to it.'

In all probability the inattention of the princess to this essential duty produced an unfavourable impression upon the Prince of Wales at their first interview, though his own behaviour on that occasion was wholly unbecoming the character of a gentleman or of a person of proper feeling. The princess kneeled when he was introduced to her, as Lord Malmesbury had instructed her to do. He raised her 'gracefully enough,' says his lordship, 'and embraced her, said barely one word, turned round, retired to a distant part of the apartment, and, calling me to him, said, "Harris, I am not well; pray, get me a glass of brandy." I said, "Sir, had you not better have a glass of water?" Upon which he, much out of humour, said with an oath, "No; I will go directly to the queen;"' and away he went, leaving his betrothed bride 'in a state of astonishment,' and anxiously asking whether the prince was always like this. It is alleged that he had vowed to Lady Jersey, his favourite at this time, that he would insult and degrade his wife, as a proof of his affection for his mistress, and he certainly kept his word. The marriage ceremony took place three days after, and his behaviour on that occasion showed clearly both his own character and his real feelings towards the woman whom he solemnly vowed to love and cherish. The courtly Lord Malmesbury states that 'the prince was very civil and gracious; but I thought I could perceive he was not quite sincere, and certainly unhappy; and as a proof of it, he had manifestly had recourse to wine

and spirits.' The princess herself declared, in plain terms, that 'he was drunk on his wedding day,' and there can be no doubt of the truth of her assertion. The two unmarried dukes, who according to custom supported his Royal Highness during the ceremony, said he was so intoxicated that he could scarcely stand.

Nine months after the marriage the Princess Charlotte, the only child of this ill-matched pair, was born. But before that period it was matter of notoriety that the prince utterly neglected his wife, and that from the first he had never respected her rights nor regarded her feelings. With an almost studied disregard, not only of right feeling, but even of the very appearance of common decency, he thrust his mistress, Lady Jersey, into his wife's household, and kept her there as his ally in misconstruing all the words and actions of the princess, in spite of her earnest and repeated complaints against this treatment. After permission to reside for a few months, nominally, under the same roof, but without enjoying any other rights of a wife, the princess was compelled to leave her husband's house, and received from him a document, which has been justly termed 'a letter of licence,' informing her that this separation must be considered as for life. The princess retired to a villa near Charlton, while the prince indulged in the most reckless and open manner in the vices and follies which had disgraced his youth. She was protected by the old king as long as he retained his senses, but the queen took the part of her son, and showed from the first, by every means in her power, her dislike to her daughter-in-law. The great body of the aristocracy held aloof from the princess, but she collected about her an exceedingly agreeable and accomplished society. Brougham says that he often met Canning there, along with his friend, Charles Ellis, and Granville Levison, Sheridan, Whitbread, Byron, Lawrence, Rogers, and Luttrell, were among Her Majesty's frequent guests. Lady Charlotte Lindsay and her

sister, Lady Glenbervie, were among her ladies—‘both, like all the North family, persons equally agreeable and clever.’ Sir Walter Scott was introduced to her when he visited London in 1806, and in a letter to George Ellis he says, ‘She is an enchanting princess who dwells in an enchanted palace, and I cannot help thinking that her prince must labour under some malignant spell when he denies himself her society.’ Sir Walter sent her a copy of the Introduction to the third Canto of *Marmion*, in which occurs the tribute to her Royal Highness’ heroic father—mortally wounded at Jena—a tribute so grateful to her feelings that she herself shortly after sent the poet an elegant silver vase as a memorial of her thankfulness. Scott, however, with his characteristic good sense, observed with much regret the careless levity of the princess’ manner as likely to bring the purity of heart and mind, for which he gave her credit, into suspicion. For example, when in the course of the evening she conducted him by himself to admire some flowers in a conservatory, and the place being rather dark, his lameness occasioned him to hesitate for a moment in following her down some steps which she had taken at a skip, she turned round and said, with mock indignation, ‘Ah! false and faint-hearted troubadour! you will not trust yourself with me for fear of your neck!’ Her conduct was meanwhile closely watched by the prince. Brougham affirms that ‘every one was aware that all temptations were thrown in her way to seduce her from her conjugal duty,’ and her imprudent conduct in adopting a boy only a few months old, the son of Sophia Austin, the wife of a sailmaker at Deptford, led to a secret inquiry into her conduct in 1806. The Whigs, then in office (the Ministry of ‘All the Talents’), were the personal friends of the Regent, and they were ordered to appoint a secret tribunal, composed of the Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Spencer, and Lord Ellenborough, to conduct ‘the delicate investigation,’ as it was termed,

which terminated in her triumphal acquittal of the charges brought against her. Romilly, who was present as counsel for the prince at the examination of the witnesses, expresses in the most decided terms his conviction, and that of the commissioners, that these charges were false, and adds, ‘the evidence of all the servants as to the general conduct of the princess was very favourable to her Royal Highness.’ At the same time the commissioners reported that her levity and thoughtless mode of behaviour ‘deserved the most serious consideration.’

The Tories at this time espoused the cause of the princess, merely, as they subsequently showed, as a political manœuvre to annoy the Prince Regent and his Whig friends; and Mr. Perceval wrote in her name a letter addressed to the king, as an answer to the report of the four Lords of the Privy Council, and a justification of her conduct. Romilly, who saw a copy of the letter, says, ‘the pleading is conducted with great art and ability. It is manifestly intended to be published, and is likely when published to make a strong impression in favour of the princess.’ The letter was printed, under the superintendence of Perceval, with a view to its publication. The change of administration, however, in 1807, rendered the publication unnecessary to the men whose object it was to make the transactions the means of bringing odium on their political opponents. The pamphlet was therefore suppressed. Some copies of it, however, surreptitiously got into the hands of different persons; and the editor of a Sunday newspaper having given notice in a very mysterious way that he would publish it, he was prevented only by an injunction of the Court of Chancery, granted on the 11th of March, 1808, upon a private hearing by Lord Eldon in his own room. Another copy of the letter, and of all the documents connected with ‘the delicate investigation,’ was stolen off Perceval’s table one day, and he had to pay bribes to the extent of £10,000 before he could be

sure of its being suppressed. Some information as to these proceedings, however, transpired, and contributed not a little to excite a strong feeling in favour of the princess, and to increase the unpopularity of her abandoned and worthless husband.

In 1814, when the allied sovereigns visited England, the prince did his utmost to prevent them from paying any attention to the princess, though with some, as the King of Prussia, she was nearly connected by marriage, and with others by blood. They gave frequent proofs that they bore no particular respect for the Regent, and on one occasion the Emperor of Russia could not avoid remarking to those about him, that the prince was tipsy, as, indeed, was often the case. His treatment of his wife, added to his openly immoral conduct, had made him so unpopular that he could scarcely venture to show his face in public. 'The poor prince,' wrote an eye witness, 'has got himself into such a scrape as no man of his rank ever was in before. It is a fact that he cannot show himself without being hissed and hooted. I have myself several times witnessed this within the last ten days. Unhappily the public are more and more exasperated against him. On Monday, as he was riding through St. James' Park to the review, the yells of the mob were so loud that they frightened his horse and he was very near thrown, with the King of Prussia by his side. As he was returning through the city they called out to him, "Where is Mrs. Wales? why is she not with you? George! where is your wife?" Decent people, of course, do not join in this expression of indignation; but I recollect no question upon which there ever was such complete unanimity. The most decided friends of the Court and of the Ministry abuse him. The wantonness and folly of the thing strike everyone.'

The prince prevailed upon his mother not to receive the princess at Court, on the plea that 'he considers that his own presence at her Court cannot be dispensed with and that he desires it may be dis-

tinctly understood, for reasons for which he alone can be judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any condition, either in public or private.' This proceeding on the part of the queen was resented by the people to such a degree that she was not only assailed with yells and hisses, but was spit upon by the mob as she passed along the street. On her arrival at the palace, she complained of this treatment in her broken English, 'My Lords, I be fifty year and more in this country, and well respected, but now I be shspit on.'

The blunder of the prince was dexterously turned to advantage by the advisers of the princess. She addressed to him an able and indignant remonstrance against the treatment she had received at his hands, and reminded him that the time will come when he *must* meet her in public at their daughter's marriage and their own coronation—a statement which made the prince 'tremble in his shoes.' 'The Regent,' says Brougham, 'thought he had devised a cunning way of meeting the letter, of which he had intimation, on the princess requesting to know when and where it would be received. His difficulty was to answer it, and he made Liverpool state that all communications must be addressed to the Ministers; for that, as to the letter, he himself could neither receive nor read it. There could not be a greater mistake, indeed a more enormous blunder, than he and his advisers committed in this refusal. Of course, they must have presumed that the letter, though addressed to him, was much more intended for the public, unless a satisfactory answer should be given, and that nothing could possibly prevent its reaching the public but such an answer to the remonstrance as would place, or be universally believed to place, the princess and her advisers in the wrong. The refusal to read, or in any way to entertain the subject, gave us a complete right to publish, and to complain of the refusal as an aggravation of complaint. We published

it accordingly, and it was read and devoured by the whole country. I recollect no instance of such effects being produced by any statement of a case or appeal to the public upon a grievance. The impression made against the prince, and in favour of his wife and child, was universal and inconceivable, and the daughter was regarded as making common cause with the mother—at all events, as suffering under the same maltreatment. The men of Carlton House were undeceived too late, and any answer of an ordinary kind would now have proved unavailing. No defence was possible of the conduct pursued, and any extenuation of it, or even explanation, came too late.' An attempt at retaliation by publishing selected portions of the evidence taken in the Secret Inquiry of 1806, recoiled on their own heads, and only added to the unpopularity of the Prince Regent. Addresses were presented to the princess from the city of London and various other towns, and even some counties, congratulating her on this new defeat of her enemies, and condoling with her on the death of her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick and sister of George III.

Soon after the scene connected with the flight of the Princess Charlotte from Warwick House, and the prohibition of all attention, even of the most ordinary courtesy, from the allied sovereigns, the Princess of Wales, wearied out, as she said, by constant ill-treatment, and debarred from all intercourse with her daughter, resolved to leave England. The Princess Charlotte remonstrated so vehemently against this plan, that she and her mother had almost quarrelled about it. Whitbread, Brougham, and all her best friends, gave her the same advice, and warned her of the risks she would run. As long, they pointed out, as she remained in England, surrounded by her friends, and by English men and English women, and protected by English laws, she would be safe; no plot could succeed against her. But if she were to live abroad, surrounded by base spies and tools who would be always planted

about her ready to invent and to swear as they were directed, no one could say what would happen, especially after her absence should have lessened the number and weakened the zeal of her friends. These remonstrances, however, were without effect. With her characteristic self-will and obstinate adherence to her own plans, the princess persisted in her determination to go to the Continent, and would only promise that her stay there should not be long—a promise, however, which she did not keep. The result fully justified the fears and warnings of her friends.

When the princess left England, in the autumn of 1814, she was accompanied by Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Elizabeth Forbes, and by Mr. St. Leger, Sir William Gell, and the Hon. Keppel Craven, her chamberlains, and by Dr. Holland, her physician. She had arranged, after visiting Brunswick, to proceed to Italy; and at Milan she engaged, on the recommendation of the Marquis Ghisliari, the grand chamberlain of the Emperor of Austria, a person named Bartilomeo Bergami to act as her courier. For several years she led a wandering life, visiting the most celebrated places in Italy, Germany, Greece, and Sicily, and extended her travels even to Constantinople, Ephesus, Troy, and Jerusalem. The English members of her suite all left her before she had been a year in Italy, and she was consequently obliged to replace them with new servants belonging to that country. Bergami, who had for some months discharged the menial duties of a courier and valet, was promoted to the office of chamberlain, was presented with a considerable estate near Milan, which the princess purchased for him, and was treated by her with marked consideration. His brother, two sisters, cousins, and other members of his family, were also taken into the service of the princess. Her treatment of Bergami was without doubt exceedingly indiscreet and capable of a most unfavourable interpretation; and surrounded as she was from the first by

spies, who regularly reported to the Prince Regent all her imprudent and questionable actions, and put on them the worst construction, it need excite no surprise that her husband readily adopted the conviction that she had been unfaithful to her marriage vow. Depositions, taken by servants and other persons who had access to the princess in her travels, were forwarded to England and submitted by the Regent to his private confidential advisers. The chief of these was Sir John Leach, who had recently been promoted to the office of vice-chancellor through the personal influence of the prince, for whom he had abandoned the Whig party, to which he originally belonged. 'His talents,' says Romilly, 'are certainly very considerable. He has great facility of apprehension, considerable powers of argumentation, and remarkably clear and perspicuous elocution; but with all this, he is, of all the persons almost that I have known in the profession, the worst qualified for any judicial situation. He is extremely deficient in knowledge as a lawyer. In judgment he is more deficient than any man, possessed of so clear an understanding, that I ever met with. If ever he should be raised to any great situation, his want of judgment and his extraordinary confidence in himself will, I make no doubt, soon involve him in serious difficulty.' The result of the advice which Leach now gave the Prince Regent fully bears out the accuracy of Romilly's opinion of his character. He was well aware of the object on which the prince had set his heart, and he was bent on gratifying it by every means in his power, with the expectation of being rewarded for his services by promotion to the office of chancellor. In the autumn of 1817 the Regent laid before this most presumptuous and unsafe adviser 'a large mass of papers containing information from private and public sources with respect to the princess,' and desired a report upon them. Leach reported that the 'papers contained matter of grave and serious charge, and recommended that proper re-

searches should be made in the countries where the princess had resided, and through which she had travelled, for such further information as might exclude all doubt with respect to the character of her conduct.' A commission was accordingly issued, of which the Cabinet undertook to pay the expense. A couple of legal gentlemen, nominated by Leach, with the concurrence of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, were accordingly despatched to Italy, and 'placed in communication with the public authorities in the countries which they had occasion to visit.' They commenced their investigations at Milan in September, 1818, and on the 10th of July, 1819, they completed their report, which was immediately submitted to the Cabinet.

The Milan proceedings had meanwhile excited deep interest in England, and were almost universally condemned. The feeling in favour of the princess, which had been very strong before she left England, had subsided through her lengthened residence on the Continent; but it was now revived in consequence of these proceedings. It was strengthened by the mingled contempt and aversion entertained towards the Regent, and the conviction that if his daughter had lived he would not have dared thus to persecute her mother. Brougham re-echoed the general feeling on this point when he said, 'Even against Princess Charlotte standing alone, George IV. would scarcely have ventured to have instituted these proceedings; but against her, supported by Leopold, he would have found such a course *impossible*.' 'For Leopold,' he adds, 'of all men I have ever known, possessed every quality to insure success against such a man as George IV., and even against such ministers as had weakly, if not dishonestly, done his bidding in 1820.'

Negotiations had for some time been carried on in a sort of informal way, with a view of preventing the scandal which all men of sense foresaw, and all men of right feeling deprecated as the inevitable result

of any steps taken publicly against the princess. Brougham, who since the death of Whitbread had been her chief adviser, strongly recommended a compromise, to which she appeared to be not willing to accede. 'It was quite clear,' he said, 'that after her daughter's death she had given up all wish to return; but that the vexation of the constant spies she was beset by, and all the mean contrivances to lower her in the eyes of whatever Court she came near, had made her existence intolerable under this endless annoyance of every kind, and that she would be most happy if any arrangement could be made for her entire freedom from all vexation. Her wish was to take some royal title in the family, such as the Duchess of Cornwall, and having her income secured, to be recognized by our foreign ministers at whatever Court she might choose for a time to have her residence.' Brougham communicated this proposal in a written form to Lord Hutchinson, who was his political as well as personal friend, in order that he might submit it to the Regent, with whom his lordship was on intimate terms.

The Regent, however, had a different object in view. Strange to say, ever since the death of his daughter, the worn-out debauchee, now nearly sixty years of age, had desired to marry again, and a mere separation from his wife would not, of course, have left him at liberty to enter into another marriage. He therefore, two days after the date of Brougham's letter to Lord Hutchinson, 'again pressed on the ministers his desire for a divorce.' The ministers, however, were fully alive to the dangers of such a proceeding, and assured his Royal Highness that a divorce 'never could be accomplished by arrangement, nor obtained at all unless the guilt of the princess was substantiated by evidence before some tribunal in this country.' 'Such a proceeding,' they added, 'could not be instituted without serious hazard to the interests and peace of the kingdom. On the other hand, the separation which already

exists might be rendered complete by some arrangement upon the principles suggested.' Such an arrangement, however, did not suit the Regent's purpose; and as in his opinion the report of the Milan commission afforded 'the clearest and most decisive proof of guilt,' he reiterated his imperious demand for a divorce. The Ministry, thus importuned, replied to the prince in a very remarkable memorandum, which it would have been well for themselves, to say nothing of the country, if they had kept in mind. 'Considering,' they said, 'the manner in which a great part of this testimony has unavoidably been obtained, and the circumstance that the persons who afforded it are foreigners, many of whom appear to be in a low station in life, it would not be possible to advise your Royal Highness to institute any legal proceedings upon such circumstances of the witnesses by whom it is to be supported;' and that 'it appears to be more prudent to abstain from taking any further steps in the matter under all the present circumstances.'

The proposal of Brougham, and the counter proposition of the Prince Regent, were thus left in abeyance; and the affair might have remained long thus but for the death of George III., which roused both parties into action. The new king was determined that his wife should not receive the title of queen; and as a first step towards her degradation, he, as already stated, gave orders that her name should be omitted from the Liturgy. The Ministry unwisely and meanly agreed to the omission, with the understanding that no penal proceedings should be instituted against her, which, however, the king angrily repudiated. They had no suspicion of the effect which this act was to produce both on the queen herself and on the nation. The sympathy of the people was at once strongly excited by the exclusion of this poor persecuted woman from the public prayers of the church and the nation, which was subsequently deepened by the affecting remark of Mr. Denman, that she still had a place

in the Prayer-Book, in the prayer for 'all that are desolate and oppressed.'

The queen was at Rome when she received, through the medium of the newspapers, the intelligence of her father-in-law's death, and of the insult which had been offered to her by the Ministry. She suddenly found herself Queen without any arrangement whatever and under no conditions, and with no intimation of the intentions of the king and the Ministry regarding her future position. She demanded, as Queen of England, that a guard of honour should be stationed at the door of her palace; but Cardinal Gonsalvi, Secretary of State to the Pope, wrote, in reply to her chamberlain, that the papal government had received no communication on the subject from the King of England or his ministers; they had no official knowledge that the queen was in Rome; and that the guard, therefore, could not be granted. This conduct on the part of the papal ministers was believed to be owing to the influence of the Baron de Reden, the Hanoverian minister, who had publicly declared his resolution never to receive her as Queen of England, and who, it was believed, had been the means of subjecting her to similar insults from other Continental governments. On the 16th of March the queen wrote to Lord Liverpool to demand the insertion of her name in the Liturgy. By the same post which conveyed this demand, she sent another letter explanatory of her motives, which appeared in all the London newspapers. She set out for England about the middle of April. Her journey was not rapidly performed, for it was not till the 28th of May that she reached Montbard, in Burgundy, where she was joined by Alderman (ex-lord mayor) Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, a sister of the Duke of Hamilton. Next day she wrote from Villeneuve le Roi to Lord Melville, first lord of the Admiralty, requesting that a royal yacht should be placed at her disposal to convey her and her suite across the Channel, and to Lord Liverpool, demanding that a palace might

be prepared for her reception on her arrival in London.

The queen had already despatched a courier from Dijon to Mr. Brougham, whom she had appointed her Attorney-General, desiring him to meet her at St. Omer, which she reached on the 1st of June. Brougham did not arrive till the 3rd. He was accompanied by Lord Hutchinson, who was understood to be the bearer of certain propositions from the king and the Ministry for a settlement of her case, resembling those formerly suggested by Mr. Brougham. But on being requested to state those propositions in writing, his lordship requested time to look over 'several papers which contain the intentions of the Government,' and also to wait the arrival of a courier whom he expected any moment from Paris. The queen, while expressing her surprise that Lord Hutchinson was not ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he was the bearer, agreed to wait three hours for his communication. In a couple of hours Mr. Brougham received a letter from the envoy, stating that he was 'not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which he could lay before Her Majesty, but that he could detail for her information the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's ministers proposed that £50,000 per annum should be settled on the queen for life, subject to such conditions as the king may impose.' 'The conditions likely to be imposed by His Majesty are that the queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England,' and that 'she is not to reside in any part of the United Kingdom, or come to visit England.' Lord Hutchinson thought proper to add the following extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to him—'It is material that Her Majesty should know confidentially that if she shall be so ill-advised as to come over to this country, there must then be an end to all negotiation and compromise. The decision, I may

say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shores.'

If Lord Liverpool had understood the queen's character he would have been aware that any attempt to intimidate her would not only fail, but would provoke her at once to persist in the course from which it was wished to dissuade her. Without a moment's hesitation she instructed Mr. Brougham to return for answer, that it was quite impossible for Her Majesty to listen to such a proposition. Couriers were instantly despatched to get horses in readiness on the road. She dismissed the whole of her Italian suite, including her chamberlain, Bergami; and, in half an hour after the receipt of Lord Hutchinson's letter, Her Majesty set out for Calais, accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton and Alderman Wood.

Lord Hutchinson so little expected this abrupt movement that, at the time of the queen's departure, he was writing a note to Mr. Brougham, offering to send a courier to London for further instructions. Brougham forwarded this note to Her Majesty by a courier, accompanied by a letter from himself, stating that he could not advise her to entertain the proposition that had been made; but if the offered annuity should be granted without any renunciation of rank or title or rights, and with a pledge on the part of the Government that she should be acknowledged and received abroad by all the diplomatic agents of the country according to her rank and station, he would earnestly urge that she should accept of it. He advised her not to go to England before a new offer could be made; but that, if she was determined to proceed, she should do so in the most private, and even secret manner possible. He hinted to her that there were some persons whose advice was of a different cast, and who would be found very feeble allies in the hour of difficulty.

There can be no doubt that Brougham referred to certain 'less discreet parties in

England' who had, from the first, recommended the queen to return home, and especially to Alderman Wood, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the king, as well as to some of the friends of the queen. Brougham, in his indignation at finding his advice neglected for that of 'a citizen and fishmonger,' designated him, in a letter to Lord Hutchinson, 'Wood, the ass and alderman, whom they call Thistle Wood.' The king, who was furious at Wood being allowed to sit in the carriage beside the queen in her progress through London, called him 'that beast Wood.' The prominent part which he took on behalf of the queen brought upon him, of course, a torrent of abuse from the courtiers and the supporters of the Government. But although the worthy alderman was not a refined or well-educated person, he was by no means an 'ass,' or 'a vain, foolish busy-body,' as he was described by a correspondent of Lord Colchester. Denman, who knew him well, declared that he possessed 'uncommon perseverance and activity, no small share of natural sagacity, and much acquaintance with the character of the English people.' If it was by Wood's advice that the queen proceeded at once to England, and made her journey public, and not 'private and secret,' the result fully vindicated the wisdom of his counsel, and proved his knowledge of the state of popular feeling in regard to her case. The queen reached Calais on Sunday night. She had been informed by Lord Melville that he could not send a yacht to convey her to England, as His Majesty was then out of town, and the Admiralty could not receive his commands on the subject. She was on board the packet which she had engaged before she received Brougham's remonstrance; but he was quite well aware that it would not have availed to arrest her progress. She reached Dover at one o'clock on Monday. The commandant, who had received no orders to the contrary, fired a royal salute, and she landed amid the acclamations of an immense multitude, who

had assembled to welcome her after an absence of six years. In the evening a deputation of the inhabitants of Dover presented an address to her, congratulating her on her arrival in England and her accession to the throne, styling themselves 'Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.' She dexterously availed herself of these terms, and, in her reply, expressed 'her hope that she should be permitted to promote the happiness of her husband's subjects.' Her journey from Dover to London was one continued triumph. At every stage she was greeted with the most enthusiastic expressions of popular sympathy and affection. Even at the Cathedral city of Canterbury, which she reached when darkness had set in, an immense multitude had collected, lighted by torches. The horses were taken from her carriage, and it was drawn by the people to the door of the hotel. An address was presented to her by the mayor and corporation in their robes; and the queen, in her reply, said, 'I will do anything to make my people happy.' Most significant of all, when she left Canterbury next morning, the officers of the cavalry regiment stationed there escorted her as far as Sittingbourne, and the clergy in their gowns and bands waited on her at that place.' At every village crowds were assembled—the bells of every parish church on the road pealed out a welcome. Chatham, Rochester, and other towns, sent forth their thousands to do her honour. Deptford and Greenwich poured out, in indiscriminate concourse, all ranks and conditions of their inhabitants. Blackheath resembled some great Continental fair. All classes of the people, men and women, old and young, grave and gay, shared in the universal enthusiasm. Even the cool and cynical Charles Greville, clerk of the Privy Council, rode as far as Greenwich to meet her. 'The road,' he says, 'was thronged with an immense multitude the whole way from Westminster Bridge to Greenwich. Carriages, carts, and horsemen followed, preceded, and surrounded her coach the whole way. She

was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. Women waved pocket handkerchiefs, and men shouted wherever she passed. She travelled in an open landau, Alderman Wood sitting by her side, and Lady Anne Hamilton and another woman opposite. Everybody was disgusted at the vulgarity of Wood in sitting in the place of honour, while the Duke of Hamilton's sister was sitting backwards in the carriage. The queen looked exactly as she did before she left England, and seemed neither dispirited nor dismayed.' As the queen's carriage passed Carlton House, the residence of the king, Wood stood up and gave three cheers, which were caught up by the vast multitude, and must have resounded through every room and corner of the palace. The sentries at the gates presented arms. The immense assemblage escorted her to the residence of Alderman Wood in South Audley Street, where she alighted; but before they dispersed, the queen had to bow her acknowledgments from the balcony. This memorable day ended with an illumination of the west end of the town, at the instance of the mob, who paraded the streets and compelled the inhabitants to light up their houses.

The feeling excited by the arrival of the queen, not only in London, but throughout the country, was universal and strong. The public had always felt sympathy for her wrongs; but to this was added admiration of the courage which she had displayed in thus braving her enemies, as it were, in their stronghold, and defying them to do their worst against her. 'If her father had advanced to Paris,' wrote Ward, 'as fearlessly as she advanced to London, we might have been spared five-and-twenty years' war. Her promptitude and courage confounded her opponents, and gained her the favour of the people.' 'She approaches wisely, because boldly,' said Wilberforce. 'One can't help admiring her spirit.' Her courage and decision not only excited admiration, but were regarded as proofs of her innocence, and of a conviction on her

part that her enemies could prove none of the charges which they had brought against her. So ignorant, however, were the king and the Ministry of the state of public feeling, and so unable to discern the signs of the times, that in the midst of all this excitement they were flattering themselves with the confident expectation that they would succeed in their object. 'The King, in the meantime, is in excellent spirits,' wrote Greville, 'and the Ministers affect the greatest unconcern, and talk of the time it will take to pass the bills to "settle her business."' 'Her business, as they call it,' adds this shrewd observer, 'will in all probability raise such a tempest as they will find it beyond their powers to appease; and for all His Majesty's unconcern, the day of her arrival in England may be such an anniversary to him as he will have no cause to celebrate with much rejoicing.' The result showed how correctly the clerk of the Council had estimated the feeling of the country.

As soon as the Ministry learned the intention of the queen to proceed to London, they met on the evening of the day she left St. Omer; and after a lengthened sitting, which was adjourned till next day, they felt constrained to bring the case at once before Parliament, which assembled an hour and a half after the meeting of the Cabinet broke up. The Prime Minister, after some formal business had been concluded, brought down a message from the king, along with certain papers in a green bag sealed, respecting the conduct of the queen during her residence on the Continent. He intimated at the same time that he would next day (June 6) propose that the papers should be referred to a secret committee. After a short discussion the House of Lords appointed a secret committee of fifteen peers, to whom the contents of the green bag were referred. A similar message, accompanied with a similar green bag, was carried to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, but with a different result. Brougham, who was quite prepared

for the attempt to induce the Commons to act with equal rapidity, defeated it by presenting a message from the queen, demanding a full and public investigation of her conduct, instead of a secret inquiry, and followed it up by entering fully into the whole case. His friends declared that his speech was 'one of the best that was ever made,' and even his opponents admitted that it was 'good and effective.' It told most powerfully on the House, and especially on the country gentlemen. Canning says Brougham, 'while he supported the ministers, acted most honourably, and bore such testimony to the virtues and high bearing of the princess, whose honour, and I may almost say life, was assailed by a husband whose whole life and conduct in the marriage state had been a barefaced violation of his vows, that ministers were forced to give way, and an adjournment was agreed on without a division,' indeed, as one of the members said, was 'carried almost by acclamation.' The public feeling in favour of the queen and against the king and his ministers grew stronger every hour. Placards were posted throughout the town, commanding a great illumination for three nights. 'The mob,' says Greville, 'have been breaking windows in all parts of the town (of those who disobeyed the order to illuminate), and pelting those who would not take off their hats as they passed Wood's door. Last night Lord Exmouth's house was assaulted and his windows broken, when he rushed out with sword and pistol and drove away the mob.'

A much more alarming symptom was the extension of the prevailing excitement to the troops. A battalion of the 3rd Guards excited such strong dissatisfaction that they were marched out of London to Portsmouth, and were heard by the way shouting 'God save Queen Caroline.' 'The extinguisher has taken fire,' said Luttrell. The soldiers considered that the queen, as well as the king, was entitled to their allegiance. A regiment of cavalry, stopping on its march at Penrith, near Brougham Hall, drank the

health of its owner, and that of the queen, and vowed that 'they would fight up to their knees in blood for their queen.' The day after Majocchi's examination-in-chief the impression prevailed that the evidence was unfavourable to her. The Guards, in their undress trousers and foraging caps, came at night to where they supposed the queen was, and cried, 'Never mind; it may be going badly, but better or worse we are all with you.' Such a state of affairs, indeed, might well cause great uneasiness to the Government.

At this stage negotiations for a compromise were entered into between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh on the one side, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman on the other, but they proved utterly abortive. 'It was plain from the first,' said Brougham, 'that the duke and Lord Castlereagh had nothing like full powers from the king;' 'nor indeed,' he adds, 'had we on the part of the queen.' The conferences were continued over four successive days, but they ended in smoke. 'Speaking of some expedient to reconcile Her Majesty to a stipulation that she should reside on the Continent, to which Brougham merely said that she had no insuperable objection, he suggested in a sort of hurried whisper that the restoration of her name to the Liturgy might answer that purpose. Lord Castlereagh promptly replied, "You might as easily move Carlton House." Other concessions were offered on behalf of the king, such as the notification of the queen's name and rank at the Court either of Rome or Milan, in which she had expressed her intention to reside, but leaving it to these Courts to decide what reception they would give to Her Majesty; a royal yacht or a frigate would be given for her conveyance, and every personal attention paid to her by the English ministers abroad, and an address should be presented to the queen as well as to the king, to 'thank Her Majesty for having acceded to the wish of the House of Commons.' The probability is, that if in addition to these offers the

queen's name had been restored to the Liturgy, the matter would have been settled, and the grievous scandal of the trial averted. But the Ministry had the weakness and folly to make themselves the tools of the king's resentment, instead of compelling him, as they might have done, to yield to the dictates of prudence and proper feeling.

On the 19th of June Lord Castlereagh had the mortification to announce in the Commons, and Lord Liverpool in the Lords, that the negotiations had failed. Mr. Wilberforce, on the following day, 'of all men the most fit to lead the resistance to this hateful measure,' proposed an address to the queen, which, after expressing deep regret that the endeavours to frame an arrangement had failed, represented to Her Majesty the inestimable importance of an amicable adjustment which, in the opinion of the House, she might do without any sacrifice of her honour. He argued that though the queen could not yield to the king her claim to have her name inserted in the Liturgy, she might waive it at the request of the House of Commons. The debate which took place on this proposal was characterized by remarkable ability. The speeches of Brougham, Denman, Caning, and Burdett, excited universal admiration. The Ministry cut a very sorry figure in the discussion, and their conduct was exposed and denounced in very severe terms, especially by Burdett.

Wilberforce's motion was carried by a majority of 391 votes to 121, and the mover and seconder, Mr. Stuart Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe), who represented Yorkshire, along with Sir Thomas Acland, member for Devonshire, and Mr. Bankes, member for Dorsetshire, were commissioned to carry it to the queen. Her counsel wisely declined to offer her any advice on the subject, though earnestly solicited by her to give their opinion. They told her she must be guided by her own feelings, and was herself the only person capable of judging what she had best do. She re-

ceived the deputation with the greatest courtesy, but declined in the most decided terms to accede to the request of the Commons. 'As a subject of the state,' she said, 'I shall bow with deference and, if possible, without a murmur to every act of the sovereign authority; but as an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow-subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or to withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice which are, alike, the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual.' The deputation expressed their regret at Her Majesty's decision, and then withdrew to report to the House of Commons the failure of their mission. When the refusal of the queen to accede to the proposal of Wilberforce was announced to the immense multitude assembled round her door, it was received with the most enthusiastic applause. 'But it was with difficulty,' says Brougham, 'that the deputation escaped maltreatment, the hissing and screams against them being excessive.' Greville says they called Wilberforce 'Dr. Cantwell.' It was carefully intimated to the people by some of her unprofessional friends that her refusal was entirely her own act, and this occasioned a renewal of applause. The disappointment of the Government at the refusal was great, says Brougham; 'far greater than the king's, who was bent upon proceeding—because, not satisfied with such a result as would only expel the queen from England, he desired the bill beyond everything: Leach and his other secret advisers never allowing him to doubt that it must pass.' His Majesty, strange to say, does not seem ever to have thought of a question which was paramount to all others in the popular mind, and troubled above all others his legal advisers, Was not the queen entitled to recriminate? The right of recrimination had always been admitted in proceedings for divorce. If the person petitioning for the dissolution of a marriage did not come into court with clean

hands, he was at once refused his redress. It was of course known to every one that George IV. had, from the time of his marriage down to that hour, been living in open and flagrant violation of his marriage vows; and even supposing that the charges against the queen were all true, had she not a right to retaliate? And if the Parliament were to deny to her a right conceded to every one else, and thus violate the principles of established law and the invariable practice of the court, would it not be universally felt that all semblance, even of justice and consistency, was set at nought?

These considerations had not only great weight with the public, but they pressed heavily on the minds of the members of the Cabinet. Mr. Canning at first stood aloof from the whole proceeding, and when he found that his colleagues were determined to prosecute the charges against the queen, he resigned his office of President of the India Board. Lord Liverpool felt keenly his position, but he had not the courage and strength of mind to offer a steady resistance to the king's wish, and he went on with the case, feeling more and more at every step that it was both unjust and impolitic. As for the Lord Chancellor, he, as usual, talked a great deal about his conscience and his perfect impartiality, but he had no scruples in obeying the orders of his sovereign, and no difficulty in satisfying himself, on technical grounds, that a distinction might be drawn to warrant a refusal of proof that His Majesty's conduct disentitled him to relief from the nuptial tie. In ordinary bills of divorce, he said, they are not tendered to the House, in the first instance, by a peer; the husband petitions for leave to have a bill brought in; the proceeding is therefore in the nature of *his* *snit*. As *against him*, it is fair to show that *he* ought not to be relieved; he is a party, in somewhat of a strict sense, in the proceeding. He has therefore no right to complain if his actions are examined in that proceeding; of his actions Commons, Lords, and King are to judge. But in this proceeding the

king is no petitioning party; the bill is not brought in upon leave *at his suit*. A lord brings it in upon his own responsibility—might bring it in whether *he* would or not—he has not, as a petitioner, placed himself in a situation in which he has submitted his actions to examination in a proceeding in which he can repel imputation by proof, even if, as a king, he could submit his actions to examination. Such wire-drawn and specious distinctions might satisfy the majority of the House of Lords, composed largely of persons who had already received marks of royal favour, and were expectants of future benefits from the throne. But from the first there was very great doubt whether they would induce the House of Commons to set aside in this case the fundamental principles of criminal equity; and there was no expectation that considerations such as Lord Eldon adduced, would have the slightest weight with the great body of the people. It was notorious that the whole proceedings originated directly and solely with the king; that they were undertaken by the Ministry with the greatest reluctance, only to gratify his wishes; and it was equally well known, that on moral and equitable grounds, he was not entitled to the redress which he sought.

The queen, before she left Rome, had appointed Brougham her attorney, and Denman her solicitor-general, and it was acknowledged on all hands that she had been most fortunate in her choice. Brougham was at this time in the maturity of his great abilities, and, though he had not yet reached the full height of his influence, he was already a power in the State, and his splendid eloquence, extensive attainments, and indefatigable energy and zeal, pre-eminently fitted him to take the lead in the queen's defence. Denman, who was associated with him, had acquired a high and well-merited reputation as a sound lawyer, an able and accomplished pleader, and a most honourable and exemplary person in all his domestic relations. 'His noble cast of features,' says Mr. Keppell, 'the honest expression of

his countenance, the deep-toned melody of his voice, the happy choice of his language, his dignified irony, his consistent political conduct, and his irreproachable private character—all these, together with the belief that he was firmly convinced of the innocence of his client, combined to produce a most favourable impression upon his hearers.' The leaders in the case were assisted by Sergeant Wilde, who subsequently filled the office of Lord Chancellor; Tindal, who became Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas; Lushington, who was a judge of the High Court of Admiralty; and Williams, who was appointed a justice of the Queen's Bench. Her solicitor was Vizard, 'whose strictly honourable character,' says Brougham, 'and professional talents, with his sound judgment, made him a valuable associate; and his trustworthiness, the most essential recommendation in so delicate a matter, led to my treating him as one of the counsel rather than the solicitor only.' The conduct of these eminent men, in so cordially accepting the duty entrusted to them, displayed no ordinary disinterestedness and courage, and is deserving of the highest commendation. They were well aware that, by acting as the defenders of the queen, they would incur the permanent hatred of the king, and would place serious obstacles in the way of their professional advancement. But no apprehension of personal injury deterred them from obeying the dictates of duty, and advocating the cause of the unhappy woman whom the Court and the Government had combined to destroy.

The Hon. G. T. Keppell (afterwards Earl of Albemarle), says, Brougham was fond of implying that he had ample materials for recriminating the king. 'If,' said he, 'this necessity should be imposed upon me I should act directly in the teeth of the instructions of this illustrious woman [here with a theatrical wave of the hand he pointed to the queen who sat immediately below him], I should disobey her solemn commands; nor is it my purpose to resort

to it unless driven to it by an absolute and overruling compulsion.' Brougham himself says, 'When I said that it might be my painful duty to bring forward what would involve the country in confusion, I was astonished that everybody should have conceived recrimination to be *all* I intended. I was very well satisfied with the mistake, because it was of the last importance that the real ground of defence should be brought forward by surprise, that it should be presented at once in its full proportions, and by a short and clear statement. The ground then was neither more nor less than impeaching the king's own title, by proving that he had forfeited the crown. He had married a Roman Catholic (Mrs. Fitzherbert) while heir-apparent, and this is declared by the Act of Settlement to be a forfeiture of the crown, "*as if he were naturally dead.*" We were not in possession of all the circumstances, as I have since ascertained them, but we had enough to prove the fact.' It was fortunate for George IV., perhaps for the peace of the country, that events took a turn which made it unnecessary for the queen's counsel to make such a charge against him, which, without doubt, could have been proved by conclusive evidence.

Two days after the failure of the attempt at mediation, the queen petitioned the House of Lords against a secret inquiry into her conduct, and asked delay until the witnesses whom she would summon immediately to expose the machinations against her should reach this country. Her counsel were heard at half an hour's notice in support of this petition. 'Brougham made a very powerful speech,' says Greville. 'Denman began exceedingly well; Lord Holland said his first three or four sentences were the best thing he ever heard; *si sic omnia*, he would have made the finest speech possible; but on the whole he was inferior to Brougham. They contended for delay, but in vain, on the ground that until the witnesses for the queen arrived they could not become sufficiently acquainted with the habits and character of the witnesses against

their illustrious client to cross-examine them to any useful purpose.' It was on this occasion that Denman, in the course of his speech, made the well-known allusion to Sir John Leach, the adviser of the Milan Commission, who, it was believed, expected to be rewarded for his services with the office of chancellor. Quoting Emilia's description of Iago in 'Othello,' he applied it to Leach, to Lord Eldon's manifest delight—

'I will be hanged if some eternal villain,
Some busy and insinuating rogue,
Some cogging cozening knave, to get some office,
Have not devised this slander.'

Two months after Denman's speech 'Othello' was played at Drury Lane. It was Kean's farewell performance prior to his departure on a visit to America. Keppel, who was present, says, 'Here was the first actor of the day, and in his master-piece. But this evening the audience had neither eyes nor ears for their favourite. Their whole interest in the play was concentrated in those passages which bore, or appeared to bear, some analogy to the event which was absorbing the public mind.' When the lines quoted by Denman were recited, 'there arose in the gallery yellings and hootings, intermixed with cries of "Leach, Leach." The uproar continued some minutes. When silence was in some degree restored, the actors resumed their parts.'

Iago, 'Fye, there's no such man! it is impossible.
Desd., 'If any such there be, Heaven pardon him.
Emilia, 'A halter pardon him, and hell gnaw his bones.

The man's abused by some most villainous knave.
Some base notorious knave, some scurvy fellow;
Oh Heaven! that such companions thou 'dst unfold,
And put in every honest hand a whip
To lash the rascal naked through the world,
Even from the east to the west.'

'These words were followed by the most tremendous applause.' 'The pit twice stood up and cheered; the men waved their hats; the women their handkerchiefs; and the acclamations throughout the whole house

were loud and general, and lasted for several minutes.'

These and many other strong manifestations of public feeling among all classes ought to have deterred the ministers from the unwise course on which they had unhappily entered. But the king, fully persuaded that the bill would pass, obstinately adhered to his resolution to degrade his wife. As Lord Eldon bitterly remarked, 'The king is determined, and will hear of nothing but thorough investigation, and of what he and those who consider *themselves* more than him think and talk of—thorough exposure of the queen and divorce. If the ministers give way, the king will remove them.' Such a catastrophe, however, as official extinction was dreaded by them much more than all the mischief which, they clearly foresaw, would result from the continuance of the investigation. They therefore yielded to the injunctions of His Majesty, and resolved to proceed with the case. The application of the queen's counsel was rejected. The 'green-bag' was referred to a secret committee, and on the 4th of July they reported that, as the charges affected 'not only the honour of the queen, but the dignity of the Crown and the moral feeling and honour of the country,' they were of opinion that it was 'indispensable they should become the subject of solemn inquiry,' which might 'be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which,' the committee declared, 'they cannot but most deeply deplore.' On the following day Lord Liverpool introduced the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which has been justly termed 'the everlasting disgrace of his administration.' It was entitled 'An Act to deprive Her Majesty, Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions of Queen Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between His Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth,' on the ground of her alleged improper and degrading conduct generally during her residence abroad, and particularly of her

adulterous connection with one of her servants named Bartilomeo Bergami. The bill was immediately read a first time, and the second reading fixed for the 17th of August.

The tide of popular feeling continued to run strong in the queen's favour, and became every day more marked. Addresses poured in upon her from every quarter of the country, and from all classes of the community. The city of London led the way, and was followed by the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, the various parishes and trades of the metropolis, the ladies of the city of Edinburgh, the inhabitants of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Coventry, and other large towns throughout the kingdom, all expressing indignation at the treatment which Her Majesty had received from the king and the Government, and their confident expectation that she would triumph over all the machinations of her enemies. Whenever she appeared in public she was welcomed with the most enthusiastic greetings, and when she took a drive in the park the populace removed the horses from her carriage and drew it themselves. On the other hand, the king hid himself in his palace, afraid to show his face in the streets. His ministers were received with groans and hisses, and even the Duke of Wellington was hissed by the mob, much to his surprise. When the Italian witnesses landed at Dover, they were so roughly handled that the magistrates had to call out the constables for their protection. 'Their appearance,' says an eye-witness, 'seemed to excite great disgust. They all, with the exception of two, were most miserably attired; in fact, they looked like those itinerant Italians of whom we have so many tramping about all over the country. To look at them, no one could suppose they could ever be admitted where they could have witnessed any actions of a princess of the rank of Her Majesty.' They left Dover amidst the deepest execrations and hootings in a state of great terror, and had

to be conveyed to London by a circuitous route. They were lodged in a house in Cotton Garden, in the vicinity of the two houses of Parliament, and were obliged to confine themselves to the inclosure, or their prison, rather; for, says Mr. Keppel, 'they would have been torn to pieces by the populace if they had ventured beyond its precincts. The land entrance was strongly barricaded. The side facing Westminster Bridge was shut out from the public by a wall run up for the express purpose, at a right angle to the Parliament stairs. Thus the only access was by the river. The street side was guarded by a strong military force, the water side by gunboats. About this building, in which the witnesses were immured from August till November, the London mob would hover like a cat round the cage of a canary. When these fellows appeared at the bar of the House, they looked as respectable as fine clothes and soap and water could make them. Those persons who saw them before they emerged from the chrysalis into the butterfly state, described them as swarthy, dirty-looking fellows, in scanty, ragged jackets, and greasy leather caps.'

On the 17th of August, the day fixed for the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, the streets of Westminster adjoining the Houses of Parliament were thronged with a crowd unprecedented both for its vast numbers and its good order. Every precaution had been taken to prevent disturbance; large bodies of cavalry patrolled the streets; two regiments of Life Guards were stationed in Palace Yard, and the Coldstream in Westminster Hall, along with a large body of artillery which had been moved up from Woolwich. But there was no need of force to preserve order; the people were in great good humour. They contented themselves with cheering the friends of the queen, and hooting the members of the Government and their supporters, and compelling their servants and coachmen to pull off their hats and huzza for the queen. At ten o'clock a universal cheer from the vast

crowd that thronged the streets and the windows and roofs of the houses, which lined the route between St. James' Square and Palace Yard, announced that the queen had left her house. She was seated in an open carriage drawn by six horses, and was attended by Lady Anne Hamilton. The sentinels at Carlton House, the residence of the king, where the carriage halted for a few seconds, presented arms to her, as they did on her arrival, and were cheered by the mob for so doing. At half-past ten the shouts of the populace, 'the loudest ever heard,' announced to the Peers the approach of Her Majesty. She was received at the threshold by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Usher of the Black Rod. The queen had known him while she was living under her husband's roof. 'Well, Sir Thomas,' she is reported to have said, 'what is your master trying me for? Is it for intermarrying with a man whose first wife I knew to be living?' The great folding doors of the robing room were thrown open, and she entered the House, the Peers rising to receive her. A chair of state, covered with crimson velvet, had been placed near the bar for her reception, facing the throne, adjoining which the members of the Lower House had been accommodated. She was dressed in black, with white crape trimmings, and a rich white lace veil 'flowed gracefully over her shoulders, and hung like an antique vestment over her dress.' 'She seemed much affected on taking her chair, and did not appear quite composed for a considerable time.' She conversed for some time with Lord Archibald Hamilton, who pointed out to her the most notable personages in the assembly, and explained to her their Lordships' proceedings.

The queen's counsel were placed on the right in the space usually allotted to strangers. The position to the left was assigned to the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the King's Advocate-General Dr. Adams, and Mr. Parke, who appeared for the prosecution. Sir Robert Gifford, the Attorney-General, the leading

counsel, appeared to great disadvantage against Brougham and Denman. He was, says Mr. Keppell, 'a red-faced little man, wanting in dignity both in manner and appearance. His language seemed ill-chosen, his voice was painfully shrill, and an incorrect ear caused him to place the accent mostly on the wrong word.'

Sir John Singleton Copley, the Solicitor-General, was a much abler man, and a much better speaker, than his principal; but his moral qualities were not equal to his intellectual abilities. He was a recent deserter from the Liberal camp, and was in consequence disliked by the Opposition, and not much respected or trusted by the Ministerialists. At this time 'he had a disagreeable expression of countenance—a sort of scowl, which, however, wore away as he advanced in years. His manner had not the naturalness of his opponents—it was too theatrical—and his style of speaking suggested to the hearer the spouting manner which school-boys acquire by reciting hexameter verses.' In after years he became completely free from this fault.

The examination of the witnesses began on the 21st of August. A list of these had been asked and refused on some petty technical plea, so that the queen's counsel were left in entire ignorance as to their character and position. The first who was presented was Teodore Majocchi, the prevaricating postillion of '*Non mi ricordo*' notoriety. At his entrance the queen was looking another way; but on perceiving him, she uttered some words in a loud voice, and hastily left the House. Her action at the time looked like an alarm, and was sedulously represented as indicating that she was afraid of the testimony which he could give against her. But Mr. Keppell, who was present, put a very different interpretation upon it. He says, 'The moment she saw him, she raised her hands above her head, and, uttering a loud exclamation, bounced out of the House of Lords in a most unqueenlike manner. What that exclamation was intended to convey is

still a mystery. Some said the word was "Teodore," others "Traditore." To me it seemed to be simply the interjection "Oh!" as expressive of disgust at seeing in her accuser one whom she had known as a dirty discharged menial, but who was now transformed into a clean-looking gentleman, dressed in the height of the fashion.'

Majocchi's testimony, apparently, bore strongly against Her Majesty; though it transpired, from the questions put to him, that he had forgotten some of the most damaging statements which he had made at his preliminary precognition, and could not be drawn on to repeat them. Copley, as Brougham says, purposely protracted his examination throughout the whole day, until it was too late for the queen's counsel to take off the effect of his evidence by cross-examination, in order that it might make an impression the whole of that evening on the House of Lords, and the next day also in the city. Brougham's cross-examination showed how worthless that evidence was, and made the wretched creature a joke throughout the whole country. To every question fitted to test the accuracy of his memory, and the truth of his statements, he returned the answer, '*Non mi ricordo*' ('I do not remember'), and the defeat of the bill in the House of Lords was largely affected by the result of this cross-examination. His constantly-reiterated expression, '*Non mi ricordo*,' passed at once into the byword which it has ever since continued among all classes. Even the mob saluted the queen's barge as she passed from Hammersmith to Greenwich with shouts of '*Non mi ricordo*,' and the words were repeated at intervals while the trial lasted, mingled with exhortations to the guards and the Peers to 'remember their queen,' remember their 'wives,' their 'daughters,' and their 'sisters.'

Another witness on whose testimony great dependence was placed was Louise Demont, a Swiss, who had been chamber-maid to the princess, and had been dis-

charged from her service. Her examination-in-chief occupied two whole days; and in her case, as in that of Majocchi, her testimony did not fully support the statements made by the Attorney-General in his opening speech. But her evidence was most thoroughly demolished by Mr. Williams in his most able and effective cross-examination. Letters were produced which she had written to her half-sister, who was still in the queen's service, in which she expressed the greatest admiration for her Royal Highness, and her 'infinite respect and unlimited attachment for her august person,' and gave a minute statement about a proposal made to her to go to London, under the pretext of being a governess, with the most liberal promises of money, which she admitted to be utterly untrue. After her dismissal from the princess' service, she wrote supplicating forgiveness in the most humble terms, and entreating her Royal Highness to continue her protection to her sister. Another witness, named Rastelli, who had acted as superintendent of the princess' stables, after he left her service had been employed as a courier by the Milan Commission, and had gone about collecting witnesses to testify against Her Majesty. His evidence was disgusting and utterly incredible; and besides, he was proved to have bribed another of the witnesses to give evidence against the queen. After concluding his testimony, he was immediately sent out of the country. This was a grievous mistake on the part of the prosecution. It was discovered by the queen's counsel, who indignantly remonstrated against this violation of the promise which Lord Liverpool had given, that the witnesses should be kept in the country until the termination of the trial; and demanded that Rastelli should be brought back for cross-examination. Brougham admits that the sending away this witness gave the queen's counsel a great advantage, and there can be no doubt that it was of immense benefit to her cause. Mr. Powell, one of the two lawyers who

were at the head of the Milan Commission, was called by the Peers to account for Rastelli's disappearance. He professed to have sent him home to Milan in order to quiet the minds of the relatives of witnesses who were still in England as to their safety, an excuse which was received with general incredulity. Brougham dexterously availed himself of the opportunity to put to Powell the question, 'Who is your employer or client in this case?' which was received with loud shouts of 'No! No!' from the Peers. Brougham insisted that the question was every way just and proper. 'I have never been able,' he said, 'to trace the local habitation or the name of the unknown being who is the plaintiff in this proceeding. I know not but it may vanish into thin air. I know not under what shape it exists;' and then, in order to indicate who was the true author of the proceedings, he quoted Milton's magnificent description of Death in 'Paradise Lost'—

'If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
For each seem'd either. What seem'd his head,
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.'

This felicitous quotation was suggested to Brougham by Spencer Perceval, the eldest son of Perceval, the Prime Minister. George IV. felt the allusion most keenly. He said Brougham might at least have spared him the attack upon his shape. He was more vain of his person and of his slim figure than of almost anything else, and he said to Lord Donoughmore that he thought everybody allowed, whatever faults he might have, that his legs were not as Brougham had described. It was in vain that Donoughmore tried to convince him that the quotation only referred to the crown. He said he was certain Brougham had heard of his piquing himself on his shape, and thought it would plague him to have it held up to ridicule.

The result of the examination of the witnesses adduced in support of the bill fully

bore out the description which Brougham subsequently gave in the *Edinburgh Review* of the Milan Commission and its labours. 'It is the first impression,' he said, 'always arising in Italy from any work undertaken by English hands, and paid for by English money, that an inexhaustible fund is employed, and with boundless profusion; and a thirst of gold is straightway excited which no extravagance of liberality can slake. The knowledge that a board was sitting to collect evidence against the queen immediately gave such testimony a high value in the market of Italian perjury; and happy was the individual who had ever been in her house or admitted to her presence; his fortune was counted to be made. Nor were they who had viewed her mansion, or had only known the arrangements of her villa, without hopes of sharing in the golden prize. To have seen her pass, and noted who attended her person, was a piece of good luck. In short, nothing, however remotely connected with herself or her family, or her residence or her habits, was without its value among a poor, a sanguine, and an imaginative people. As the treachery of servants was the portion of this testimony which bore the highest value, that of course was not difficult to procure, and the accusers soon possessed what in such a case is most wished for by the accuser, not indeed the confession of the guilty persons, but the man-servant of the one and the maid-servant of the other supposed paramour. Recourse was had to spies, who watched all the parties did, and when they could not find a circumstance, made one—men who chronicled the dinners and the suppers that were eaten, the walks and the sails that were enjoyed, the arrangements of rooms and the position of bowers, and who, never doubting that these were the occasions and the scenes of endearment and of enjoyment, pretended to have witnessed the one, in order that the other might be supposed, but with that inattention to particulars which Providence has appointed as the snare for the false witness and the safeguard of inno-

cence, pretended to have seen in such directions as would have required the rays of light to move, not straightforward, but round about barriers—that pried into carriages where the travellers were asleep at grey daylight, or saw in the dusk of dewy eve what their own fancy pictured—sailors, who believed that all persons could gratify their animal appetites on the public deck, where they themselves had so often played the beast's part—lying waiting-women, capable of repaying the kindness and charity that had laid the foundation of their fortune, with the treachery that could rear it to the height of their sordid desires—chamber-maids the refuse of the streets and the common food of wayfaring licentiousness—lechers of either sex, who would fain have gloated over the realities of what their liquorish imagination alone bodied forth—pimps of hideous aspect, whose prurient glance could penetrate through the keyhole of rooms where the rat shared with the bug the silence of the deserted place—these were the performers whose exploits the Commissioners chronicled, whose narratives they collected, and whose exhibition upon the great stage of the first tribunal of all the earth they sedulously and zealously prepared for frequent rehearsal. Yet, with all these helps to success—with the unlimited supply of fancy and of falsehood which the character of the people furnished—with the very body servants of the parties hired by their wages, if not bought with a price—such an array could only be produced as the whole world at once pronounced insufficient to prove any case, and as even the most prejudiced of assemblies in the accuser's favour turned from with disgust.'

The examination of the witnesses in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties terminated on the 7th of September. The evidence was summed up by the Solicitor-General, Copley, who exerted himself to the utmost to rehabilitate the witnesses whose veracity had been so seriously impaired by the cross-examination to which they had

been subjected. The case for the bill then closed, and the House adjourned for three weeks to give the queen's counsel time to prepare their reply. Although only hostile evidence had been led, and the witnesses in the queen's defence had not been heard, public opinion and sympathy continued to run strongly in Her Majesty's favour. Addresses of congratulation and sympathy continued to pour in upon her, signed by many thousands of both sexes and of all classes. Her counsel and the peers who supported her were everywhere greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. The members of the Government and their friends were mobbed and hooted whenever in town or country they dared to show face. The lord chancellor, once the friend, now the bitter foe of the queen, and who, as Lord Dudley remarked, 'having kept her conscience then, keeps her offended husband's now, and all for the public good,' was greeted, even at his own country seat, with cries of 'Queen for ever!' 'When Castlereagh and Sidmouth,' says Mr. Keppel, 'walked arm-in-arm to Westminster, amidst the execrations of the mob, the former exclaimed, "Here go two of the most popular men in England." To these two unpopularity was familiar, and they submitted to it with more or less philosophy. Not so Lord Liverpool, who had hitherto been treated with singular forbearance; but he, too, at last was doomed to take his share of the popular odium. The effect it had upon him was visible to every beholder. When he rose to address the House, it was with all the timidity of a nervous young peer making his maiden speech. Nor could he have given utterance to his words at all without the aid of large doses of ether, the odour of which reached the nostrils of those who were standing on the steps of the throne.'

Lord Sidmouth tried to console himself under the general condemnation of his conduct, and that of his colleagues, by assuming that he and they were suffering opprobrium solely on account of their discharge of their duty, and that the popular

feeling was merely a proof of the degeneracy of the nation. In reply to a political friend who had written to him expressing his suffering 'on account of the dangerous and deplorable situation in which the country and the king's government had been placed,' the Home Secretary, assuming a high moral tone, said, 'In venting your feelings, you have precisely expressed mine. All that just and honest pride which once gave comfort and dignity to a state of existence in this country, is nearly cancelled and obliterated. I am, however, much more under the influence of indignation than of any feeling which approaches despondency.' Posterity, however, has approved the verdict of the public at that time respecting the conduct of the king and the Government and has pronounced a severe and well-merited sentence of condemnation both on the immoral and unprincipled sovereign, and on the ministers who, in direct opposition to their own convictions, stooped to become the instruments of his selfishness and malignity.

The House of Lords met again on the 3rd of October, and Brougham opened the case in defence of the queen. His speech excited universal admiration. One of his hearers pronounced it 'very fine;' another said it was 'one of the most powerful orations that ever proceeded from human lips;' and a supporter of the bill was constrained to admit that it was 'of the most powerful and impressive character.' His analysis of the evidence given by the witnesses for the prosecution was of the most masterly character, and he commented with great effect on their mutual contradictions, and their failure to support the statements which had been made by the attorney-general in his opening speech—no doubt in reliance on the evidence they had given before the Milan Commission, but which they had either forgotten or could not venture to repeat before the peers. He animadverted, too, on the character of the witnesses, on the drilling they had received from the Milan Com-

mission, on the glaring improbability of many of their assertions, and on the enormous sums which they were to receive for their attendance. The peroration, which he is said to have re-written no less than seven times, was magnificent, and produced a most powerful impression upon the House. 'Such, my lords,' he said, 'is the case now before you! Such is the evidence in support of this measure—evidence inadequate to prove a debt—impotent to deprive of a civil right—ridiculous to convict of the lowest offence—scandalous, if brought forward to support a charge of the highest nature which the law knows—monstrous to ruin the honour, to blast the name of an English queen. My lords, I pray you to pause. I do earnestly beseech you to take heed! You are standing upon the brink of a precipice; then beware! It will go forth your judgment if sentence shall go against the queen; but it will be the only judgment you ever pronounced which, instead of reaching its object, will turn and rebound back upon those who give it. Save the country, my lords, from the horrors of this catastrophe—save yourselves from this peril—rescue that country of which you are the ornaments, but in which you can flourish no longer, when severed from the people, than the blossom when cut off from the roots and the stem of the tree. Save that country, that you may continue to adorn it—save the Crown, which is in jeopardy—the aristocracy, which is shaken—save the altar, which must stagger with the blow that rends its kindred throne! You have said, my lords—you have willed—the church and the king have willed—that the queen should be deprived of its solemn service. She has, instead of that solemnity, the heartfelt prayers of the people. She wants no prayers of mine. But I do here pour forth my humble supplications at the Throne of Mercy, that that mercy may be poured down upon the people in a larger measure than the merits of its rulers may deserve, and that your hearts may be turned to justice.' Denman, describing the effect of this splendid

burst of eloquence on the part of his colleague, says, 'His arguments, his observations, his tones, his attitude, his eye, left an impression on my mind which is scarcely ever renewed without exciting the strongest emotion. Erskine rushed out of the House in tears.'

The examination of the queen's witnesses commenced on the 5th of October, and continued until the 24th. They were of a far superior character, and occupied a much higher social position, than the persons brought to give evidence in support of the bill. Sir William Gell, Mr. St. Leger, and the Hon. Keppel Craven, who had been the queen's chamberlains; Lady Charlotte Lindsay, her lady of the bedchamber; Dr. Holland, her physician; Lord Guildford, Lord Glenbervie, and Lord Llandaff, who had been much in her society while she lived in Italy; Lieutenant Flynn, who commanded the polacca in which her Royal Highness visited the East; and Lieutenant Hownam, who was three years in her service, presented a very striking contrast to the discarded servants, chambermaids, valets, and grooms whom the Milan Commissioners had collected to bear testimony against their mistress. The evidence of these witnesses flatly contradicted the most important assertions of the queen's Italian servants, and explained other statements which bore an unfavourable aspect.

The evidence on behalf of the queen was summed up by Denman in a speech which was delivered on two days, and lasted ten hours. Brougham termed it 'a magnificent effort of genius;' and it was certainly as distinguished for its independence as for its ability and eloquence. He gave the deepest offence to the king by comparing the queen to Octavia, the wife of Nero, who was tortured and put to death by her husband. He dwelt at some length on the appropriateness of the parallel, which it appears had been suggested to him by Dr. Parr—the capricious offence taken in the very moment of their union; the adoption of a mistress in her place; the desertion; the

investigation; the exile; the triumphant return amidst the acclamations of the people; the renewed inquiry; the false evidence screwed out of her domestics, not indeed by bribes, but by torture. He wound up the parallel by quoting the retort which one of Octavia's maids returned to Tigellinus, who was presiding at her examination and torture, hurling the boldest defiance and invective at the man who had grossly aspersed the purity of his imperial mistress. The king never forgave this attack, which fixed upon him the name of Nero, and he doggedly refused to permit his successive chancellors, Eldon and Lyndhurst, to confer upon Denman the rank of king's counsel, until the Duke of Wellington at last constrained him to yield.

George IV. was not the only member of the royal family who suffered from Denman's indignant censure on this occasion. The Duke of Clarence had taken a deep interest in the trial, and, having given ready credence to some of the worst stories against the queen, he had busied himself in circulating them among the Peers. Denman's indignation was roused at this unworthy and most improper conduct, and he poured out a torrent of vehement invective against the slanderer. 'I know,' he said, 'that rumours are abroad of the most vague but, at the same time, most injurious character. We have heard, and hear daily with alarm, that there are persons, and those not of the lowest condition, not even excluded from this august assembly, who are industriously circulating the most odious calumnies against Her Majesty. Can this thing be? We know that if a jurymen on such an occasion should affect to possess any knowledge on the subject of inquiry, we should have a right to call him to the bar as a witness. "Come forward," we might say, "and let us confront you with our evidence." But to any man who could even be suspected of so base a practice as whispering calumnies to judges, the queen might well exclaim, "Come forth, thou slanderer, and let me see thy face. If thou wouldst equal

the respectability of an Italian witness, come forth and depose in open court. As thou art, thou art worse than an Italian assassin, because, while I am boldly and manfully meeting my accusers, thou art planting a dagger unseen in my bosom, and converting thy poisoned stiletto into the semblance of the sword of justice.'" The noble-minded and eloquent advocate, while uttering these burning words, looked steadfastly at the place where the Duke of Clarence was seated, and raised his voice 'till the old roof rang again, and a thrill of irrepressible emotion pervaded every heart in the densely crowded assembly.'

It is much to the credit of the Duke of Clarence that, though he must have felt keenly the reproof justly administered to him by Denman, unlike his elder brother, he never resented it. He had 'the sense and candour,' says Brougham, 'to perceive that the sufferer from the performance of the duty of an advocate has no just right to complain. He received Mr. Denman with marked civility at his first levee, after his accession to the throne; acquiesced without hesitation in his appointment as attorney-general, on the change of Government in November, 1830; two years afterwards consigned to him, as Chief-Justice, "the balance and the sword;" and expressed the utmost pleasure in acceding to Lord Grey's application to raise him to the peerage.'

Denman was followed by Dr. Lushington, an able and accomplished lawyer, who was, however, overshadowed by his leaders. The case was closed with the replies of the attorney-general, Gifford, and of the solicitor-general, Copley, who exerted themselves to the utmost to retrieve their failing cause. After a keen debate, which lasted four days, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of only 28 in a House of 218. It was now evident that the prosecution would fail; but the Ministry, in obedience to the orders of their relentless taskmaster, still pressed the measure. Their conduct was the more

inexcusable that they made no secret of their own opinion respecting the character and conduct of the king. 'The Duke of Portland told me,' says Greville, 'that he conversed with the Duke of Wellington upon the subject, and urged, as one of the reasons why this bill should not pass the House of Lords, the disgrace that it would entail upon the king by the recrimination that would ensue in the House of Commons. His answer was 'that the king was disgraced as low as he could be already.'

When the bill went into committee, Lord Liverpool proposed to omit the divorce clause, in order to meet the scruples of eight or nine bishops and two or three other lords, who declared that they could not vote for the bill if the divorce clause was retained. On the other hand, those who were most inveterate against the queen insisted on retaining it. They were joined by the Opposition in a body, who were naturally anxious to prevent the Ministry from conciliating those who were inclined to withdraw their support. This combination between the warmest friends and the fiercest opponents of the queen foiled the tactics of the Ministry, and carried the retention of the divorce clause by a large majority.

'If there is honesty in a bishop,' said old Lord Albemarle, 'ten or twelve who voted for the second reading, with an implied promise from Lord Liverpool that the divorce clause should be left out, must now vote against the third reading, as the divorce clause is retained; and thus the majority will be reduced to five or six. I have no faith in such honesty.' 'The sequel showed,' adds Mr. Keppel, 'that my father had not formed too harsh a judgment of the episcopal bench. Although several bishops had publicly declared that they had scruples on religious grounds in voting for the divorce clause, yet, when the matter came to a division, ten out of thirteen of them voted for the third reading of the bill, divorce clause included. Dr. Vernon, Archbishop of York, who had opposed the bill in all

its stages, could only obtain the support of two prelates, Dr. Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester, and Lord George Beresford, Archbishop of Dublin.' Two years later, when Lord Wellesley, the viceroy of Ireland, recommended Lord George Beresford as successor to the then vacant archbishopric of Armagh, the king wrote to Lord Liverpool a 'most secret and confidential letter,' opposing the nomination—influenced, as he said, by 'religious duty.' The Premier, however, who was well aware of His Majesty's real motive, gave no heed to his *pious* remonstrance; and the only Irish prelate who had the courage to oppose the Government Bill of Pains and Penalties was translated to the Primacy of Ireland.

Lord Liverpool saw clearly that the bill was doomed, and, on the 9th of November, when the committee reported to the House, he communicated to the Cabinet his opinion, that it would not be expedient to proceed any farther with the measure. The Chancellor characteristically resisted the proposal of abandonment, and spoke so angrily against it that the Premier replied with considerable tartness. In consequence of his opposition, it was resolved to feel the pulse of the House before the final decision to withdraw. On the next day, November 10th, the ministers advocated the third reading, and Lord Eldon, especially, spoke with great force in its support. All was in vain. The opponents of the bill increased from 95 to 99, while the supporters of the measure dwindled from 123 to 108, so that the third reading was carried by a majority of only nine. Brougham was standing on the steps of the throne, conversing with Croker, who had taken a very active part in the affair, while the vote was taken, and, on the numbers being announced, he said, 'There is an end of your bill.' 'Why so?' asked Croker. Brougham answered, 'Because the majority of nine is the number of the ministers and high officers in this House, and it won't do to pass such a bill by their votes.'

When it was announced that the third

reading was carried, the queen hurriedly withdrew with Denman to prepare a petition to be heard by counsel against the bill passing, and in signing it she used the celebrated words, 'Regina, in spite of them.' But it was unnecessary to present the petition. The folly of attempting to proceed farther with the measure in those circumstances was apparent to everybody, and Lord Liverpool at once announced that, 'considering the state of public feeling and the division of sentiment just evinced by their lordships,' the king's ministers had come to the determination to withdraw the bill.

The triumph of the queen over the combined efforts of the Court and the Ministry was hailed with the greatest exultation by all classes throughout the whole country. At every stage crowds were in waiting for the arrival of the mails, and the news was received with expressions of joy altogether unprecedented. London was illuminated for three successive nights under the sanction of the lord mayor. It was observed the mansions of the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Sophia, and of the Duke of Devonshire and other great Whig nobles, were lighted up with special brilliancy, and that none of them shone more brightly than Marlborough House, the residence of Prince Leopold. Majocchi and Demont, the principal witnesses for the prosecution, were hanged and burned in effigy. But the mob were in great good humour, and no acts of violence were committed beyond mobbing the offices of some of the newspapers which had advocated the king's side in the trial. Edinburgh, Dublin, and most of the chief towns, followed the example of the capital. Brougham and Denman, who had defended the queen with signal ability, courage, and disinterestedness, became the idols of the nation. 'The City of London passed a vote of thanks to Brougham, Denman, and Lushington, and resolved that the freedom of the city should be presented to them in commemoration of their splendid and successful exertions.'

Doubtless the feeling, so generally and so strongly expressed at the result of the trial, was quite irrespective of the queen's innocence or guilt. Indignation at the way in which she had been treated by her husband during many years of provocation and insult and ill-usage, was one main reason why her cause was so vehemently espoused by all ranks and conditions. That the wrong-doer should be allowed to vent upon his victim the consequences of his own offences; that the man whose whole life since his marriage had been a violation of his nuptial vows, should be permitted to destroy the wife whom he had deserted and ill-used, was justly regarded as outraging every principle of humanity and justice. Hence the universal exultation that was exhibited when it was announced that all the resources of espionage and menace, of slander and calumny, of party organization and Court and Ministerial influence, which had been employed against a long persecuted and defenceless woman, had failed, and, indeed, recoiled on the heads of her enemies. But reflecting men, who saw the injury done to public and private morals, the degradation of the Crown, the humiliation to which the Parliament had been subjected, the perversion of justice, and the dangers to the monarchy itself through this scandalous proceeding, felt as Lord Erskine did on the announcement that the Ministry had resolved to abandon the bill—'My life,' he said, 'whether it has been for good or for evil, has been passed under the sacred rule of the law. In this moment I feel my strength renovated by that rule being restored. The accursed change wherewithal we had been menaced has passed over our heads. There is an end of that horrid and portentous excrescence of a new law, retrospective, iniquitous, and oppressive; and the constitution and scheme of our polity is once more safe. My heart is too full of the escape we have just had to let me do more than praise the blessings of the system we have regained.'

Addresses of congratulation continued to pour in upon the queen from every quarter of the country, and from almost all descriptions of people. On the 29th of November she went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks for her 'deliverance from a great peril and affliction.' She was met at Temple Bar by the lord mayor and other civic dignitaries, and the gates were closed after she had entered the city. An immense crowd joined the procession, and displayed an enthusiasm on her behalf which even exceeded every previous demonstration. But in the midst of all these tokens of popular sympathy, the poor lone woman felt keenly her desolate position. 'I do, indeed, feel thankful,' she wrote; 'but, alas, it comes too late. She who would have rejoiced with me at her mother's triumph is lost to me. No one, in fact, cares for me; and this business has been more cared for as a political affair than as the cause of a poor forlorn woman. I feel very unwell, fatigued, and *ébayé*. I wonder my head is not quite bewildered with all I have suffered; and it is not over yet with me. Many people call on me now who never did before. I will not quarrel with their respect, though it is shown me rather late in the day, and when they cannot well help it.'

The close of the session was marked by a paltry and discreditable manœuvre on the part of the Government, to prevent the reception by the Commons of a communication from the queen. On the 23rd of November, as soon as the Speaker had

taken the chair, Mr. Denman rose and said he had a message to present from Her Majesty. At this moment the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod entered the House to summon the members to attend in the House of Peers, but shouts of 'Withdraw,' 'Withdraw,' 'Denman proceed,' 'Shame,' prevented a word of his message being heard. When he had retired, Tierney declared that, as the message had been wholly inaudible, its purport could not be known. The Speaker, however, left the chair, and proceeded to the Lords, followed by Castlereagh, Vansittart, and their supporters. Amid a scene of great excitement, the chancellor prorogued the Parliament, the customary speech from, or in the name of the king, having been omitted. This very contemptible trick, so completely in keeping with the previous Ministerial proceedings in the case, did not prevent the publication of the message. It contained an intimation that the queen had received from the Ministry an offer of a grant of money, and of a residence, until a new Session of Parliament could be held; but this offer she had had 'no hesitation in refusing, as she felt that she could no longer receive from the ministers what she is well assured the liberality of the House of Commons would have granted, as alike essential to the dignity of the throne, and demanded by the plainest principles of justice.' So ended a session, the proceedings of which it is impossible to contemplate without feelings of mingled indignation and shame.

CHAPTER XIII.

Arbitrary Acts of the King of Spain—Inquisition Restored—Discontent among the Soldiers—The Floridas sold by Spain to the United States—Revolt of the Spanish Colonies in South America—Outbreak of Yellow Fever among the troops at Cadiz—Mutiny among the Troops in Andalusia—The Constitution Proclaimed—The King swears Fidelity to it—Important Reforms made by the Cortes—Revolution in Portugal—Character and Conduct of the King of the two Sicilies—The Secret Societies of the Carbonari—Revolution at Naples and in Sicily—Congress at Troppau—March of the Austrian Army upon Naples—Revolution in Piedmont—Abdication of the King—Suppression of the Revolution—Circular of the Allied Sovereigns issued at Laybach—Greek Insurrection—Outrages committed against the Greek Clergy—Surrender of Turkish Garrisons in the Morea—Massacre by the Turks of the inhabitants of the Island of Scio—The Turkish Flagship blown up at Scio, and that of the Capitan Bey at Tencos—The town of Nauplia taken by the Greeks.

WHILE Great Britain was thus agitated by the miserable disputes between the king and queen, the continental countries were in a state of great excitement in consequence of the arbitrary measures of their sovereigns, and their violation of the solemn promises which they had made, during the contest with Napoleon, to confer constitutional privileges on their subjects. The Spanish monarch took the lead in the adoption of measures which in no long time issued in a revolution and a cruel war. At the time of Ferdinand's return to his throne, the Cortes had rendered itself obnoxious to the great body of the people by its democratic views and its oppressive measures. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Assembly, the king promulgated a decree on the 4th of May, 1814, annulling all its acts, and assuming absolute power to himself to conduct the Government. He caused a number of the deputies to be arrested, and on his own authority condemned some of them to death, and many others to imprisonment of the severest kind. The Inquisition was at the same time restored, and was instructed to set its frightful machinery in motion against all persons suspected of liberal opinions. The priests became once more the sole directors of the royal conscience, and the reign of ecclesiastical bigotry and absolute authority was completely reconstituted in the country.

Ferdinand, while abolishing the Cortes of 1812, had promised that he would lose

no time in convening a new Cortes; but his promise remained unfulfilled. In no long time the arbitrary acts of the king and his monkish advisers roused the dormant spirit of the Spanish people, and facts, which it was impossible to conceal, excited a strong feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the country. Bribery and venality had completely drained the treasury, and the army remained unpaid. Armed bands of guerillas, who were simply an organized banditti, swarmed over the country and committed, without check or punishment, all sorts of atrocities. Secret societies, in spite of the Inquisition and its emissaries, existed in most of the principal towns, and an active correspondence was kept up by the various branches. At Cadiz, the head-quarters of the Liberals, a plan was formed for the overthrow of the Government, and arrangements were made throughout the provinces to carry it into effect. Serious disturbances broke out in different parts of the country, and were suppressed with a severity which greatly increased the public discontent. But the king, who was completely under the influence of the *Camarilla*, composed of his personal attendants and priestly counsellors, obstinately refused to fulfil his promise to grant a constitution founded on liberal principles; and in the difficulty of finding competent persons to carry on the Government in accordance with his arbitrary behests, there were no less than twenty-five changes in the Ministry between 1814 and

1820—most of them sudden, and attended with severities in the Spanish fashion. It was evident that a government conducted on these principles could not maintain its ground, and the downfall of the Spanish *Camarilla* and its tools was at last brought about by the revolt of the Spanish colonies in South America and the mutiny of the army. Several conspiracies had been formed among the officers for the restoration of the abrogated constitution. Three of the leaders, Perlico, Lacy, and Vidal, were taken and executed; but Mina, the fourth, and most formidable, made his escape to France. All who were suspected of being favourable to the plot were put to the torture or thrown into prison. But as the arrears due to the troops remained unpaid, these cruel proceedings had no effect in removing the discontent of the soldiers, who only waited an opportunity to rise in arms against the king and his unpopular advisers; and they had not long to wait.

The Spanish colonies in South America, unable to tolerate longer the arbitrary conduct and the extortion of the viceroys appointed to rule them, had revolted against the dominion of the mother country; and nothing but the most decisive measures could restore its authority over them. But the Spanish treasury was empty; the army discontented; the people, suffering under all the evils of bad government, were poverty-stricken and distressed, and utterly unable to furnish the means of replenishing the treasury or equipping an army and navy to reduce the rebellious colonists to subjection. 'Nothing I could say,' wrote a British resident, 'could convey to you an adequate idea of the wretchedness, misery, want of credit, confidence, and trade, which exist from one end of the country to the other. The army is naked and unpaid; navy, there is none; and the roads are covered with bands of forty or fifty robbers each.' In this extremity the Spanish Government was forced to dispose of a portion of its colonial possessions, called the Floridas, to the United States for five millions of dollars, getting

rid at the same time of a large claim for injuries done to American commerce.

The Government was thus enabled to purchase some old frigates from Russia to convey a body of soldiers across the Atlantic to suppress the revolt of the colonists; but by a singular fatality the preparations for this expedition were the means of overthrowing the despotism at home. An army of 23,000 men was collected for embarkation in the neighbourhood of Cadiz in the spring of 1819; but the crazy worn-out vessels purchased from Russia were found quite unfit for such a voyage without being thoroughly repaired. These repairs necessarily occupied a considerable time, and in the interval the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and unpaid troops, who were from the first indisposed to serve against the colonists, began to conspire against the Government. It is alleged that the commander himself, O'Donnell, Count del Abisbal, was cognizant of the plot, and betrayed it to the Ministry. He was commissioned to suppress it, and, having assembled a considerable force, he surrounded the camp of the mutineers and arrested the principal conspirators. Three thousand of their followers were embarked and despatched to South America, but on their arrival they immediately joined the insurgent colonists. The home Government distrusting O'Donnell, deprived him of his command, and thus converted him into a formidable enemy. A serious outbreak of yellow fever at Cadiz compelled the Government to postpone the main expedition and to remove the troops to some distance from that town, thus leaving the members of the secret societies at liberty to prosecute their schemes without hindrance.

The pestilence raged for several months, and cut off not less than 5000 persons. As soon as it abated, the Government renewed their preparations for the expedition, and the embarkation of the troops, amounting to 16,000 or 18,000 men, was fixed for January, 1820. But, on the first of that

month, a mutiny suddenly broke out among the troops in Andalusia. Colonel Riego, an officer of energy and experience, drew out his men, and proclaimed at their head, amid approving acclamations, the constitution of 1812. Marching rapidly upon the town of Arcos where the headquarters of the army were established, he succeeded in surprising Calderon, the commander-in-chief, with all his staff. Having been joined by Lieutenant-colonel Quiroga, who had been under arrest for his share in the previous mutiny, but had contrived to make his escape, Riego, with a force now amounting to 5000 men, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Cadiz. The great body of the people held aloof, and showed no disposition to support the movement of the soldiers. Riego led a flying column through the neighbouring provinces, proclaiming the constitution, but received no countenance from the inhabitants. Don Joseph O'Donnell, brother of the celebrated general of that name, at the head of a body of cavalry, pursued the insurgents, and compelled them to take refuge among the mountains of Ronda in Granada, while Quiroga, with 4000 men, was hopelessly shut up by General Freyer in the Isle of Leon. At this critical moment, when the insurrection in the south of Spain seemed on the point of being suppressed, a rising took place in Galicia, the extreme northwest of the country. The troops stationed at Corunna, on hearing the news from Andalusia, disarmed the guard at the Government House, arrested the captain-general, Vinegas, who refused to join the movement, and proclaimed the constitution of 1812. A similar scene took place at Ferrol on the 23rd of February, and two days later the celebrated General Mina, after six years' exile in France, reappeared in Navarre, the scene of his former exploits, and, putting himself at the head of a body of his partisans, assumed the title of Commander of the Constitutional Army of the North of Spain.

These movements excited great alarm in the Cabinet at Madrid, and it was clearly

seen that, as the disaffection existed among the soldiers rather than the people, to send troops to Galicia or Navarre, would in all probability have no other effect than to swell the number of the insurgents. Under these circumstances, it was resolved to make an attempt to conciliate the people by announcing His Majesty's intention to carry out some changes in the Council of State. But this step only betrayed the weakness of the Government, and had no influence on the opinions and feelings of the public. At this critical moment O'Donnell, Count del Abisbal, the most distinguished of all the Spanish generals, hastily left Madrid for Ocana, where the regiment of one of his brothers was quartered, and proclaimed the constitution. His great military reputation at once gained him the adhesion of all the troops stationed in that district. As soon as the news of O'Donnell's defection reached Madrid, the *Camarilla* saw that resistance was hopeless, and they persuaded Ferdinand to yield to the demands of the insurgents. Finding that no other resource was left him, he consented to convene the Cortes, and to swear fidelity to the constitution.

These events occurred early in March, 1820. The Cortes assembled on the 9th of July, and the oath of the king to maintain the constitution and the new order of things was taken with all due solemnity in their presence. Their proceedings were on the whole conducted with great moderation. They indeed decreed that the persons who in 1814 had taken part with the king in destroying the constitution should be declared to be for ever disqualified for holding any public office; but they recalled the *Afrancesados* (those who took the oath to support the French dynasty) from banishment, and restored them to all their rights as citizens. They abolished all existing entails of landed property, and all seignorial privileges and jurisdictions; re-organized the militia, and made reductions in the civil list and in the expenditure of several public departments. Various other im-

portant reforms were made, for the purpose of securing personal rights and liberties; 'new commercial regulations were adopted; the press was declared free; all the convents and monasteries except eight were dissolved, and the revenues were ordered to be applied to the payment of the national debt.'

It could scarcely be expected that the adjoining country of Portugal should remain unaffected by the revolution which had taken place in Spain, and the political situation of that country made it ready at a moment's notice to follow the example of the Spanish liberals. In 1807 the Regent of Portugal and his court had quitted Lisbon and emigrated to Brazil on the invasion of his kingdom by the French. Ever since that time Portugal had been without a court, and had, in fact, been treated as a mere province of its own Transatlantic colony. It knew nothing of its sovereign or government, except through the agents, to whom his authority had been delegated. There could be little attachment on the part of the people to a court which they never saw. Marshal Beresford, who had organized the Portuguese army during the war with France, and was still its commander, perceived the danger likely to arise from this state of public feeling, and early in April, 1820, he embarked for Brazil, in order to consult with the court respecting the measures which should be adopted in the altered circumstances of the country; but before he could return, the anticipated outbreak had taken place. In Portugal, as in Spain, the revolution was the immediate work of a discontented soldiery.

The flame first broke out at Oporto. On the 24th of August the troops stationed there, headed by Don Bernardo Sepulveda, the eldest son of Viscount Herbadeza, a young man of high character and ability, and of a very old family, proclaimed their resolution to establish a constitutional government and restore the Cortes, and they appointed a provisional Junta to carry this resolution into effect. The regency at

Lisbon, consisting of the Cardinal-Patriarch, and four noblemen, issued a proclamation denouncing the movement as the 'interested and impotent conspiracy of a few wretches,' and calling upon the Portuguese to preserve inviolate their allegiance to their king. A strong force, under Count Amaranti, was at the same time ordered to march upon Oporto; but on their approach to that place the soldiers went over in a body to the insurgents. A few days later (5th of September) the governor of the province of Minho publicly proclaimed his adherence to the movement. It was in vain that the regency summoned a meeting of the Cortes and proposed that they should recommend the king either to return to Portugal himself, or to delegate to some member of his family the government of his European dominions. Their concessions came too late. On the 15th of September the troops at Lisbon assembled on the great square of the city and raised the cry of 'Long live the king! long live the constitution!' which was enthusiastically received by all classes of the citizens. A provisional government was immediately formed, and the revolution was virtually consummated. It was agreed that the two Juntas should be blended; but at first there was a difference of opinion among them as to the measures that should be adopted. The Lisbon Junta were desirous of adhering as much as possible to the forms presented by the ancient constitution, while the Oporto party were in favour of a more popular system. It was at last agreed that the election of deputies to the Cortes should be made according to the mode followed in Spain; in other words, that one deputy should be elected for every 30,000 persons inhabiting the country, but that no other part of the Spanish constitution should be adopted without the sanction of the Cortes.

The continental sovereigns regarded these movements in Spain and Portugal with great uneasiness; but they were much more alarmed at a revolution which broke out at this time at Naples. On the downfall

of Napoleon, Ferdinand IV., third son of Charles IV., King of Spain, was restored to his Neapolitan dominions, from which he had been expelled by the French in 1806. Like the rest of the reinstated rulers, he had made liberal promises to his subjects, which he utterly failed to fulfil. Indeed, it subsequently transpired that, by a secret treaty signed at Vienna in 1815, he had bound himself not to introduce into his kingdom 'any change which could not be reconciled either with the ancient institutions of the monarchy, or with the principles adopted by the Emperor of Austria in the government of his Italian provinces.' Ferdinand was as profligate and cruel as he was faithless. 'From his childhood to his old age one feeling of humanity never entered his heart.' Under his sway the dungeons were crowded with the noblest of his subjects, and the judicial murders which he perpetrated have stamped his memory with indelible infamy. The Jesuits were restored; many of the monasteries which had been suppressed were re-established; the mortmain laws, which were a check on improper deathbed bequests, were repealed; the taxes upon land were increased, and high duties imposed both on exports and imports; elementary education was restricted in its extent, and placed entirely in the hands of the clergy; some of the ablest professors in the universities were removed from office on account of their supposed liberal views; private teachers or lecturers were not permitted to open schools without a license from the ordinary and the police agent; the freedom of the press was destroyed, and no work was allowed to be published until it had been subjected to a rigorous scrutiny. To crown all, the taxation was most oppressive, and the imposts were levied in such a way as to add greatly to their burden.

This system of perverse, profligate, and cruel misgovernment excited deep and wide discontent among all classes, and stimulated the organization of the secret societies of the Carbonari, which had been

formed during the French domination, for the purpose of emancipating the Peninsula from a foreign yoke. They originated in the charcoal-burning district of Calabria, and hence took the name of Carbonari, or 'charcoal burners.' Their lodges were ramified throughout Italy, till nearly 700,000 persons, including not a few officers of the army and 40,000 of the provincial militia, were members of this society. It had, however, been for some time in a state of comparative inactivity, when the tidings of the movement in Spain infused new energy into its counsels and operations.

At Naples, as in Spain and Portugal, the infection was first caught by the troops. Early on the morning of the 2nd of July a cavalry regiment, stationed at Nola, a town about twelve miles from Naples, suddenly raised the Carbonari flag (a tricolor of red, blue, and black) amid shouts of 'God, the King, and the Constitution!' They were immediately joined by the garrison of Avelino, a considerable town on the borders of Apulia. The troops sent to quell the revolt made common cause with the insurgents; and General William Pepe, a highly distinguished and experienced officer, having made his escape from Naples on learning that the Government intended to arrest him, put himself at their head. The garrison of the capital and the troops in the provinces speedily followed the example thus set them; and the king, finding resistance hopeless, issued a proclamation, engaging to publish, within eight days, the basis of a constitutional government, and at the same time forming a new cabinet. These concessions, however, did not satisfy the revolutionary party, and their leaders insisted that His Majesty, within twenty-four hours, should intimate his adoption of the Spanish constitution. It is alleged that neither the king nor his ministers, nor any of the citizens, knew anything of this constitution, and that no copy of it even was to be found in Naples. The insurgents, however, were not to be turned from their purpose, and the king had no resource but

to comply with their demands. Ferdinand at first resolved to make a temporary abdication of his authority on behalf of his son, the Duke of Calabria, and appointed him vicar-general of the kingdom. The new vicegerent immediately issued a proclamation, declaring that the Spanish constitution should be adopted in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, under such modifications as the national representatives should think proper to introduce. An impression, however, prevailed that this arrangement was merely a manœuvre on the part of the king to avoid giving a personal pledge to his people that he would comply with their demands, and Ferdinand was in consequence obliged to issue another proclamation, confirming the acts of his son, and pledging his royal word to observe and obey the constitution, and to take an oath to that effect before the provisional Junta which the vicar-general was about to nominate.

The revolution was now completed, and great rejoicings at the result took place all over the country. The army marched in triumph into the capital on the 9th of July, followed by the provincial militia, headed by a priest named Minichini, who had taken a prominent part in the revolt, and the whole city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening. Two days later, the king and his sons took the oath to the new constitution in the presence of the provisional Junta. The Carbonari tricolor was now hoisted on all the forts, and was worn publicly in scarfs and cockades by the royal family and the ministers. On the 16th the whole military force swore allegiance and fidelity to the constitution. The National Assembly, which met shortly after, made a complete reform of the Neapolitan institutions, and replaced the old oppressive laws with new and equitable statutes.

This extraordinary revolution had been effected in Naples in the most peaceable manner, and with the cordial approval of the great body of the people; but a similar movement in Sicily was not effected without bloodshed. Great dissatisfaction pre-

vailed in that island on account of the abolition of its parliamentary constitution by the king on the return of the court to Naples in 1815; and this feeling was strengthened by Ferdinand's declaration, that the two kingdoms should henceforth constitute only one, in direct violation of one of the most essential articles of the compact, which decreed that the administration of the island should be maintained entirely separate from that of the kingdom of Naples. The news of the insurrection at Naples reached Palermo on the 14th of July, and produced great excitement. On the following day, which happened to be the day of St. Rosalia, the great national festival of the Sicilians, the populace assumed the tricolor, along with a yellow colour, the distinctive emblem of the islanders, and received the members of the Government with shouts of 'The constitution and independence for ever!' A tumult speedily broke out. A mob, led by a Franciscan monk of the name of Vaglica, attacked and captured the forts of Sanita and Castel-mare, and supplied themselves with the arms and the ammunition which they found in them. They then broke open the prisons and liberated 700 or 800 galley slaves, whom they furnished with arms. The garrison of the city was next attacked, and after a desperate conflict, the troops, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to give way and abandon the town to the ravages of an infuriated mob. The princes, Cattelica and Aci, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the populace, were massacred, and altogether the number of killed and wounded amounted to about 1200. A provisional Junta was established to carry on the government, and they sent a deputation to Naples to explain the position of affairs; but the Neapolitan Government refused to admit them into the town. An attempt was made by the Junta to establish a general union throughout the island, with a view to assert their national independence; but the proposal met with little support. Early in September, Florentan

Pepe, brother of General William Pepe, commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan army, was sent with 4000 men to restore order. He arrived before Palermo on the 25th of September, and offered the inhabitants very favourable terms if they would agree to lay down their arms. A feeble attempt at resistance was made by the insurgents; but on the 5th of October the terms of capitulation were signed on board an English cutter in the road. On the following day General Pepe took possession of the town, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution. Coletta, who soon after arrived at Palermo with a reinforcement of 5000 men, superseded Pepe in the command, dissolved the Junta, and disarmed the citizens.

These successive revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, excited no little alarm among the great continental powers, who considered them 'full of danger for the peace of Europe.' 'The example of an army making a revolution' was, in their eyes, 'infinitely deplorable.' They viewed with especial consternation the revolution at Naples, where a kingdom had 'crumbled before a handful of insurgents, that half a battalion of good soldiers might have crushed in an instant.' The Emperor of Austria, whom his brother despots regarded as 'the natural guardian and protector of public tranquillity in Italy,' had peculiar cause for uneasiness. It was well known that the feeling of discontent with the existing government had taken deeper root, and was more widely diffused, in the Italian dominions of Austria than in any other part of the Peninsula. Nothing was more likely, therefore, than that the revolutionary flood, which had carried everything before it in Naples, would speedily overwhelm the Austrian domination in the adjoining provinces. Alarmed at this danger, the emperor resolved, with the sanction of his brother potentates, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, to restore by force of arms the old constitution of Naples and the absolute authority of Ferdinand over his subjects. With this view he had collected an

army of 80,000 men in his Italian provinces, to be in readiness for action when the proper time arrived.

A congress was held at Troppau about the end of October, 1820, for the purpose of arranging the measures which were necessary to undo the work of the revolution in Naples and Sicily. It was attended by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and by Count Hardenberg as the representative of the King of Prussia, who was unwell. Lord Stewart, the brother of Lord Castlereagh, was present, but did not take any part in the proceedings.

It was quickly and unanimously agreed that they could not recognize a government which had been established by revolutionary violence, and the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg peremptorily refused to receive the Princes Careati and Cimiteli, the envoys of the new Ministry. They expressed a hope that France and England would unite with them in the measures which were necessary to secure the tranquillity of the Italian States, and they invited the King of Naples to attend in person another conference about to be held at Laybach, when the question would be definitely settled what steps should be taken with respect to the Neapolitan revolution.

The King of France at once intimated his entire concurrence in the views of the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian sovereigns. The British Government, however, were careful not to commit themselves to the schemes of the continental despots; but they stationed a naval squadron in the Bay of Naples with instructions to watch over the safety of the king and of the royal family. There is good reason, indeed, to believe that Lord Liverpool was decidedly opposed to the 'mutual insurance' system which had been established by the leading continental Powers, though there can be little doubt that he and his colleagues heartily approved of the interference of Austria in the affairs of Naples.

The Neapolitans, however, were not dis-

posed tamely to submit to the dictation of the despotic sovereigns, and the Government immediately organized and armed the people, put the fortresses of the kingdom in a state of defence, and occupied and strengthened the passes of the Apennines. The king could not venture to refuse the invitation of his brother monarchs to meet them at Laybach, and on the 7th of December he intimated to the Parliament his intention to accept it. With the hope of reconciling the people to his absence, he promised that he would do all in his power to secure to them the enjoyment of a constitution which he declared to be as liberal as it was wise. The Parliament, however, were by no means satisfied with this proposed step on the part of the king, and they manifested great mistrust respecting the result of his meeting with the Powers. After several communications had passed between them and their sovereign, they at last gave a reluctant consent on the assurance that his going to Laybach would have no other object than to avert a war and maintain the constitution in its integrity. On the 13th of December, Ferdinand embarked on board the *Vengeur*, a British man-of-war, and proceeded to Leghorn, whence he journeyed by land to Laybach, which he reached on the 28th. The administration of affairs in his absence was intrusted to his eldest son, the Duke of Calabria, with the new title of Regent of the kingdom.

When Ferdinand reached Laybach he was informed that his brother sovereigns had already settled their plans, and were fully determined to abolish the constitution which his people, with his own approbation, had established. The means employed to bring about the revolution in question, they said, and the principles professed by the leaders of the movement, were calculated to endanger both the security of the neighbouring states and the peace of Europe. They did not regard the Neapolitan revolution as an insulated event; they recognized in its character the same spirit of discontent and disorder which had so long desolated

the world, and which had lately again shown itself, in more than one state of Europe, under forms perhaps less frightful than before, but which were essentially dangerous to the maintenance of social order. They had, therefore, determined to unite their efforts to put an end to disorders which were as pernicious to the country they directly concerned as they were pregnant with danger to every other. They proceeded to declare that, 'as soon as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by the spontaneous suppression of its present system, shall have returned to its ancient and friendly relations with the States of Europe, the Allied Powers will only have one wish—that of seeing the king, surrounded by the talents and supported by the zeal of the wisest and best among his subjects, establish for the future an order of things which should carry in itself the pledge of its stability, and appear not only conformable to the true interests of his people, but calculated to re-assure the neighbouring states with respect to their safety and peace.' They intimated, in conclusion, that if the present system was not spontaneously suppressed—in other words, that if the former absolute system was not restored—they would have recourse to arms, in order to destroy the existing constitution.

The wretched and faithless old King of Naples, in compliance with the wishes, or rather the orders of his arbitrary brother potentates, put his name to a letter addressed to his son, the Duke of Calabria, informing him that he saw no other means of averting war than the immediate abolition of the constitution which he had sworn to maintain. At the same time circulars were sent to the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian ministers at Naples, instructing them to make known to the Prince Regent that the determinations of the allies were in entire conformity with the statements made in the king's letter, and to point out to him the calamities which would inevitably follow if he should refuse to comply with the advice which had been given him.

A separate despatch was sent to inform the prince that, even if 'the condition proposed by the Allied Powers was accepted, the Powers would further exact some guarantees which were judged to be necessary for the moment to secure the tranquillity of the neighbouring states;' in other words, that the Neapolitan territories were to be occupied by a strong body of Austrian troops. In pursuance of the resolution thus intimated, a convention was signed on the 2nd of February at Laybach, providing that an Austrian army, in the name of the three courts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, should be placed at the disposal of the King of the Two Sicilies, to be supported at the cost of that monarch. The period of occupation was limited to three years.

While these arrangements were being made to destroy the constitution and to restrict the liberties of the people of Naples, the Parliament was steadily pursuing its work of national reform. The remains of the feudal system in Sicily were abrogated; the right of primogeniture was abolished throughout the whole kingdom, and various laws were adopted for the purpose of securing equal rights and privileges to all classes. The legislative body finished its labours for the session on the 31st of January, and was closed by the prince regent, who adverted in his speech to the critical condition of the country, and requested the deputies not to quit the capital, as it might be necessary to convene an extraordinary meeting of Parliament.

The king's letter arrived on the 7th of February, and on the 9th the ministers of the Allied Powers had an audience of the prince regent for the purpose of communicating the instructions they had received. They added that the Austrian army in Italy had received orders to march upon Naples, and that if it should be repulsed, a Russian army was ready to march to its assistance. A meeting of the national Parliament was convened on the 13th, which unanimously resolved that it could not agree to the propositions of the Powers, destructive as these

were of the constitution, and that all necessary measures should be taken for the safety of the state. A loan of 3,000,000 ducats was opened to defray the expense to be incurred in the defence of the country, and the national guard were called out in every part of the kingdom; the force is said to have amounted to 150,000 men.

On the 5th of February the Austrian army of 52,000 men, under General Frimont, began its march, and crossed the Po at five different points. A body of troops, consisting of forty battalions of infantry, with some troops of cavalry and artillery, under General William Pepe, was stationed on the northern frontier of the kingdom to defend the mountainous district of the Abruzzi. If the Neapolitans had been hearty in their resolution to resist the invasion of their country, the passes of the Abruzzi afforded numerous strong positions where the march of the Austrians might have been arrested. But the troops were badly equipped and imperfectly trained, and evidently had no heart to fight. A stand was, indeed, made by General Pepe at Rieti on the 7th of March; but after a brief skirmish, the front line of the Neapolitan army was driven back upon the militia behind them, and the whole force fell into confusion and dispersed among the mountains. The main army had been posted at San Germano, on the Garigliano, under General Carascosa, for the protection of the capital; but on the first appearance of the enemy, it fell back in disorder without firing a shot. The general made an attempt to induce his troops to occupy an entrenched position near Capua; but they became completely disorganized. A considerable number of them passed over to the enemy, the militia regiments broke up and dispersed to their homes, and the royal guard alone preserved anything like order and discipline. Farther resistance was hopeless, and a convention between the Austrian and Neapolitan armies was signed at Capua on the 23rd of March, by which the city of Naples and the fortresses of Gaeta and

Pescara were surrendered to the invaders. Ferdinand returned to his capital on the 15th of May, and immediately issued a proclamation, abolishing the constitution and restoring the old *régime*. The army was disbanded, and the military service was entrusted to the Austrians. Measures of such severity were taken against those who expressed dissatisfaction with this counter revolution that even the court of Vienna found it necessary to remonstrate against proceedings, which were exasperating the people to such an extent as to render it probable that it would be necessary to extend the occupation of the country by the Austrian troops beyond the stipulated period.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary spirit had extended to Piedmont, the king of which, Victor Emmanuel, was the son-in-law of Ferdinand of Naples. The Secret Society, which had originated in the south of Italy, had extended its branches to the northern provinces, and had gained over a considerable number of the troops. On the 10th of March a portion of the garrison at Alessandria raised the Italian tricolor—green, red, and blue—occupied the citadel, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution. Their example was followed, on the 12th, by a mixed body of students, citizens, and soldiers at Turin, who obtained admission to the citadel, and were joined by the great mass of the inhabitants in demanding the constitution and immediate war with Austria. The king, however, refused to yield to their demands; but, deserted by his troops, he was powerless to resist, and on the following day he abdicated his throne and proceeded to Nice. The crown should have devolved upon his brother, Charles Felix, the Duke of Genoa; but he was at the time absent at Modena. The king, therefore, nominated Charles Albert, Prince Carignano, heir presumptive to the throne, Regent of the kingdom; and in compliance with the urgent demand of the soldiers, the citizens, and magistrates, the prince immediately proclaimed the constitution. On

the following day a new ministry was formed, and a Junta of fifteen was appointed to assist them in carrying on the government. The example of the capital was speedily followed by the provinces, and the triumph of the revolution seemed complete.

The Duke of Genoa, however, on receiving intelligence of these events, solemnly protested, on the 16th of March, against any change being made in the Government, and announced that he would regard as rebels all who should take upon them to proclaim a constitution, or should attempt to derogate from the royal authority. On the same day he nominated the Governor of Novara, Count de Latour, commander-in-chief of the royal army, and instructed him to take immediate steps to suppress the insurrection. At the same time the allied sovereigns determined to take prompt and decided measures for this purpose. Instructions were sent from Vienna to form an army of reserve in Lombardy. Strong reinforcements were under orders to march from Germany, and the Emperor of Russia took steps to collect an army of not less than 100,000 men in the southern provinces of his empire, to assist in extinguishing an insurrection, which it was feared would extend itself to the whole of Italy.

The liberal party, however, though somewhat daunted by the firm attitude assumed by Charles Felix, determined to resist the invaders of their country, on which the prince regent, on the night of the 21st, fled to Novara, and there declared his readiness to submit to the king's pleasure. On the 23rd he sent to the Junta his resignation of his office. Mainly through the exertions of Count Santa Rosa, an able and energetic man, who had accepted the ministry of the war department, a considerable body of troops was assembled on the frontiers of Lombardy, with the view of carrying the war into the enemy's territory. But it soon became evident that the cause was desperate. The force at the disposal

of Santa Rosa did not exceed 6000 men, whilst the royalist general, Latour, had from 7000 to 8000 under his command, and the Austrian corps, formed on the left bank of the Ticino, amounted to nearly 20,000 men.

On the 4th of April, General Latour crossed the Scsia, and marched towards Turin. His advanced posts were within eight leagues of the city when their progress was opposed by a body of 2800 infantry and 1100 cavalry, under Colonel Regis. The royalist general on this fell back beyond the Sesia, followed by the insurgent commander. Meanwhile Count Bubna, the Austrian general, had crossed the Ticino, and on the 8th of April was in the immediate vicinity of the royalist forces. Indeed, there is no doubt that it was for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of the Austrian corps that Latour had retreated to Vercelli. Colonel Regis, finding himself opposed by an overwhelming force, was compelled to fall back. His men sustained the attacks of the enemy for some time with great firmness; but they were at length thrown into confusion, and the greater part of them dispersed themselves among the mountains, or returned to their homes. The Provisional Junta resigned on the 9th of April. General Latour entered Turin next day, and Count Bubna took possession of the citadel of Alessandria on the 11th.

The Duke of Genoa had hitherto declined to assume the sovereignty or the title which his brother had laid down, until Victor Emmanuel had confirmed his abdication in circumstances which could leave no doubt that the act was entirely voluntary. This was done on the 19th of April, and Charles Felix then assumed the title of King, and entered upon the duties of the royal office. A special commission was appointed by him for the trial and punishment of those who had taken a prominent part in the revolution. The property of forty-three of the leaders was placed under sequestration, and the greater part of those who had fled were

condemned to death and executed in effigy. An amnesty was then published; but a long list of persons, excepted from its benefit, greatly diminished the satisfaction with which this act of grace was received. The principal fortresses of the kingdom were garrisoned by Austrian troops, of whom a corps of 12,000 was placed at the disposal of the King of Sardinia. Revolution was thus, in the meantime, effectually crushed both in the north and in the south of the Italian peninsula.

The facility with which the revolutions in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and in Piedmont, had been suppressed, afforded the highest satisfaction to the allied sovereigns at Laybach. Elated by the success of their policy, they issued a circular despatch to their ministers at foreign courts, in which principles utterly subversive of the rights of nations were openly proclaimed, and the result of their unwarrantable interference with the proceedings of the people and parliaments of the Two Sicilies was boastfully described in highly offensive terms. 'The edifice,' they said, 'which had been reared by revolt, fragile in its superstructure and weak in its foundation, resting only on the cunning of some, and upon the momentary blindness of others, condemned by an immense majority of the nation, and odious even to the army which was enrolled to defend it, crumbled to dust at the first contact with the regular troops collected to destroy it. The legitimate authority is restored, the factions have been dispersed, the Neapolitan people are delivered from the tyranny of those impudent conspirators, who, deluding them with the dreams of false liberty, in reality inflicted upon them the most bitter vexations. This important restriction had been completed by the counsels and the acts of the allied sovereigns. 'During the progress of these great transactions,' it had been clearly seen that the revolutions in Spain and Portugal, the Two Sicilies, and Piedmont, were the effects of a 'vast conspiracy against all established power.' 'The leaders

of this impious league, indifferent as to what may result from the general destruction they meditate, careless about all stable and permanent organization, aim merely at the fundamental basis of society. The allied sovereigns could not fail to perceive that there was only one barrier to oppose to this devastating torrent. *To preserve what is legally established*—such was, as it ought to be, the invariable principle of their policy, the point of departure, and the final object of all their resolutions.' Not that these monarchs had the least disposition to thwart real ameliorations, or 'the reform of abuses which creep into the best governments,' but '*useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free-will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power.*' All that deviates from this line necessarily leads to disorder, commotions, and evils far more insufferable than those which they pretend to remedy. Penetrated with this eternal truth, the sovereigns have not hesitated to proclaim it with frankness and vigour; they have declared that, in respecting the rights and independence of all legitimate power, they regarded as legally null, and as disavowed by the principles which constitute the public right of Europe, all pretended reform operated by revolt and open hostility.' Although the policy of the allied sovereigns had been thus crowned with success, the circular intimated that their work was not yet completed. The Congress was to meet again in the course of next year, to determine how long it would be necessary to continue the occupation of the territories of Naples and Piedmont, and thus to 'consolidate the tranquillity of the Peninsula.'

The publication of this circular excited mingled indignation and alarm among the people of Great Britain. The real nature and object of the Holy Alliance among the continental despots had now been avowed. Every attempt on the part of the people to

obtain a reform of their institutions was to be forcibly suppressed, and no improvements were to be sanctioned, or even tolerated, except those which proceeded from the spontaneous good-will of the sovereigns themselves. If that principle had been acted on in the United Kingdom, not one of the 'useful or necessary changes' that had been made 'in legislation and in the administration of the state' would have ever taken place. One and all had been extorted from successive sovereigns by the resolute determination of the people. That a policy of this kind should have been avowed by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the kings of Prussia and France, excited no surprise. They had acted upon it consistently in the government of their own subjects. But a strong and well-founded suspicion was entertained that the British ministers had given their countenance, as far as they could venture to do so, to the principles announced in the circular, and acted on in the cases of Naples and Piedmont.

Lord Castlereagh, in one of his despatches, had said, 'It is impossible not to perceive a great moral change coming over Europe, and that the principles of freedom are in full operation. The danger is that the transition may be too sudden to ripen into anything likely to make the world either better or happier. We have new constitutions launched in France, Spain, Holland, and Sicily. Let us see the result before we encourage further attempts. The attempts may be made, and we must abide the consequences; but I am sure it is better to retard than accelerate the operation of this most hazardous principle which is abroad.' As might have been expected, Lord Castlereagh disapproved of the Italians 'hazarding their own internal quiet' by an effort at this time to reform their institutions, although he took care not to give publicity to his real sentiments. But to those who were in his confidence he frankly avowed that he was favourable to the interference of Austria in the affairs of Italy, and intimated that the profession of neutrality, while Austrian

troops were destroying the constitutions which the people had adopted, was simply to avoid hostile criticism in the House of Commons. Some of his letters, indeed, sent at this period to his brother, Lord Stewart, 'were written expressly to throw dust in the eyes of Parliament;' and in using this expression, he added—'You will understand this, and know what to say to Metternich.' 'In fact,' says Greville, 'while obliged to pretend to disapprove of the continental system of the Holy Alliance, he secretly gave Metternich every assurance of his private concurrence; and it was not till long after Mr. Canning's accession that Metternich could be persuaded of his sincerity in opposing their views—always fancying that he was obliged to act a part, as his predecessor had done, to keep the House of Commons quiet.' At the time when Austria was preparing to suppress by force the revolution in Naples and Piedmont, Lord Castlereagh wrote to his brother—'We desire to leave Austria unembarrassed in her course; but we must claim for ourselves the same freedom of action. It is for the interest of Austria that such should be our position. It enables us in our Parliament to consider, and consequently to respect, her measures as the acts of an independent state—a doctrine which we could not maintain if we had rendered ourselves by a previous concert parties to those acts; and it places us in a situation to do justice in argument to the considerations which may influence her counsels, without in doing so being thrown upon the defence of our own conduct.' The Duke of Wellington held the same views even more strongly. At the moment that the Austrian troops were marching upon Naples, he wrote to Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador, expressing his great regret that the occupation of the country by Austrian troops was intended to continue for only three years; while, in his opinion, it ought to have been stipulated that the occupation should last for seven. The people of the United Kingdom were not aware of these

facts; but they saw with uneasiness and dissatisfaction British ambassadors present at Troppau and Laybach while the congress was held, and a British fleet stationed in the Bay of Naples while an Austrian army was on its march to destroy the constitution which the people had chosen, and they strongly suspected that the British ministers had secretly encouraged the continental despots in their nefarious schemes against the liberties of Europe.

The circular of the allied sovereigns was issued on the 8th of December, 1820; but Lord Castlereagh did not reply to it until the 19th of January, 1821, after the unauthorized publication of the document in a German newspaper, and only four days before the meeting of Parliament. It was therefore strongly suspected that even the mild protest which he at last made against the policy avowed in the circular would not have been made, had it not been brought to the knowledge of the public at this time; and there can be little doubt that this suspicion was well founded.

So far as it went, however, the answer of Lord Castlereagh was tolerably satisfactory. It declared that the system of measures proposed by the allied Powers was 'in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws' of Great Britain. 'But even if this decisive objection did not exist, the British Government would nevertheless regard the principles on which those measures rest to be such as could not be safely admitted as a system of international law. Their adoption would eventually sanction, and in the hands of less beneficent monarchs might hereafter lead to a much more frequent and extensive interference in the internal transactions of states, than they are persuaded is intended with respect to the particular case of Naples. The British Government did not hesitate to express their strong disapprobation of the mode and circumstances under which that resolution was understood to have been effected; but they at the same time expressly declared to the several allied courts, that they should not

consider themselves called upon or justified to advise an interference on the part of this country. They fully admitted, however, that other European states might feel themselves differently circumstanced, and they professed that it was not their purpose to interfere with the course which such states might think fit to adopt with a view to their security; provided only that they were ready to give every reasonable assurance that their views were not directed to purposes of aggrandisement subversive of the territorial system of Europe, as established by the late treaties.'

A British minister of state could scarcely have said less in commenting upon a policy so diametrically opposed to the traditions of his own country, and the principles on which its constitution and government had been founded. But, as we have seen, the effect even of this mild expression of disapproval was to a great extent neutralized by the private communications of Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington. It was fortunate for the Ministry that this correspondence was not published at the time, for even as it was they had some difficulty in defending their proceedings against the attacks of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament. It was pointed out that there were strong grounds for the suspicion that the Government had by no means been so impartial as they professed, and that they were in reality favourable to the designs of the allied monarchs. The Troppau circular had expressed a confident expectation that England would concur with the other Powers in proceedings which were declared to be 'in perfect harmony with the treaties to which she had already consented,' and the Ministry were called on to state explicitly the grounds on which such a statement was made. There were other incidents which tended to confirm the unfavourable impression which the language of the circular had produced. The British ministry had not ventured to go so far as to imitate the conduct of the allies in breaking off all diplomatic relations

with the new Government at Naples, but they had refused to receive the Prince Cimiteli, the Neapolitan ambassador to this country. They had stationed a British fleet in the Bay of Naples, a step which was universally regarded as a direct menace to the Government, and was resented accordingly. The Neapolitan ministry had, indeed, considered it necessary to demand an explanation on the subject, and had been informed by the British minister at Naples that the fleet was ready to interfere in the event of the royal family being exposed either to insult or danger—a threat which, it was argued, might under certain contingencies have led to the bombardment of Naples.

Strong disapprobation was expressed of the mode in which Lord Castlereagh, in his reply to the circular of the allied Powers, had spoken of the Neapolitan revolution. 'Upon what grounds,' asked Earl Grey, 'was Naples declared to be an exception to the general rule which guaranteed the independence of nations? Look at the situation and conduct of the people who were menaced. No force was offered to independent states; no aggression was threatened; no principles subversive of general order were professed; the laws were preserved and enforced; the sovereign was maintained in his office; and merely because the system on which the Government had formerly been conducted—a system which destroyed the resources and depressed the energies of the people—had been improved, because the power of the king had been limited by his own consent, the Holy Alliance was about to crush this work of reform lest its manifest good might excite neighbouring states to seek for similar advantages. This was the ground of their interference; this was the necessity by which they justified their departure from the principles of international law. There never was in the history of the world a revolution brought about in a more peaceful, inoffensive manner. No blood had been shed; no tumult had taken place; no

property violated. The king had not only been maintained on his throne, but had sanctioned the limitation of his authority; yet it was against this revolution that the vengeance of the allies was denounced, and this country was called on to accede to the interference.'

The Ministry found it no easy matter to vindicate the course which they had adopted in this matter. The principles and proceedings of the allied sovereigns, especially of the Emperor of Austria, were condemned in such strong terms—especially by their own supporters, Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Ward—that they could not venture to say a word in their defence. On the other hand, as they had always in private expressed their approval of Austrian interference in the affairs of Naples, they could not publicly condemn it. Fortunately for them, the Opposition were only imperfectly acquainted with the facts of the case; the official despatches gave no information respecting their private communications with the allied Powers; and the Ministry took care to resist the motions for the production of explanatory papers. In these circumstances, as might have been expected, they were supported by considerable majorities in resisting the attacks of the Opposition on their continental policy.

While Western Europe was thus in a state of commotion, hostilities much more serious and protracted broke out in the East. In the course of last century the Greeks had made repeated attempts to deliver their country from the Turkish yoke, but through the perfidy of the Russian Government these efforts had failed, and had only subjected them to renewed outrages from their oppressors. Various causes, however, were silently preparing the way for another and more successful attempt to vindicate their independence. Through their activity and industry a great part of the trade of Nætolia, Macedonia, and Thrace had come into their hands, and at a later period they had obtained almost a monopoly of the trade in

corn between Odessa, Marseilles, Leghorn, and Trieste. A class of capitalists had thus been raised up among the Greeks, and a large commercial navy had been formed, the property of Greek merchants, and manned by Greek sailors. They had purchased from the needy Turkish government permission to carry arms and heavy guns against the pirates who infested their seas, and had thus laid the foundation of a naval force, which proved of immense value in the struggle for their national freedom. The increase of their wealth through trade enabled them to establish schools for the education of their youth at home, and a great number of young men were sent to the universities of Western Europe, where they obtained accurate views respecting the decayed state of the Ottoman empire, and learned how they might turn to advantage the improvements in the arts and sciences which the Turks despised. The conviction thus arose, and steadily gained ground, that nothing more was necessary to accomplish the deliverance of their country from the degrading domination of the Porte than a combined and determined effort by themselves, properly organized, and undertaken at a favourable opportunity. This idea gave birth to a secret society, called the Heteria, consisting of five orders, the highest of which, called the Grand Arch, composed of sixteen members, alone possessed a full knowledge of the society's plans, and was intrusted with the power of issuing general orders, and fixing the time and mode of their execution. The Grand Arch had its seat at Moscow, but its branches were ramified through all the southern provinces of Russia and Greece proper, and it had numerous members at Vienna, and even at Paris. The Greek clergy were most zealous in the cause, and most of the primates of the Morea joined the society in 1819. The Heteria had been spreading its roots through European Turkey for five years before the Ottoman government was aware of its existence. And when at length, by an accidental occurrence, it was apprised

of it, no steps were taken to avert the threatened danger.

The Greeks were eagerly watching for an opportunity of rising against their oppressors when the rebellion of Ali Pasha, by embarrassing the Turkish government, and converting a formidable enemy into a friend, showed that the time had at length come for asserting their independence. In the autumn of 1820 Ali deserted, and betrayed by his officers and troops, and even by two of his own sons, shut himself up in the fortress of Yanina, and prepared to resist to the utmost the assault of the Ottoman army, which had laid siege to the place. In the extremity to which this once powerful chief was reduced he strove to raise up enemies to the Porte in every part of its European dominions; and aware of the designs of the Heterists, he encouraged them to take up arms by a promise of money and assistance. At this critical moment Ipsilanti, a Greek by birth, but a major-general in the Russian service, on the 6th of March, 1821, crossed the Pruth into Moldavia, and called on his countrymen to take up arms. After proclaiming the independence of Greece at Yassy, he marched with 800 men towards Bucharest. He trifled his time, however, upon the road, and did not reach the capital of Wallachia until the 9th of April. The spirit of the people was most favourable, and the apathy of the Turks afforded him ample time to operate; but, owing to his incapacity and indecision, he failed to avail himself of these advantages until the opportunity was lost. He had sent a despatch to the Russian emperor, informing him of the rising, and entreating him to give his support to the liberation of Greece. But Alexander was then at Laybach, concerting with his allies measures for the suppression of the revolution in Naples and Piedmont. At such a crisis, however much he might have wished to weaken Turkey, he could not venture to give any countenance to a popular rising. He therefore disavowed Ipsilanti's proceedings, which he professed to regard as another

effect of the mania that unhappily distinguished the present age, and ordered the insurgent leader to be dismissed from the Russian service. About the end of April a strong body of Turks marched from Silistria to attack the insurgents. A battle took place at Drageschan, in which the Greeks were worsted. The Arnauts and the Albanians and Pandours fled, but the 'sacred battalion,' composed of Greek youths from various parts of Europe, kept their ground and fought with the most desperate courage, till nearly the whole band were destroyed. Their incapable commander shortly afterwards stole away from his troops, and made his escape to the Austrian territory. The insurgents, though deserted by their leader, continued for some time a most resolute partisan warfare. One small body took their stand at Skalkeni, on the Pruth, where they sustained an attack from a Turkish force six times more numerous, till three-fourths of their number had fallen. Another small party, under Yorkaka, or George the Olympian, a heroic youth, shut themselves up in the monastery of Secka, where for six-and-thirty hours they resisted a greatly superior body of Turkish troops, until at last their leader, rather than surrender or fly, fired the powder in his chamber, and blew himself up with four of his attendants.

A general rising had meanwhile taken place in the Morea. On the 2nd of April the standard of independence was raised at Kalavrita, by Archbishop Germanos and Andreas Londos. Two days afterwards a fierce struggle took place at Patras, about thirty miles distant, between the Christians and the Turks, and a part of the town was burned. The Turks, driven from the open country, took refuge in the forts and citadels; and the insurrection spread with such rapidity over the Morea that, within a week after the first shot was fired, a Greek senate assembled at Calamata in Messina, under the presidency of Petras Mavromichalis, Bey of Maina. Hostilities were carried on with divided success. A strong body of Albanians routed the Greeks, who were

posted at Argos, killed 700 of them, and burned the town. On the other hand, the Kihaya Bey, at the head of 5000 men, on the 27th of May, attacked a Greek detachment stationed at Valtezza, but was repulsed and compelled to flee to Tripolitza with the loss of two pieces of cannon and 400 men. This success contributed not a little to spread and to strengthen the insurrection. The three chief seats of Greek commerce, Hydra, Spezzia, and Psyra, now joined the revolutionary cause, and despatched a small fleet of vessels to proclaim the independence of Greece in the other isles of the Ægean. Light-armed ships at the same time scoured the seas and captured every Ottoman trading vessel.

A few days later an insurrection broke out in Roumelia. The peasants of Attica and Bœotia took the field in the beginning of May, captured the town of Athens, and compelled the Turkish inhabitants to seek refuge in the citadel. A similar rising took place in Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, and the independent flag was hoisted in Missolonghi in June. The towns of Vrakhorî, Garpandë, and Salona were successively carried by assault, and in three months the Turks were driven from a large proportion of the places which they had occupied south of Mount Ceta. Success, however, often changed sides. Omar Pasha, with a body of 4000 troops, marched from Thessaly, routed a detachment of Greeks at Thermopylæ and Seripa, destroyed Livadia, the most flourishing town in Roumelia, and relieved the blockade of the citadel of Athens. On the other hand, the insurgents collected in the hilly districts of Bœotia and Phocis, interrupted the communications of the Turks and cut off their supplies, and defeated at Thermopylæ a strong reinforcement coming from Thessaly, with the loss of 800 men. In the extreme north, the insurgents were everywhere unfortunate. The Macedonian Greeks were defeated by Pasha Aboulaboud, and, with the exception of a portion who escaped by sea, were either killed or made prisoners. The monks of

Athos capitulated to the same Ottoman general. The people of Magnesia were surprised and routed by the Pasha of Drama, and thirty-five of the most flourishing villages of the district were burned. The Greeks of Pieria also rose in arms, but were completely defeated by Pasha Aboulaboud, who burned all the villages which they possessed in the valleys of Olympus.

The war between the Turks and the Greeks was characterized from the outset by the most shocking outrages. Infuriated at the progress of the insurrection, the Porte caused the venerable Greek patriarch of Constantinople, a very old man much esteemed for his virtues, to be seized on Easter Sunday as he was about to celebrate high mass in the Patriarchal chapel, and hanged at the gate of his palace. All the prelates who happened to be present in the church at the celebration of the festival were arrested at the same time, and many of them shared the same fate—entirely, as it was admitted, on suspicion. The chiefs of the most distinguished Fanariot families were seized by order of the Government, and beheaded or hanged before the doors of their own houses. The Greek churches were demolished and their houses given up to pillage. Salonica and Adrianople were the scene of similar barbarities; Smyrna was treated with even greater severity, and was sacked and burned like a city that had been stormed by a hostile army. Kydonia, a town of 30,000 inhabitants, and renowned for its college where 300 students were receiving a superior education, was burned to the ground, and its inhabitants were forced to seek refuge in Psyra and other isles.

The Greeks were not slow to retaliate these cruelties on their oppressors. The garrison of Navarin capitulated on the promise that they would be allowed to retreat without molestation, but the agreement was shamefully violated, and the Turkish soldiers were massacred. The town of Tripolitza was taken by storm and completely sacked, and out of 10,000 or

12,000 inhabitants young and old, 8000 are said to have been put to death. At Samos all the Turks in the place, including the Cadi and the Janizzaries, were massacred; and this system of merciless reprisals continued to disgrace the conduct of both parties throughout the war.

The insurrection had already reached the isles; a provisional government had been constituted at Hydra, and a navy formed, which proved of immense service in the struggle for national independence. Extraordinary sacrifices had been made by some of the most distinguished inhabitants. The commercial house of Konturecty alone is said to have equipped at its own expense a fleet of thirty vessels, well armed and equipped.

The maritime superiority of the Greeks contributed greatly to promote the progress of the insurrection in the islands. Their ships were indeed merely merchant vessels carrying from twelve to twenty-four guns; but by their superior seamanship and a bold and skilful use of fireships, they baffled or defeated the Turkish squadrons of men-of-war. An attempt which was made at this time by the Porte to clear the Archipelago of the Greek vessels, ended in a signal disaster. On the 19th of May, a squadron, composed of two ships of the line, three frigates, and five brigs, sailed from the Dardanelles in search of the enemy. Two Greek flotillas, with which they fell in, did not venture to encounter such a superior force, but contented themselves with holding cautiously aloof, watching for an opportunity to assail the Turks at an advantage. They had not long to wait. The Turkish rear-admiral, who commanded the squadron, expected to have been immediately followed by the fleet of the Capitan Pacha. Becoming uneasy at its failure to appear, he despatched a vessel of seventy-four guns to ascertain the cause of the delay. The vessel was attacked by the Greek flotilla, as soon as it was out of reach of assistance from the admiral. The Turkish captain, in great alarm, fled into the Adramyttic Gulf, where

his vessel ran aground and lay helplessly exposed to the attacks of his pursuers. The Greeks took up a position which raked the ship from stem to stern. The crew attempted to escape in their boats, but the greater part were sunk before they could reach the shore; and the captain, in his despair, set fire to his ship, and himself perished in the flames. The Turkish admiral, who was at anchor near Mitylene, on receiving notice of this disaster made the best of his way at once back to the Dardanelles, leaving the Greek flotilla undisputed masters of the Archipelago.

The Greeks at Samos, as we have seen, had thrown off the Ottoman yoke, had expelled or slain their despotical rulers, and were now harassing the Turks of the adjoining continent by frequent descents upon the coast. A large body of troops was collected to punish and suppress them, and the Capitan Bey was ordered to co-operate with his fleet. But an attempt to land 1000 men on the island was defeated with great loss, and a second armament was intercepted, and ten transports burned by the Greek fleet. The soldiers escaped to the shore, but were so terrified by the disaster that they refused to re-embark.

At this critical juncture the sultan, distracted by the difficulties on every side in this convulsed state of his empire, was threatened with a new and much more formidable danger, arising out of a dispute with the Russian Czar. Orders which had been issued by the Porte to stop the exportation of grain from the Dardanelles threatened to annihilate the grain trade at Odessa. Vessels sailing under the Russian flag had been searched and sometimes detained by the Turkish custom-house officers, on the plea that such vessels had conveyed supplies to the insurgents. Turkish troops had been sent into the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. Gross outrages had been committed against the Greek clergy and people, and the Greek patriarch had been put to death, in violation of the treaty of Kainardji. The lives and

property of Russian merchants had been placed in jeopardy, and no proper steps taken for their protection. The Russian ambassador, Baron Strogonoff, was instructed by special orders from St. Petersburg to present a formal remonstrance against these proceedings, and to demand that the churches which had been destroyed or plundered should be restored; that Christian worship should be guaranteed against future outrage; that a just distinction should be made between those who were guilty of aiding and abetting disorders, and those who were innocent; that in reliance on this protection the Greeks should be invited to submit within a given time, and that Russia, in accordance with the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest, should be allowed to take part in the pacification of Moldavia and Wallachia. 'If the Turkish Government,' continued the ambassador, 'contrary to expectation, should manifest that it is in consequence of a plan voluntarily adopted that these measures were taken, nothing will then remain to the emperor but to declare to the Sublime Porte that it places itself in a state of open hostility with the whole Christian world; that it legalizes the resistance of the Greeks, who would then combat solely to save themselves from inevitable destruction; and that, considering the nature of this contest, Russia will regard itself as strictly bound to afford them an asylum, because they are persecuted; protection, because she has a right to do so; an assistance in union with all Christendom, because she cannot leave her fellow believers a prey to blind fanaticism.' It was demanded that a reply should be given to this communication within eight days. Shortly before this period some shocking outrages had been perpetrated by the populace against the Greeks in Constantinople. Their houses were almost universally given up to be pillaged, and they only escaped a general massacre by concealing themselves from their bloodthirsty assailants. As it was, great numbers of them were put to death,

and their wives and children were carried off as slaves. The impunity which was allowed to the perpetrators of these crimes called forth vehement remonstrances from the British and Austrian ministers, and contributed not a little to strengthen the case of the Russian Government against the Porte.

The pride of the Ottoman court was deeply wounded both by the manner and the matter of the demand made by the Russian ambassador, and at first they refused to give any answer to it whatever. Baron Strogonoff, in obedience to his instructions, immediately demanded his passports and left for Odessa. At the moment of his departure a reply was sent to his note, which, however, he declined to receive, and the Porte was obliged to send it on direct to St. Petersburg. Though it had been considerably modified on the recommendation of Lord Strangford and M. de Lutzen, the British and Austrian ministers, it was by no means satisfactory, and evaded rather than answered the demands of the Czar. The embargo, however, which had been laid upon Russian vessels was raised, and a manifesto was published, in the name of the sultan, to the officials throughout Anatolia and Roumelia, enjoining them to cease from employing violence against peaceable and defenceless vessels, and offering a general amnesty to such of the Greeks as were disposed to return to their obedience.

The unsatisfactory nature of the answer returned to the Russian note of the 18th July seemed to render war inevitable, and this step was strongly advocated by Count Capo d'Istria, as one of the Czar's most trusted counsellors. But Alexander saw clearly, that however favourable was the opportunity now offered for the accomplishment of his long-cherished designs against the Turkish empire, he could not avail himself of it but at the risk of dissolving his alliance with the other continental powers of Europe. A war professedly undertaken by him for the liberation of Greece would, without doubt, have greatly

encouraged the revolutionary party in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and would have been a flagrant violation of the principle enunciated in the Troppau circular of the allied sovereigns, that 'useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free will' of their rulers. The scruples of the Czar were zealously fostered and strengthened by Lord Castlereagh and Prince Metternich, who had reasons of their own for preventing the Czar from supporting the Greeks. The English Foreign minister had no sympathy with reformers, however moderate in their proposals, and disapproved of every attempt to overthrow an existing government, no matter how despotic and oppressive it might be. In a letter written to the Czar two days before Count Strogonoff presented his ultimatum to the Porte, he said the events in Turkey 'form a branch of that organized spirit of insurrection which is systematically propagating itself throughout Europe, and which explodes whenever the hand of the governing power, from whatever cause, is enfeebled.' And to the British minister at St. Petersburg he wrote, what he, no doubt, wished to be communicated to the Czar, 'With all deference, the Emperor of Russia ought to disavow the Greek cause as one essentially revolutionary.'

The representations made by the British and Austrian ministers had considerable weight with Alexander. The party at the Russian court, headed by Nesselrode, who were in favour of peace, prevailed; and a circular was issued by the emperor to his ministers at foreign courts, stating, that though he had never felt himself in so favourable a position as at present for enforcing by war the acceptance of the conditions he had proposed to the Porte, he was yet disposed to make the greatest sacrifices for the preservation of peace. He was therefore willing to abstain from hostilities, provided the other Powers of Europe found means for obtaining from the Divan such guarantees as were necessary to protect the Christians in Turkey

from a repetition of the outrages to which they had hitherto been subjected.

The mediation of the other courts thus invoked was exercised with beneficial effect. The Porte consented to appoint two Christian hospodars to the government of Wallachia and Moldavia, and thus removed one cause of difference between the Ottoman and the Russian courts. A promise was also given that the churches which had been destroyed or plundered would be restored, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed. Negotiations commenced on this basis were slowly carried on between the two governments, and served in the meantime to avert hostilities, and to afford the Porte an opportunity of recruiting its exhausted strength.

In Greece, however, and in the Greek islands, the insurgents treated the offered amnesty with contempt, and bade defiance to all the efforts of the Ottoman Government to crush them. Their ascendancy at sea enabled them to cut off the supplies of corn from the Mediterranean to feed the inhabitants of Constantinople, and to declare every port in the Archipelago in the occupancy of the enemy in a state of blockade. In the month of June, Demetrius Ipsilanti, second brother of the Moldavian leader, landed at Hydra, and thence sailed over to the Continent, where he received a cordial welcome from the insurgents. He brought with him a small supply of money, and a commission from his brother to take the direction of military affairs in Greece and the Morea. He was a young man, only twenty-two years of age, patriotic, brave, and upright; but he did not possess either the energy or experience necessary for the arduous and responsible office which he had assumed, and the jealousy of the bishops and military chiefs thwarted his proposals and rendered all his schemes abortive.

In the islands as well as in the Morea the Greeks overpowered the Turks in the open field; but unprovided as they were with artillery, and unskilled in the art of besieg-

ing fortified places, they were unable to reduce the strongholds in which their enemies had taken refuge. Some of the Turkish garrisons, however, in the Morea were compelled by famine to surrender; but the terms of the capitulation were shamefully violated by the insurgents. Prince Demetrius was so indignant at these disgraceful proceedings that he resigned his command, and issued a proclamation, intimating his intention of abandoning the country and never returning until he was intrusted with power to compel a due regard to his authority, and to punish outrages so dishonourable to the cause of liberty. This threat produced the proper effect. The senates of Hydra and Calamata agreed that the islands should be placed under the same government with the Morea, and that a congress should be formed of deputies from all the liberated districts in Greece. A national assembly accordingly was convoked at Argos about the end of 1821, but afterwards, for greater security, removed to Piada, near the ancient Epidaurus. Mavrocordato was appointed president, and a constitution was adopted which embodied equality of rights, the freedom of the press, and toleration in religion. The executive was to consist of a president and four members, with a secretary. Ministers were also appointed for finance, war, foreign affairs, and other departments. After passing a decree for a loan of 5,000,000 of piastres, the assembly closed its session on the 20th of January, 1822; but the government which it had erected had neither money nor troops to enforce its authority, and in consequence the military chiefs set its mandates at defiance, and disdained even to pay it outward respect.

On the 26th of January the citadel of Corinth, a fortress of great strength and importance, surrendered to the insurgents, who on this as on other occasions most dishonourably violated the terms of capitulation, and inhumanly put the garrison to death. The Greek Government made Corinth its seat for some time, both on account

of its central position and the strength of its acropolis, and thence promulgated its futile decrees. The only noteworthy document which it issued was the act of independence of the Greek nation—the manifesto in which the insurgents first put forth their claim to the rank of a free and independent people. It was remarkable chiefly for the anxiety which it showed to make clear the distinction between the motives by which the Greek patriots were actuated, and the revolutionary principles which were so obnoxious to the great powers of Europe. They had no other object, they declared, in taking up arms than to reinstate their nation in the rights of property, honour, liberty, and life. ‘We ask nothing,’ they said, ‘but our re-establishment in the European association, where our religion, our manners, and our position call us—to unite ourselves again with the great family of Christians, and to resume among the nations the rank which a usurping force has unjustly deprived us of.’

The death of Ali Pasha at this time left the Porte at liberty to direct its whole energies against the Greek insurgents. That old chief, driven to extremity, had been induced to surrender to Kourschid Pasha, by the promise not only of life, but also of a portion of his possessions, together with a safe-conduct for himself and his friends. But, as might have been expected, he was immediately put to death, and his head sent to Constantinople. The destruction of this formidable rebel gave renewed energy to the efforts of the Porte to suppress the Greek insurrection, and Kourschid Pasha, elated with his success, shortly after sent an army of 17,000 men against the Suliotes. But though they numbered only 4000 men, these brave patriots made such an obstinate resistance, amid their rocks and woods, that the Turks were finally compelled to retreat with a heavy loss. Mavrocordato marched to their assistance with 3000 men; but he was attacked at Petta, near Arta, by an army of 10,000 Turks; and, in consequence of the treachery of Gogos, one of the Arma-

toli chiefs, he was defeated with the loss of 400 men, and compelled to return to Missolonghi. The Suliotes, reduced to extremity by a protracted blockade, were compelled to surrender, on condition that the remnant of their tribe, consisting of 320 men and 900 women and children, should be conveyed to Cephalonia at the pasha's expense.

Relieved from this troublesome enemy, Osman Pasha now marched to attack Missolonghi at the head of 10,000 men. As the town was almost open, and the garrison consisted of only about 500 men, it might easily have been carried by an immediate and vigorous assault. But the pasha spent several weeks in a state of inaction, making attempts at negotiation, and Mavrocordato diligently availed himself of the interval to raise new works and to strengthen the old defences. A reinforcement of 1600 men arrived at this critical juncture from the Morea, and supplies of arms and ammunition were opportunely brought by the Greek fleet. The rainy season, too, which now set in, spread deadly sickness among the Turkish troops. In these circumstances the pasha made an attempt to retrieve his mistake by a sudden assault on the town before daylight on Christmas morning, when he expected that the inhabitants would be engaged in religious services. They had, however, received information of his design, and were prepared for the attack, which was repulsed with the loss of 600 men on the part of the besiegers. The pasha was fain to retreat with all possible speed, obstructed by rivers swollen with the heavy rains, and harassed at every step by the Acarnanians. The wreck of his army at last reached Prevesa in February, 1823.

The spring of this year was marked by an event which roused the indignation of the whole civilized world—the massacre by the Turks of the inhabitants of the island of Scio, with circumstances of the most horrible atrocity. This island, the ancient Chios, was distinguished for the commercial activity and wealth of its inhabitants. Its position, within ten miles of the Asiatic

shore, peculiarly exposed it to an attack on that side by the Porte, and probably for that reason the Sciotes had taken no part in the Greek insurrection. When the Hydriot fleet on one occasion touched at the island, they entreated the admiral to leave their coast and not compromise them with the Ottoman Government. Unfortunately they were at length involved in the insurrection by two adventurers, one of them a Sciote by birth, though he had spent his life abroad, who landed on the island in March, 1822, with about 2000 men, and drove the Turks out of the town. The invaders were coolly received by the citizens, who were an unwarlike people, and dreaded the vengeance of the Porte; but the peasantry rose in arms and assisted the adventurers in their endeavours to expel the Turks. The garrison, unable to resist an attack made by overwhelming numbers, shut themselves up in the citadel and waited for reinforcements. When the news of the insurrection reached Constantinople, the Turkish fleet under the Capitan Pasha was despatched to suppress and punish the rebellion. It reached Scio on the 11th of April, and disembarked a body of 15,000 men, who easily routed the Sciotes drawn up on the heights near the shore, and carried the town by assault on the 15th, putting to the sword the inhabitants without distinction of sex or age. The town itself was set on fire, and completely destroyed. The entire island was given over to fire and to the sword. The scenes that ensued were a disgrace to humanity. The male inhabitants and the elder females were massacred wholesale. The younger women and children were sent to Constantinople and sold into slavery. A small number only succeeded in making their escape to the Continent, with the loss of everything they had possessed. An English gentleman who visited the island shortly after the massacre, found only 1800 Greeks remaining, out of the 120,000 who peopled it before the invasion of the Turks. He estimated the number of the slain at 30,000—the remainder were either sold or exiled.

All the houses and villages throughout the island, along with eighty-six churches, were given a prey to the flames.

A powerful fleet had meanwhile sailed from Hydra, but arrived too late to save the unfortunate Sciotes from destruction, though not too late to take vengeance on their savage and ruthless murderers. On the night of the 18th of June, two fireships floated unperceived towards the Turkish fleet anchored before Scio. One of them grappled with the ship which carried the military chest, and set it on fire, but the crew contrived to get free from the fireship and to extinguish the flames. The other, attaching itself to the flagship of the Turkish admiral, exploded with such effect as to involve it in a common conflagration. The fire speedily reached the magazine, and the ship blew up, destroying in a moment 2000 of her crew. The Capitan Pasha was conveyed to shore in a boat before the explosion took place, but he died soon after, in consequence of the injury sustained from the fall of a mast. It is matter of regret that this disaster befel the sailors rather than the soldiers, who were more deeply implicated in the murder of the ill-fated Sciotes.

Hostilities continued to be carried on, both on the mainland and the islands, with varying success. Marco Bozzaris succeeded in relieving Suli, which was closely blockaded by Kourschid Pasha, and was on the point of surrendering. But an encounter of Bozzaris, at the village of Placca, with a Turkish force under Omar Brioni, the pasha of Janina (July 6), terminated, after an obstinate struggle, without any decisive advantage to either party. The Turks, however, on the 16th, renewed their attack upon the Greeks and Suliotes, who had taken up a new position near Petta, about two miles from Arta; and though they made a brave resistance, the insurgents were compelled to retreat, with the loss of the greater part of their cannon and baggage. Bozzaris took refuge in the mountain passes of Macrorona, where, though he was able, from the nature of the country, to repel any attempt to dis-

possess him, he was cut off from all communication with the sea. An expedition from Missolonghi was attacked at Fanari by a Turkish and Albanian force, and completely defeated. Suli was again invested, and was compelled to surrender on the 20th of September. On the other hand, the citadel of Athens, which had been blockaded for some months by the Greeks, had at length fallen into their hands, famine having compelled the garrison to capitulate on the 22nd of June. Though their personal safety was guaranteed, a considerable number of them were put to death in cold blood, and the rest were with difficulty saved by the interposition of the Frank consuls.

Kourschid Pasha had meanwhile been collecting a large force in Thessaly, with the view of carrying the war into the Morea. He had resolved to penetrate into Livadia by way of Thermopylæ; but the Greeks, though apprised of his intentions, with their usual negligence and want of forethought, made no preparations to resist his march. At Larissa he received a large reinforcement of troops, which had arrived from the northern provinces, and sent on an advanced guard of 20,000 men, chiefly cavalry, under Pasha Dramali. The well-known Greek chief, Odysseus, who had charge of the famous Pass of Thermopylæ, with 4000 men, might have greatly retarded, if he could not altogether prevent, the passage of the army; but, either from treachery or incapacity, he offered no resistance. The invading army burned Thebes on its march; and, moving rapidly past Cythæron and the Dervend of the isthmus unopposed, appeared before Corinth on the 18th of July. Its impregnable citadel, though victualled for three months, was surrendered to them, by the cowardice of the commander of the garrison, without firing a shot. From Corinth the Turks pushed on to Nauplia, the Greeks everywhere flying in the utmost consternation at their approach. The members of the Government, who had first left Corinth for Argos, and then had gone on to Nauplia, had scarcely time to hasten with their papers

on board one of the vessels engaged in its blockade before the Turkish commander had taken possession of the place, which had been on the eve of capitulating to the besiegers when it was so unexpectedly relieved. At this crisis Demetrius Ipsilanti threw himself, with a small body of undaunted patriots, into the ruined castle of Argos, with the hope of gaining time for the panic-stricken fugitives to rally. This judicious manœuvre was completely successful. The operations of the Turkish forces were arrested for a time, and an opportunity was thus given to Colocotroni to bring up a considerable force from the interior, and to take up a strong position between the mountains and the sea near Lerna, so as to cut off the communications of the Turks with the surrounding country, and particularly with the isthmus.

The Greeks had now recovered from the panic which had been caused by the sudden irruption of the Turkish army, and they wisely resolved to carry on hostilities in the manner best suited to their own forces, and to the nature of the country. Following the example of the Scottish people in their War of Independence, they drove their cattle into the mountains and defiles, burned the standing corn and laid waste the plain country, and kept the enemy in a state of perpetual alarm by their incessant desultory attacks. The stock of provisions which the Turks had brought with them was speedily exhausted; the insalubrity of the season, the want of a proper supply of provisions, and the imprudent use of unripe fruit, brought on an attack of fever, which cut off great numbers; and by the first week of August they were reduced to such straits that they were obliged to eat their horses. On the 8th the Turkish commander offered to enter into a capitulation to evacuate the Peninsula; but the proposal was rejected. In these critical circumstances no resource was left for him but to attempt to fight his way back to Thessaly. The Greeks, however, who had divined his purpose, and had stationed a strong body of

troops near the defile of Tretas, killed 2500 of his men, captured all his treasure and baggage, with a vast number of horses, mules, and camels. Many more of the Turks died at Corinth of fever, among whom was the commander, Pasha Dramali. A great number of the survivors were destroyed in an attempt to reach Patras by land; so that of the formidable army of 30,000 men who invaded Greece in June, only a small remnant was in existence at the end of August. Kourschid Pasha made three several attempts to force the passage of Thermopylæ, in order to bring them assistance, but without success, and he was finally compelled to fall back upon Larissa.

The Turkish fleet, under the new Capitan Pasha Kara Mahommed, made an attempt to capture the town of Missolonghi by means of gun-boats; but the attack failed. An expedition which Omar Brioni undertook by land was equally unsuccessful. The Capitan Pasha, after his failure at Missolonghi, endeavoured to throw some succours into Nauplia, but failed in the attempt; and after cruising a short time longer in the Archipelago, he returned to the north, and anchored in the road of Tenedos. While the Turkish fleet was lying here waiting further orders from the sultan, a small body of resolute Greek seamen, headed by a gallant youth named Carrares, the leader of the enterprise against the Turkish flag-ship at Scio, determined to renew the attempt which had been so signally successful on that occasion. Dressed in Turkish costume, with the Ottoman flag flying at the mast head, they boldly sailed two fire-ships into the midst of the enemy's fleet, and contrived, without being suspected or observed, to fasten, as before, one of their vessels to the flag-ship of the admiral, and the other to that of Capitan Bey. In the explosion which followed the latter was blown up with her whole crew, consisting of about 1500 men. But the admiral's ship was more fortunate on this occasion, for though it was set on fire, the crew succeeded in

extinguishing the flames. In the confusion and excitement which followed this disaster, two frigates cut their cables, ran ashore and were lost, and the rest of the fleet made all sail for the Dardanelles.

Towards the close of the year the Greeks at length succeeded in making themselves masters of the important town of Nauplia, which stands at the head of the Gulf of that name. The town, which occupies the summit of a flat-topped hill, is surrounded by Venetian fortifications, and is defended also by a battery, and by two forts. One of these, called Palamidi, standing on a rock, and flanked by powerful batteries, is considered one of the strongest places in Europe. On the night of the 12th of December, when the officers of the citadel were attending a

council of war held in the town, and the soldiers were off their guard, a select body of about a hundred men scaled the walls, and gained the ramparts before the sentinels were aware of their approach. They then opened the gate, and the rest of the army rushed in and put the garrison to the sword. As it was impossible for the Turks to hold the town after the citadel was taken, the Greek generals were willing to grant terms to the Turkish soldiers, in order to spare the town the horrors of an assault. But before these could be arranged the besiegers broke into the place and committed great outrages. About 900 soldiers, including the pasha, were made prisoners of war, and nearly 400 pieces of cannon, with large quantities of arms and ammunition, became the spoil of the captors.

CHAPTER XIV.

France after the Downfall of Napoleon—State of Parties—Ministry of Decazes—Reorganization of the Electoral Colleges—Murder of the Duke de Berri—Change of Government—Death of Napoleon at St. Helena—His Life and Character—Restrictions on the policy of the Ultra-royalists—Ministry of de Villèle—The Liberty of the Press—Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu—Insurrections at Saumur, Belfort, Toulon, and Nantes—Censorship of the Press—Menaces against Spain—Illumination and Riot at Lisbon—Austria and Russia withdraw their Embassies—Congress of the Allied Sovereigns at Verona—Disapproval of their proceedings by the British Representative and Government—Speech of Louis XVIII. against the Spanish Constitution—Insurrection throughout the Spanish Provinces—Revolt of the Guards at Madrid—Castel-follet sacked and burned by General Mina—Invasion of Spain by the French—Capture of Madrid—Appointment of a Regency by Duke d'Angoulême—Removal of the Spanish Government to Cadiz—Siege and capture of Cadiz by the French—Return of the French Army, and triumphal entry into Paris—Miserable condition of Spain—Political Trials in Naples, Sicily, Lombardy, and Modena—Pressure on Switzerland by the Holy Alliance.

WHILE Spain, Italy, and Greece were in a state of agitation, and were struggling for freedom and independence, events in France were steadily, though slowly, preparing the way for revolutions, much more important in themselves and momentous in their consequences than the changes which were taking place in the other countries of Europe. After the downfall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons by foreign bayonets to the throne of France, the ultra-royalists obtained a complete ascendancy in the government of the country. Ney and Labedoyere paid with their lives the penalty of having joined Napoleon in his efforts to regain the crown. The law of amnesty excluded the relatives of the emperor for ever from the kingdom, and made them incapable of enjoying civil rights or possessing property in France, and declared that such of the regicides as had voted for the *Acte additionnel*, passed on the 22nd of April, 1815, or had accepted office or employment under Bonaparte, were irreconcilable enemies of France and of legitimate government, and were in consequence excluded from the kingdom. It was noticed, as indicating the spirit now supreme in the Court and the Government, that at the marriage of the Duke de Berri, second son of the Count d'Artois, to the Princess Mary Caroline of Naples, not one single pardon was granted to the numerous body of political prisoners in the course of trial by the prévotal courts throughout the country. A royal ordonnance authorizing

the society 'des Prêtres des Missiens' gave deep offence to the French people, and was regarded as affording additional evidence of the character of the royal counsellors. An open contempt of impartial justice was exhibited by the military authorities and the government officials on the trials of Admiral Duran de Lincis, Generals Drouet, Cambronne, Lefebvre, and other adherents of the fallen emperor; their advocates were interrupted and insulted in the most scandalous manner, and the generals who escaped capital punishment were treated otherwise with great severity.

Louis XVIII. himself was generally believed to have been much annoyed by the conduct of the ultra-royalists, who pressed upon him the adoption of extreme measures in every department of the administration; and in his speech at the opening of the ordinary session of the Chambers in November, 1816, he said, 'Be attached to the charter. I will never permit any infraction of that fundamental law.' 'Count on my unalterable firmness in curbing the attempts of malevolence, and in repressing the efforts of a too ardent zeal'—words which were understood to convey a covert censure on the violent conduct of the majority of the deputies during the previous session, and to express the determination of the king not to be overborne by the fanatical ultra-royalists. The Duke of Richelieu, who was the head of the Government, endeavoured to play off the two extreme parties—the ultra-liberals and ultra-royalists—against each

other, and to employ each alternately, to check the violence of the other. The arbitrary laws against the liberty of the person and the press were mitigated, and a new law of election gave an increased share of influence to the middle and commercial classes. The army was reorganized, however, in a way which did not command public approval, and rendered it, as events showed, more an imperial than a royalist institution.

The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1816, ostensibly for the purpose of adhering to the provisions of the charter by reducing the deputies to the number which it had prescribed; but it was universally understood that the real motive was to obtain a body of representatives, whose opinions and feelings should be more in harmony with the great political interests which the events of the last thirty years had created in France. After the revision of the law of election in 1817, a fifth of the members were renewed, in accordance with the provisions of the charter, and the result was greatly to increase the numbers of the liberal party, and to diminish the strength of the ultra-royalists. During the course of this session the various parties into which the Chamber was divided became more distinctly apparent. There were the ultra-royalists of the right, the ministerialists of the centre, the *Doctrinaires*, or friends of constitutional liberty, who generally supported the Government, and the liberals of the Left, who almost always opposed the measures of the Ministry. The ministerialists were superior to the other parties, both in numbers and ability; and the evacuation of the French territory by the army of occupation, which took place at this time, added not a little to their popularity and influence. Their operations, however, were a good deal embarrassed by the differences of opinion which existed in the ranks of their supporters, and even among the members of the Government themselves. These differences were increased by the elections in 1818 for the renewal of another fifth of the

Chamber, which had the effect of still further weakening the Right and strengthening to the same extent the ranks of the Left. The Ministry became divided into two parties—one, headed by the Duke of Richelieu, the premier, who dreaded the increasing influence of the democratic party; the other, consisting of the Count Decazes, Baron Pasquier, and Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, cherished a sympathy with liberal principles and measures. A partial change in the Cabinet was in consequence expected; but the public were taken by surprise when it was announced on the 30th of December, 1818, that a new administration had been formed, of which General Dessoles was President of the Council, but the Count Decazes was the moving spirit. He was a personal favourite of Louis, and as minister of the interior was willing to carry out the views of the king, and was prepared to accept the support of the liberals, and not to reject that of the moderate royalists. As soon as he was installed in office, Decazes set himself to conciliate the liberal party, whose growing numbers and influence rendered their support peculiarly important. He resolved to modify the restrictions on the liberty of the press, and to introduce a law establishing ministerial responsibility. He also promised to bring forward a law on municipal liberties, the preparation of which was intrusted to M. Guizot, who had been appointed to a department in the Home Office. The patronage of the Government was now for the first time administered in favour of officials who belonged to the liberal party. The decrees against some of the surviving members of the National Convention were also modified, and Tallien and Cambacères were permitted to return to France.

The ultra-royalists were, of course, very indignant at the change of Ministry, and at the policy adopted by the new administration. They possessed a decided majority in the Chamber of Peers, which, indeed, since the expulsion of the Bonapartiste

members in 1815, had been almost wholly in their hands. A resolution was proposed in that Chamber, and carried by a large majority in spite of the opposition of ministers, in favour of a reorganization of the electoral colleges, on the ground that the evident tendency of the new system was to throw all political power in France into the hands of the revolutionary party. In the Chamber of Deputies, however, the folly of considering as too democratic a law which conferred the elective franchise only upon 100,000 persons out of 29,000,000 was pointed out, and the proposal was rejected by a majority of 150 to 90 votes. A proposal which had been adopted by the Lower House to change the beginning of the financial year from the 1st of January to the 1st of July was thrown out by the Peers by a majority of 93 to 54. These decided manifestations of hostility to the Government on the part of the Upper Chamber induced the king to give his consent to the creation of sixty new peers, among whom were included six of Bonaparte's marshals. This decisive measure gave the Ministry a majority in both Chambers, and enabled them to carry out the liberal policy which they had adopted. Almost all those who had supported Napoleon during the Hundred Days, now received permission to return to France; and among them the chief conspirator, Maret, Duke of Bassano, who had long acted as Bonaparte's secretary and minister. The promised modifications of the laws relating to the press were now brought forward and carried. The journals were freed from the censorship, and were no longer required to obtain a royal permission. The proprietors, however, were bound to give security to the amount of 10,000 francs. All offences connected with the press were to be tried by the courts of assize; in other words, by a jury instead of, as heretofore, by the tribunals of police.

In the autumn of 1819 the re-election of one-fifth of the members of the Chamber of Commerce took place. The royalists, much

to their discredit, recommended their supporters to return Jacobins rather than Ministerialists. The advice was so faithfully followed that, in the department of the Isère, they elected the Abbe Gregoire, formerly bishop of Blois, who had been a member of the National Convention, and voted for its most violent measures. Their object in choosing him as their candidate was to annoy the king, and to show the result of the existing law of elections. Their crooked and dishonourable policy produced the desired effect. On the news of the Abbe's return, the Count d'Artois solicited an interview with his brother, to whom he had not spoken for some time. 'Sire,' he said, 'behold whither they are leading you.' 'I see,' replied the king, 'and will provide against the danger.'

The results of the elections were indeed fitted to create uneasiness in the minds of the king and his ministers. No fewer than thirty-five extreme liberals were returned, among whom was General Foy, fifteen ministerialists, and only one royalist. These circumstances, and especially the election of the Abbe Gregoire, produced such an effect on the mind of the king, that he turned a favourable ear to the advice of his brother, that the electoral law should be altered. That very evening the Count Decazes was summoned to the royal closet, and directed to prepare a modification of the law of elections. Decazes at once expressed his willingness to obey the instructions of His Majesty; but five of his colleagues refused to concur in his views, and were in favour of maintaining the existing system, in order to secure the support of the liberal party. A change of ministry was the consequence of these dissensions in the cabinet. Decazes was made President of the Council, as well as Minister of the Interior. Baron Pasquier was appointed Minister of Foreign affairs, the Marquis of Latour Maubourg, of War, and General Foy, Minister of Finance. The new ministry, and especially the premier, were violently assailed

by the press; but they were cordially supported by the *Doctrinaires*, two of whom were rewarded with office, as well as by the king. At the opening of the Chamber on the 29th of November His Majesty said, 'The moment is come when it is necessary to fortify the Chamber of Deputies, and to withdraw it from the annual action of party by securing it a longer continuance. To the devotion and energy of the two chambers I look for the means of saving the public liberties from licence, confirming the monarchy, and giving to all the interests guaranteed by the charter the entire security which we owe it.'

The new electoral law proposed by the Government was to the effect, that the Chamber should be re-elected every five or seven years, instead of a fifth every year; that the number of members should be increased from 260 to 430; that the electoral colleges should be formed into smaller divisions; and the right to vote should be restricted to persons paying direct taxes to the amount of 1000 francs annually, instead of 300. These changes, as might have been foreseen, excited great dissatisfaction among the mass of the people. A vague uneasiness took possession of the public mind, secret societies abounded, and associations were openly formed to defend liberty of opinion, which was believed to be in danger.

At this moment, when the people were in a state of uneasiness and anxiety, Paris was startled by the announcement that the Duke de Berri had been murdered by a journeyman saddler of the name of Louvel. On the 13th of February the duke and duchess were at the opera, and about eleven o'clock the duke conducted the duchess to her carriage, and was standing beside it when Louvel, pushing aside the aide-de-camp who was in attendance, stabbed the duke to the heart with a dagger and instantly fled, leaving the weapon in the wound. The duke was carried bleeding to the little room behind the box, where he expired in the course of a few minutes. Before he

breathed his last the king arrived. 'My uncle,' said the dying man, 'give me your hand that I may kiss it for the last time.' He then earnestly added, 'I entreat the life of that man. I beseech that I may die in peace, and that my dying moments may be softened.'

The death of the prince excited extreme regret among all parties. The ultra-royalists, who expected that he would carry out the policy of his father, were thrown into great consternation, and in their unreasoning excitement they endeavoured to fix the infamy of the crime on the prime minister, Decazes. The king seems to have anticipated this discreditable movement, and said to his favourite minister, 'Party will seek to turn this event to its purposes. The ultras, who hate me as much as you, will accuse me of blindness and indifference if I support you; but I will resist, and you shall not quit office. I insist, my child, upon your remaining; they shall not separate you from me.' Addresses of condolence to the king were voted by both Houses, and the Chamber of Peers was by royal ordinance appointed a supreme court to try the assassin. The trial was delayed for a considerable time in the hope of discovering Louvel's accomplices, but no trace could be found of his having taken any one into his confidence. Louvel himself continued solemnly to deny that he had ever communicated his intention to any human being. The deed, he said, had been in contemplation for four years; he had no personal quarrel with the Duke de Berri, or any special dislike to him; but he had selected him from the rest of the royal family, only because he alone seemed destined to continue it. He was, of course, found guilty, and was executed on the 7th of June.

The debate which took place in the Chamber of Deputies on the address of condolence to the king showed at once the feeling of the ultra-royalists regarding the murder of the heir to the throne, and the purposes to which they were deter-

ruined to turn this lamentable event. One of them accused M. Decazes as an accomplice of the assassin, and insisted that he should be impeached. Another proposed an address to the king, praying His Majesty to put down revolutionary doctrines. It was justly remarked by General Foy in the course of the discussion, 'that to no party can this event be so deplorable as to the friends of freedom; for the antagonists of freedom will turn this conjuncture to their advantage in seeking to deprive the country, of those liberties which the king had granted. The truth of this statement was very soon made manifest. The king, under the influence of the alarm caused by the assassination of his nephew, gave his consent to the introduction of stringent laws against the liberty of the press, and to the modifying the electoral law. It was also proposed that the ministers should be intrusted with extraordinary powers to suppress disturbances, and punish conspiracies against the sovereign and the government.

The fact that M. Decazes had given his assent to these proposals did not in the least abate the strong dislike cherished towards him by the ultra-royalists. He was fiercely attacked by Châteaubriand, who said his feet slipped in blood. The Count d'Artois and the Duchess d'Angoulême united in demanding his dismissal. While attacked thus fiercely by the royalist faction, he had entirely forfeited the support of the liberal party by his approval of the proposed restrictions on the liberty of the press, and the modification of the electoral law. He saw that in these circumstances there was no alternative but to tender his resignation, which the king felt constrained to accept. 'It is not against you,' he said, 'but against me that the stroke is directed. The Pavilion Marsan are trying to overturn me. I will not have M. de Talleyrand, the Duke de Richelieu shall replace you. I will show the world that you have not lost my confidence.' Louis certainly kept his word in showing favour to the fallen minister. He was created a duke, made minister of state

and member of the privy council, was loaded with presents by the monarch, and was shortly after appointed ambassador to London, with a salary of 12,000 francs a year.

The Duke de Richelieu was exceedingly unwilling to resume his former place at the head of the Government, and refused to do so unless the Count d'Artois should promise him his support, which that prince was quite ready to do, as he confidently expected to obtain through the influence of the duke the repeal of the electoral law. In return for the support of the ultra-royalists, Richelieu had to confer the under secretaryships of the home ministry, and of the ministry of justice on two members of that party, one of whom had been the adviser and private secretary of the Count d'Artois, thus virtually making over the patronage of the department and the management of the elections to that prince.

No sooner was the new premier installed in office than he proceeded to carry out the schemes for the sake of which he had been placed in power. It was proposed that every person charged with a political offence might be arrested on an order signed by three ministers, without being brought before any tribunal. The project was keenly opposed by the liberals, who, however, failed to carry any of their proposed amendments except one, prohibiting nocturnal arrests. The law respecting the liberty of the press was the occasion of debates equally protracted and animated, but with the same result. It had no sooner passed than a commission of censorship was appointed, consisting of twelve members, who were intrusted with the most ample powers to exercise a rigid supervision over all journals and other periodical publications, and provisionally to suspend any journal with the approbation of the minister of justice. Equally unpopular was the new law for the reorganization of the electoral colleges. The original proposal of M. Decazes did not give satisfaction to either party. The liberals of the Left resisted it because they were opposed to all innovations on the existing

law, while the Right objected to the measure because it still left what they regarded as too large an admixture of the democratic element in the constitution of the electoral body. The proposal was in consequence withdrawn, and a new project was submitted on the 17th of April, leaving unaltered the number of members and the periodical renewal of the Chamber, but creating two kinds of electoral colleges in each department—the one to select the candidates, the other to choose out of them the deputies who were to be sent to the Chamber. The project met with the strongest opposition, chiefly on the ground that it would throw the entire representation into the hands of an aristocratical oligarchy, composed almost wholly of the old nobility, to the exclusion of the commercial and industrious classes of the community. An amendment was proposed, which was carried against the Government by a majority of one. A second amendment was then brought forward and supported by the *Doctrinaires* as well as by ministerialists and the royalists, to the effect that the system of direct representation should be maintained both in the upper and lower colleges; that the Chamber should consist of 258 members chosen by the arrondissement, in which every person paying 300 francs of direct taxation should have a right to vote, and 172 elected by the departments—the latter being chosen not by the whole electors, but by a fourth of their number composed of those who paid 1000 francs, and upwards, of taxes; who, however, had also a right to vote in the arrondissements. This amendment was carried by a majority of five, and the bill thus altered became law.

During these discussions on the new electoral law there was great excitement among the public, especially in Paris. Crowds collected in the streets; seditious cries were heard; and the law and medical students of the university accompanied the liberal deputies to their homes amidst loud shouts of 'Long live the Chamber!' The Government irritated at these manifestations

of public feeling called out the military to disperse the mob, and in the tumult a law student of the name of Lallemand unfortunately lost his life.

A much more serious affair was the conspiracies which now arose against the Ministry and the Court, with the view of seducing the soldiers from their allegiance, seizing the fortress of Vincennes, exciting the students of law and medicine to avenge the death of Lallemand, and rousing the faubourgs to insurrection. A considerable number of the old Napoleonist officers were mixed up with these plots, which were fortunately discovered before they could be carried into effect. But as not a few of the most influential liberals—among others, Lafayette and Manuel—were cognizant of these proceedings, if not directly implicated in them, the ministers were afraid to call the leaders to account, and contented themselves with taking action against the subordinate agents.

The birth of a posthumous son of the Duke de Berri contributed not a little to strengthen the Government and to encourage the royalists. The elections, too, which now took place ran decidedly in their favour, and for the first time since the Restoration they obtained a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. They lost no time in turning their predominance in the legislature to account. M. de Villèle was admitted into the Cabinet without office. De Corbière, another of their most strenuous partisans, was appointed Minister of Public Instruction, and M. de Chateaubriand was nominated ambassador to Berlin. They even ventured to introduce a law for additional ecclesiastical endowments, and proposed to establish twelve new bishoprics and to increase the salaries of the clergy. In spite of the violent opposition of the liberal party, the scheme was carried by a majority of more than two to one, with a considerable increase in the number of Sees to be created by the Government. Though success had thus far crowned their efforts, the ultra-royalists felt that their ascendancy

was not secure so long as M. Decazes enjoyed the confidence of the king. This distinguished statesman was the son of a notary at Libourne, in the south of France. He studied for the law, and rose steadily in that profession until in 1810, when he was only thirty years of age, he was appointed puisne judge in the Court of Appeal. At the return of Napoleon from Elba, he remained faithful to the king, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, and during the Hundred Days lived in privacy at Libourne. When the Bourbon dynasty was restored, the loyalty of Decazes met with its reward. He was made prefect of police under Fouché, and member of the Council of State. On the removal of Fouché he succeeded to the ministry of the police; and having daily access to the king, he became a great favourite of Louis, who raised him to the peerage, and on his marriage made him a present of diamonds valued at 200,000 francs. He was possessed of great tact and suavity of manner, and obtained a complete ascendancy over the king, partly by adroitly studying his disposition and designs, and making himself the exponent and executor of the royal wishes and plans. Louis placed unbounded confidence in him; and even after his dismissal from office and mission to London, he corresponded with him almost daily.

It was by no means easy to weaken the influence of Decazes over the king, but the royalists concerted a dexterous plot for that purpose, which proved completely successful. Louis, though advanced in life, and especially addicted to the pleasures of the table, was not insensible to female beauty, and was very fond of the society of refined and clever young women. The royalists, who were well aware of His Majesty's inclinations, sought out a lady who would consent to be their instrument in gaining him over to their views and designs, and found one in a certain Madame du Cayla, a person exactly suited to their purpose. She was young and beautiful,

and possessed a winning address, great powers of conversation, and remarkable tact. The Jesuits persuaded her that she would render an important service to religion, to the royal family, and to the country if she would induce the sovereign to renounce all his liberal ideas and adopt the sentiments and policy of his brother. By means of the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, the lady was introduced to the king, under the pretext of soliciting his protection to her family affairs. The scheme was entirely successful. Louis was captivated by the charms of Madame du Cayla at the first interview, and invited her to return. She speedily obtained a complete ascendancy over him, and induced him to support whatever measures her patrons and spiritual advisers thought proper to suggest.

Although the ultra-royalists, with the Count d'Artois at their head, succeeded in compelling the ministers to carry their measures for restricting the liberty of the press and the electoral vote, they were by no means satisfied with their position. They wished to obtain a majority in the Cabinet as well as in the Chambers, and complained that Polignac, the favourite of the Count d'Artois, and Peyronnet, the spokesman of their party, had not received portfolios as ministers. Their dissatisfaction took a practical form in the resignation of Villèle and Corbière, and in the retirement of Châteaubriand from the embassy at Berlin.

The Ministry were willing to make some concessions to modify the opposition of the royalists, and to admit some of the leaders of the party into the Cabinet; but they refused to yield to demands which they regarded as exorbitant. Negotiations were in consequence broken off, and when the Chambers met again on the 5th of November, the ministers were defeated upon the address in answer to the king's speech, and were obliged to resign. They had endeavoured to steer a middle course between the royalists and the liberals, and had in consequence offended and lost the support

of both parties. The immediate cause of their overthrow was undoubtedly the change introduced into the electoral law, which had placed the election of a large number of the deputies entirely in the hands of the seigneurs, the landed proprietors, and the priests and Jesuits. A new Ministry was formed, taken entirely from the extreme right of the Chamber. M. de Villèle was appointed President of the Council and Minister of Finance, and the other members of the Cabinet were M. de Peyronnet, M. de Montmorency, M. de Corbière, Marshal Victor, and M. Clermont Tonnere. Châteaubriand was nominated ambassador at the British Court. There is every reason to believe that the king would not have permitted such a ministry to be forced upon him if he had been in possession of his ordinary health and strength; but the feebleness of his body had somewhat affected his mental vigour and resolution. He seems indeed to have considered his reign as virtually at an end. 'Now that M. Villèle triumphs,' he exclaimed, 'I regard myself as annihilated. Hitherto I have preserved the Crown and defended the Chamber; if my brother imperils both, it is his affair.'

The royalists lost no time in securing the fruits of their victory. They obtained the chief offices in every department of the state. Embassies, prefectures, places in the council of state and in the ministry of public instruction, all fell to the lot of the triumphant party who exerted all their influence without scruple or restraint to crush the liberals and *doctrinaires*, and to restrict the liberties of the people.

At this juncture tidings were received of the death of the deposed Emperor of the French, in the fifty-third year of his age, which took place at St. Helena, on the evening of the 5th of May, 1821. Four years before his death he had complained of pain in the region of the stomach; but his physicians seem to have completely misunderstood the nature of

his ailment, and fancied that his liver was disordered. At the beginning of 1821 the symptoms of his illness became alarming, and he could scarcely retain food of any kind. Early in April, he found that his end was approaching, and became aware that he was labouring under cancer of the stomach, the disease of which his father died. It would appear, therefore, that Napoleon had a hereditary and constitutional liability to this disease; but there can be no doubt that, though it was incurable, its progress was accelerated by the circumstances in which he was placed during the last six years of his life, chained to his island prison, fretting over his downfall, and worrying himself with petty squabbles with his jailer. As his end approached, he professed himself a Christian, and on the 3rd of May confessed, and received the viaticum for the second time. On the following day he bade farewell to the generals who attended him in his captivity, and exclaimed, 'I am at peace with mankind.' His last words, during the wandering of his mind preceding dissolution, were '*Tête d'armée*,' as if he fancied himself on a field of battle. He passed away in the midst of a violent hurricane, which swept over the island, shaking many of its houses to their foundations, and tearing up some of its largest trees by the roots. On the 9th of May, Napoleon was buried in a spot which he had himself selected—a small garden in the middle of a deep ravine, where he frequently walked under the shade of two willow trees, near a fountain, from which water had been daily brought for his special use. This, however, was not to be the last resting-place of the man who 'left a name at which the world grew pale.' In 1840, when Thiers was prime minister of France, the remains of Napoleon were exhumed and transported to Paris; and on the 15th of December of that year were deposited in a chapel of the Invalides. Finally, in April, 1861, when his nephew, Napoleon III., occupied the imperial throne, they

were transferred with great pomp and ceremony to a magnificent tomb in the church of the Invalides.

It is a striking and significant fact that the tidings of Napoleon's decease produced less sensation in France than in England, and that an event which, if it had occurred ten years before, would have deeply affected all Europe, and might have changed the history of the world, was regarded almost with indifference, and appeared to be forgotten in a week. It is a curious coincidence, that one day, when at the zenith of his power, he asked those about him what would be said about him after his death. They all hastened to answer him in phrases of compliment or of flattery. But he interrupted them by exclaiming, 'What! You are at a loss to know what the people will say? *They will say, OUF!*'

The publication of the 'Correspondence de Napoleon I.' at the expense and under the superintendence of a commission nominated by Napoleon III., the 'Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte with his brother Joseph,' the 'History of Napoleon,' by Lanfrey, and especially the 'Memoirs of Madame de Remusat,' have cast a flood of light on the character of Napoleon, and have completely dispelled the halo which his marvellous achievements in war had cast around it. His own letters are sufficient of themselves to exhibit in unmistakable characters the strange blending in his nature of gigantic abilities and meanness, of stupendous power and heartless selfishness. Success was his ruling motive, and to that everything had to yield. He was ready to sacrifice everything, no matter how precious, whether truth, honour, or human life, whenever it stood in his way. 'I thrust aside whatever pains me,' was the remark he made to his court respecting the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. He caused his prisoners to be massacred by thousands at Jaffa when they proved an incumbrance, and ordered his own soldiers to be poisoned when they were smitten by the plague. Scruples of con-

science, sentiment, and affection were unknown to him. He justified his foulest deeds by saying, 'They charge me with the commission of great crimes; men of my stamp do not commit crimes.' '*I am not a man like any other, and the laws of morality or decorum could not have been made for me,*' was the brutal boast with which he silenced his wife's feeble remonstrances at his conjugal infidelities. 'It is your place,' he added, 'to submit to all my fancies, and you ought to think it quite natural that I should allow myself such "distractions." I have a right to answer all your complaints by an ETERNAL I. *I am apart from all the world. I accept conditions from no one.*' 'Understand,' he said to Talleyrand, 'that I should not fail to commit an act of cowardice if it were useful to me. In reality, there is nothing really noble or base in the world; I have in my character all that can contribute to secure my power, and to deceive those who think they know me. Frankly, I am base, essentially base. I give you my word, that I should feel no repugnance to commit what would be called by the world a dishonourable action.' This frank confession, which was dictated by his contempt for mankind, was no empty boast, but the expression of his own sincere conviction, and was true to the letter. From his earliest years he had a habitual disregard of truth. It was prophesied by one of his uncles that the little Napoleon would govern the world because he always lied. He despised and distrusted all sincerity in others, and scrupled not to say that he recognized a man's superiority by the greater or lesser skill shown in his manner of lying. 'M. de Metternich,' he said, 'is almost a statesman; he lies very well.'

His deliberate mode of treating his servants was to make them wholly his own by compromising and degrading them, and to keep them in constant uneasiness, that they might never feel for a moment out of his power. The horror of the great crime of his life (the murder of the Duc d'Enghien) is mingled with disgust, at the unspeakable

meanness with which he used Caulaincourt as the blind instrument of entrapping the poor young duke; and when he learned how this vicarious treachery was aggravated by the fact, that Caulaincourt had been in the household of Condé, the duke's father, he only said, 'I didn't know that; and besides, What does it matter? If Caulaincourt is compromised there is no great harm; *he will serve me the better.*' His own definition of what he called devotedness, was 'an entire surrender of one's being, of all one's sentiments, and of all one's opinions, in order to have only one thought, that of his interest and will.'

'No man, it must be allowed,' says Madame Rémusat, 'was ever less lofty of soul. There was no generosity, no true greatness in him. I never knew him admire, I never saw him understand, a noble deed. He always distrusted appearances of good feeling. . . . Bonaparte's methods of government were all selected from among those which have a tendency to debase men. He dreaded the ties of affection; he endeavoured to isolate every one; he never sold a favour without awakening a sense of uneasiness, for he held that the truest way to attach the recipient to himself was by compromising him, and often even blasting him in public opinion. He could not pardon virtue until he had succeeded in weakening its effect by ridicule.'

Even the passion for '*glory*,' which is the most commonplace association with Napoleon's name, appears now stripped of all magnanimity. His ambition for unsubstantial *glory* yielded to his appetite for its solid counterpart, *success*. 'He cannot be said to have truly loved glory, for he never hesitated to prefer success; thus although he was audacious in good fortune, and pushed it to its utmost limits, he was timid and troubled when threatened with reverses. . . . "I shall succeed," was the basis of all his calculations, and his obstinate repetition of the phrase helped him to realize the prediction. At length his own good fortune grew into a superstition with him, and his wor-

ship of it made any sacrifice which was to be imposed upon his servants fair and lawful in his eyes.'

With regard to Napoleon's utter want of heart, Madame de Rémusat says, 'If it were possible to believe that a being in every other way similar to ourselves could exist without that portion of an organization which makes us desire to love and to be loved, I should say that in Bonaparte's case the heart was left out. Perhaps, however, the truth was that he succeeded in suppressing it completely. He was always too much engrossed by himself to be influenced by any sentiment of affection, no matter of what kind. He almost ignored the ties of blood and the rights of nature.'

It is believed by those who knew him intimately, that Bonaparte really had some affection for his first wife, and that if he was ever stirred by any emotion it was by her and for her. For the rest he 'was never awakened to love except by vanity.' 'Love is not made for me,' he once said to Madame de Rémusat, and this remark, as well as his own description of his feelings, shows how correctly this sharp-sighted lady had divined his real character. 'There are two levers for moving men,' he said, 'interest and fear. Love is a silly infatuation, depend upon it. Friendship is but a name. I love nobody. I do not love even my brothers; perhaps Joseph a little from habit, and because he is my elder; and Duroc I love him too; but why? because his character pleases me; he is stern and resolute, and I believe the fellow never shed a tear. For my part, I know very well that I have no true friends. As long as I contrive to be what I am, I may have as many pretended friends as I please. Leave sensibility to women; but men should be firm in heart and in purpose, or they should have nothing to do with war and government.'

Napoleon was undoubtedly possessed of intellectual powers and resources almost superhuman, but his character, as portrayed by his own pen, shows him to have been

remorseless and pitiless, selfish to an extent almost incredible, and utterly destitute both of heart and conscience. The terrible retribution which ultimately overtook this modern Attila—this scourge of the human race—will stand to the latest generation as a memorial of the righteous judgment of God.

The new French ministry had a difficult task to encounter in their efforts to satisfy the demands of the party that had raised them to power. They were called on at once to take steps to check what the royalists termed 'the licentiousness of the press,' although M. de Châteaubriand had himself been a writer in the press, and his colleagues had opposed the system of censorship adopted by the late Cabinet. Notwithstanding, they felt themselves compelled to deal with the question, and they began by withdrawing the bill of their predecessors for prolonging the censorship, and proposed instead what was termed 'a law on the police of journals.' It was brought in on the 2nd of January by M. Peyronnet, the Minister of Justice, and enacted, that no journal, established after the 1st of January, 1822, should be allowed to be published without the authority of the king; that offences of the press should be tried by the royal courts, which decided without a jury; that the authorities should have power to suspend or even to suppress journals which published a series of articles against religion and the monarchy; that in cases in which the authorities were of opinion that publicity would be dangerous to morality or to order, the proceedings were to be conducted with closed doors; and that, when the Chamber was not sitting, the king should be empowered by an ordonnance, countersigned by the ministers, to re-establish the censorship of the press. These proposals excited a storm of indignation among the deputies of the Left. As each article was read the minister was interrupted with loud exclamations, 'Send your law to Constantinople;' 'You wish to make us regret the loss of

the censorship;' 'In mercy leave us the censors.' The bill was discussed article by article, and every resource of argument and eloquence was exhausted in resisting its adoption. But after debates which were protracted till the 6th of February, the law was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies with little alteration. When the final vote was about to be taken fifty of the liberal members declared that, seeing the uselessness of further opposition to the measure, they would decline to vote upon the question at all. 'We will not,' said M. Keratry, 'be accomplices in the destruction of our liberties.' 'We protest,' said Lafayette, 'and we appeal from this proceeding to the energy of the French people.' They accordingly left the Chamber in a body.

The French people, and especially the citizens of Paris, were violently agitated by the proposals to destroy the liberty of the press and the liberty of the subject, and especially by the repeal of the election law of 1817. Meetings to protest against these proceedings were held in different parts of Paris, which gradually increased in numbers as the debates in the Chambers became more animated, till at last they were attended by 25,000 or 30,000, consisting almost exclusively of persons belonging to the upper and middle classes of society. They embraced, in fact, nearly the whole of the intelligent and independent inhabitants of the capital. Indeed, the only supporters of the ministerial policy were to be found within the walls of the Chambers. The meetings which were held to protest against it were not dispersed by the National Guard, whose attachment to popular principles showed that they could not be relied on for such a purpose, but by the gendarmes and the dragoons. Artillery was stationed on the principal squares of Paris. The deputies who opposed the alteration of the electoral system were publicly insulted by the royal guards; some were even threatened with assassination, and by the employment of mingled threats and

extensive bribery, the elective laws were at length overturned by a majority of five votes.

Unexpectedly, the measure met with a more formidable opposition in the Chamber of Peers than in the Lower House; but with the exception of one amendment of some importance the bill, as it was sent up to them, became law. The act for regulating the police of the periodical press was strongly opposed in both chambers, and in the House of Peers it was denounced in indignant terms by the Baron Pasquier and the Count Simeon, both members of the late Cabinet, who contended that the censorship was every way preferable to the system proposed by the Ministry. Even the Duke de Richelieu objected to the clause which gave the Crown the power of provisionally re-establishing the censorship; but the Ministry carried the measure as it stood, by a majority of 124 votes to 83.

It speedily became apparent that these stringent and arbitrary measures had no effect in promoting the peace of the country, and the security of the throne and the government, but rather tended to give rise to conspiracies for the overthrow, not only of the Ministry, but also of the dynasty. Risings took place in several parts of the country in support of the claims of Napoleon II., and were not suppressed without bloodshed. The most dangerous of these insurrections took place at Saumur, which was headed by a General Berton, who raised the tricolored flag, and issued a proclamation addressed to the French army, announcing that all France had risen to resume her independence, and calling upon the soldiery once more to range themselves under her banners. Berton, however, was quite incompetent to carry out such an enterprise. The insurrection suddenly collapsed. Some of the leaders were tried and condemned to death, one committed suicide, one had his sentence commuted to five years' imprisonment, and five of them were executed. Twenty-five of their associates were condemned to different degrees of imprisonment, and two were acquitted.

Similar outbreaks took place at Belfort, Toulon, and Nantes, and were suppressed without difficulty. A plot which was discovered at Rochelle was regarded with much more apprehension, in consequence of its supposed connection with a general scheme of secret and affiliated associations, extending over the whole kingdom, and having for their object the overthrow of the government. The conspiracy was revealed to the authorities by one of the accomplices, and four of the ringleaders were punished with death, and fourteen with imprisonment and fine. These occurrences plainly indicated the unsettled state of feeling which pervaded the country, and the insecurity of the throne and the government.

The French prime minister was a man of good sense and prudence, and was by no means inclined to govern the country with a high hand. But his plans were overruled and his prudent policy frustrated by the ultra-royalist party and the Count de Artois, who, not satisfied with the supremacy which they obtained in their own country, showed their hostility to the liberals and their measures all over Europe, and were determined to put down the Spanish revolution by force. In the autumn of 1821 a terrible fever broke out in eastern Spain, and the Duke de Richelieu, who was then President of the Council, acting under the advice of the physicians, stationed a body of troops, called a *cordon sanitaire*, on the French side of the Pyrenees, to prevent the fever from penetrating into France. As the winter approached the plague gradually died away; but the French troops, instead of being withdrawn, were increased month after month, until they developed into an 'army of observation,' consisting of 100,000 men. Marshal Victor, the Duke de Belluno, earnestly recommended that it should not be allowed to remain inactive. 'Nothing,' he said, 'is so dangerous as a body of troops in a state of inaction,' and the Ministry made it evident that they were fully resolved to follow his advice.

In Spain and Portugal, though the revolution had been carried out, and constitutional government established, tranquillity and order were unhappily not maintained. In Portugal the new constitution, which had been adopted almost unanimously, guaranteed freedom of person and property, the liberty of the press, legal equality, the abolition of special privileges, and the admission of all citizens to public offices. Still the country was in an unsettled state. The king, John VI., had quitted Brazil and returned to Lisbon, in order, as he announced, the better to show his approbation of the new constitution. But the Cortes distrusted some of the persons by whom His Majesty was attended, and had doubts even as to the sincerity of his own professions; and they obliged him to accede to some restrictions on his power before he was permitted to disembark. On landing, he solemnly swore to observe the new constitution, declaring that he did so with his whole heart.

At the end of March, 1821, a general illumination took place at Lisbon in celebration of the oath to the basis of the new constitution. Some of the foreign ministers declined to illuminate their houses, on the plea that the celebration was no affair of theirs, and the windows of the delegate of the court of Rome were in consequence broken by the populace. The Regency expressed their regret at 'an event so disagreeable,' and undertook to prevent a repetition of the outrage. On the 28th of April, however, another illumination took place, and patrols were placed in front of all the foreign embassies to prevent their being assailed by the mob. Through some mistake, however, the patrol in front of the house occupied by the Chevalier de Bertis, Charge d'Affaires of Austria, was withdrawn, and 'the passing populace, irritated at seeing the house without lights, broke the windows.' The Chevalier, 'to avoid more serious insults,' allowed the embassy to be illuminated. He believed the affront to have been premeditated, and sent a

special courier to his court with an account of the affair. Metternich instructed him to demand immediate and ample satisfaction. The Regency replied, 'that the only satisfaction they could give was to punish the officer commanding the patrol.' At this stage Baron Sturmer, the Austrian envoy, arrived with the king from Rio de Janeiro. He immediately took up the matter, and was supported by the Baron de Thuyll, the Russian minister. But the Ministry declared that they were unable to offer more reparation for the past, or greater security for the future, than they had already given. On this the envoy, in obedience to the orders of the Austrian chancellor, demanded his passports and left Lisbon, taking with him the whole of the diplomatic suite. The Russian ambassador also suspended his functions, and withdrew from the court. 'The Portuguese government,' it was remarked, 'did not seem to take the affair very much to heart.' They were well aware that though the allied monarchs had suspended diplomatic relations with Portugal, on the pretence that the 'inviolability' of the Austrian embassy was not respected, the real ground of their alienation was their dislike to the liberal constitution which the Portuguese had adopted. But they had no apprehension that the Continental despots would venture to interfere with their affairs. Portugal was secure from any attack by land, and its alliance with Great Britain made the country safe from any attack by sea. The British nation would not have allowed any foreign army to land on the shores of Portugal, or any foreign despot to interfere with the action of its government or its people.

The case was different with Spain. It was both difficult and dangerous to intermeddle with the affairs of that unhappy country, even for the purpose of protecting it from an enemy. The intervention of Great Britain against the invasion of Napoleon, and the great sacrifices it had made to deliver Spain from his tyranny, had been

repaid with base ingratitude; and since the downfall of the French emperor there was no valid reason, connected with the peace and safety of the other European states, why any other government should interfere in the civil quarrels and contests of the Spanish people. The allied sovereigns, however, were of a different opinion. They were apprehensive that the example of Spain in the restoration of a liberal constitution would be followed by France and Germany, and they resolved to take immediate measures to quench the revolutionary flame before the conflagration extended to the other countries of Europe. The allied monarchs had arranged to re-assemble in Congress in the summer of 1822, for the purpose of deciding at what time the Austrian forces should be withdrawn from Naples and Piedmont, and to determine what steps should be taken with regard to the Greek revolution. The British Government had no intimation that any other topic would be discussed at the Congress, and were not made aware until a later period that the condition of Spain was also to be taken into consideration. Lord Castlereagh, who had recently, by the death of his father, become Marquis of Londonderry, was appointed as its representative. He was preparing to set out for Vienna, where the Congress was to meet, when he died by his own hand. The Duke of Wellington was at once selected to fill the place of the deceased statesman. A severe attack of illness delayed his departure from England, and meanwhile the Congress had practically decided the Greco-Turkish question, and had adjourned to Verona.

In passing through Paris on his way to Italy, the duke learned with great surprise that the French Cabinet were contemplating an armed intervention in the affairs of Spain, and that they were anxious to obtain the approbation and support of the other allied powers in taking this step. Wellington lost no time in communicating this information to Mr. Canning, who had

succeeded Lord Londonderry as Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had been previously unaware that the Spanish question was to be considered by the Congress. At this stage the British Government received a remonstrance from the four great continental powers, regarding what they termed 'the precipitate departure of Sir William A'Court, the British minister at Naples, who had been appointed to that office at the Court of Madrid, and had departed at once for his post.' His arrival there, it was alleged, would encourage the revolutionary party, and give colour to the prevalent reports that the British Government disapproved of the action of the continental powers. Canning at once saw, 'from the combined movement on the part of the four missions, that some joint public declaration on the affairs of Spain was in the contemplation of the allied sovereigns, and he immediately wrote the Duke of Wellington, 'If the allies entertained a determined project of interference by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are His Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, and so utterly impracticable in execution—that if the necessity should arise, or (I would rather say) if the opportunity should offer, I am to instruct your grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, His Majesty will not be a party.'

It has been confidently asserted that 'the foreign policy of the British Cabinet under Mr. Canning differed from what it had been under the direction of Lord Castlereagh, rather in the energy with which it was carried out, than in the principles by which it was regulated.' It is quite true that Great Britain was never a member of the Holy Alliance, and had made common cause with absolutism nowhere throughout the world. But it is not correct to affirm that 'her policy inaugurated by Lord Castlereagh had been one of honourable adherence

to treaties, with a fixed determination not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and an anxious desire to dissuade her allies from acting on an opposite principle.' Lord Castlereagh did, indeed, in his public despatches, profess to act upon the principle of non-intervention, and to disapprove of the conduct of the allied sovereigns in interfering with the proceedings of the liberal party in Naples and Piedmont; but these declarations were merely intended, as he admitted, 'to throw dust in the eyes of Parliament,' and were counteracted by his private communications to the Austrian chancellor. The instructions to the Duke of Wellington, who was appointed the representative of the British Government at the Congress of Verona, had been drawn up before Canning's acceptance of the office of Foreign Secretary; but they were supported in a very different spirit from that of his predecessor in the Ministry, though some time elapsed before the continental sovereigns and their advisers could be brought to believe that a great change had taken place in the feelings of the British Cabinet in regard to their policy.

It had been arranged that the Congress was to commence proceedings at Verona about the middle of October. That old Roman town, usually so dull and quiet, became for some weeks a scene of great activity and splendour. The Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the Kings of Prussia and Sardinia, were the royal visitors, accompanied by their chief ministers, Prince Metternich, Count Nesselrode, Prince Hardenberg, and various subordinate members of their respective governments. The King of France was absent in consequence of infirm health; but his Cabinet was represented by Montmorency, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Châteaubriand, the ambassador at the British court. There were also present a brilliant assemblage of ladies of royal or high rank—the Empress of Austria, the ex-Empress of the French, Maria Louisa

(now Archduchess of Parma), the Queen of Sardinia, with her daughters, the Grand-duchess of Tuscany, the Duchesses of Modena, Lucca, and Florida, the Archduchess—the vice-queen of Lombardy, and other high-born dames, with an immense multitude of persons of all ranks who flocked to Verona to witness this splendid scene.

The Duke of Wellington had learned at Vienna on his way to Verona that the allied powers were by no means at one in their views on the Spanish question. Metternich was anxious to see the new constitution overthrown, and Ferdinand re-established in possession of absolute authority; but he clearly perceived that the attempt would be attended with great danger to the interests of Austria, and was therefore inclined to leave the Spaniards to themselves. The Russian Czar, on the other hand, regarded Spain 'as the headquarters of revolution and Jacobinism,' and was of opinion that 'so long as the revolution in that country should be allowed to continue, every country in Europe, and France in particular, was unsafe.' But on reaching Verona, and discussing among themselves the course that should be adopted, the allied sovereigns found it necessary to discard 'all notion of what is called an European army, or any offensive operation against Spain' in their united capacity. There still remained to be considered, however, the proposal for intervention on the part of France. A confidential meeting of the representatives of Austria, Russia, Prussia, France, and Great Britain, was held on the 20th of October, at which the French plenipotentiaries submitted the following questions to the representatives of the other powers:—

1. 'In case France should find herself compelled to recall her minister from Madrid, and to interrupt all diplomatic relations with Spain, will the high powers be disposed to take the same measures and to recall their respective legations?

2. 'If war should break out between France and Spain, under what form and by what act will the high powers lend to France a moral support which might give to her measures the weight and

authority of the alliance, and inspire a salutary terror into the revolutionists of all countries?

3. 'What are the intentions of the high powers with respect to the extent and mode of material succour which they will be disposed to give to France, upon her demand, in case an active intervention should become necessary?'

The ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, stated in reply to these inquiries, that, with respect to their diplomatic relations with Spain, they should follow the example of France, and would give to the French Government a moral support, and even the succours they might require; but reserving to be arranged by treaty the specification of the time and manner of giving this assistance.

The Czar declared his own readiness not only to 'consent to all the demands of the French ministers,' but to march an army of 150,000 men through Germany into Piedmont 'to fall upon France—if the Jacobin party in France should take advantage of the absence of the army, or its possible disaster in Spain, to make any attempt upon the Government—or upon Spain, if the French Government should require its assistance.' Montmorency, a royalist and absolutist of the most extreme type, seemed utterly blind to the danger which would arise to his own country if such a proposal were carried into effect, and was at the first inclined to accept the Czar's offer. But yielding to the advice of the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich, who was greatly alarmed at the prospect of a large Russian army being stationed in Italy, he was at last persuaded to 'oppose the movement of any troops by any of the allies till they should be positively called for by France.'

But though the proffered intervention of the Czar was thus set aside, France was still bent on interfering with the affairs of Spain, and was encouraged by Russia, Austria, and Prussia to carry this design into execution. They promised that if the French Government should find it necessary to withdraw its minister from Madrid, they would recall theirs, and would 'give to

France every countenance and assistance she should require.' They also agreed that the ministers of each of the four continental courts at Madrid should 'present a separate note, of the same tenor and drawn upon the same principles.' This proposal, however, to break off all diplomatic intercourse with Spain did not meet with the approval of the British Government. No proof, they said, had been produced to his Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary of the existence of any design on the part of the Spanish Government to invade the territory of France, of any attempt to introduce disaffection among her soldiery, or of any project to undermine her political institutions; and so long as the struggles and disturbances of Spain should be confined within the circle of her own territory, they could not be admitted by the British Government to afford any plea for foreign interference. The Duke of Wellington informed the allied despots that his Government would not only decline to be a party to the measures which they had concerted with regard to Spain, but that they would endeavour 'to allay the ferment which these measures might occasion at Madrid, and to do all the good in his power.'

From this time forward the continental sovereigns discussed the Spanish question by themselves, but even they were by no means at one respecting the steps which should be taken to restore the unlimited authority of Ferdinand. The Russian Czar alone saw his way to immediate intervention, for the purpose of suppressing a revolution which he considered 'inconsistent with the happiness of Spain and the safety of every other country in Europe.' Austria and Prussia, on the contrary, hesitated as to the course they should pursue, and were kept in a state of suspense between their desire to gratify the Russian emperor and their apprehensions respecting the dangers which would arise from the presence of a large Russian army in Italy. Their apprehensions were no doubt strengthened by the

positive refusal of the Duke of Wellington, acting under the authority of the British Government, to have any thing to do with interference by force or menace in the internal affairs of Spain; and his assurance that, on the contrary, they would do all in their power to counteract the impression which their remonstrances might make at Madrid. In these circumstances the question was left as a matter to be disposed of between France and Spain.

De Villèle, the head of the French Ministry, who insisted on regarding the case exclusively in this light, was anxious that it should be settled, if possible, in a peaceable manner; and at this stage he hurriedly sent a minister to Verona earnestly soliciting the three allied sovereigns to suspend the transmission to Madrid of the remonstrances which they had agreed to forward to their representatives at the Spanish court. They declined, however, to comply with this request. The despatches were accordingly sent, and as they produced no effect on the proceedings of the Spanish Government, the ministers of the three powers were withdrawn from Madrid.

Montmorency, the French representative at Verona, was an ultra-royalist; and in spite of the instructions which he had received from the head of his government, he had persisted in regarding the Spanish question as exclusively European, and was bent on war. He returned from Verona, bringing with him the draft of the despatches which the allied sovereigns proposed sending to Madrid, and of a similar remonstrance from the French Government which he had prepared and had pledged himself should be sent in support of theirs. De Villèle, however, refused to sanction the transmission of this document, and substituted for it a more conciliatory despatch prepared by the king and himself. Montmorency on this disavowal of his policy resigned his office, and Châteaubriand was appointed his successor. This brilliant but untrustworthy statesman had up to this time declined to identify himself with the foreign policy of

the ultra-royalists, and De Villèle believed him to be imbued with his own moderate views. But now having obtained the object of his ambition, he embraced with zeal and ardour the policy advocated by his predecessor in the ministry of foreign affairs, and employed every effort to induce his government to interfere by force in the affairs of Spain. In his 'Memoirs' he attempts to defend his conduct, by pleading that it was necessary for the grandeur of France and the security of the Bourbon dynasty. His object, he says, was 'to replace France in the rank of military powers; to restore the white cockade in a war almost without danger, to which the opinions of the royalists and the army strongly inclined.' In his unscrupulous eagerness to carry out these views, Châteaubriand not only brought unfounded accusations against the Spanish Cortes and people, but had even the effrontery to affirm that the British Government had given a pledge that they would support this policy.

The French king, however, and his prime minister had great misgivings as to the consequences of an armed intervention in the affairs of the Peninsula, and were apprehensive that in a war undertaken for the suppression of a liberal constitution sanctioned by the people and the Cortes, and even by the king himself, the French troops might make common cause with those of Spain. The Duke of Wellington, who on his return from Verona had a confidential interview with Louis XVIII., used all his influence to strengthen the pacific inclinations of the king and his chief minister. At this juncture the Spanish Government solicited the counsel and mediation of Great Britain. The duke was instructed by Mr. Canning to offer the services of the British Government to mediate between France and Spain. The offer was declined by the French cabinet on the pretext that the grounds of difference between the two courts were not of that distinct and definite kind that admitted of exact specification and practical

adjustment; that they had arisen out of the position in which the two kingdoms found themselves placed, and out of the influence which the events passing in Spain had upon the internal tranquillity of France. In the interview, however, which the Duke of Wellington had with the king, Louis casually remarked that 'the best thing the British Government could do would be to endeavour to prevail upon the Spaniards to modify their system in such a manner as to give the King of Spain some security for the safety of his person, and more authority, and to the system itself more stability.' Acting on this hint, the British Government about the first week of January, 1823, despatched Lord Fitzroy Somerset, one of Wellington's intimate friends, to Madrid with a confidential communication from the duke earnestly recommending the Spanish ministers to make some modifications of their constitution, so as to afford the French prime minister a motive and a pretext for withdrawing from the menacing position which his government had assumed towards Spain. 'Spaniards of all parties and descriptions,' said Canning, 'admitted some modifications of the constitution of 1812 to be indispensably necessary, and in such a crisis as that in which Spain now found herself—distracted at once by the miseries of civil war and by the apprehension of foreign invasion—the adoption of modifications, so admitted to be desirable in themselves, might afford a prospect of composing her internal dissensions,' and might at the same time bring about a peaceable solution of the questions at issue between France and Spain.

It is quite possible that these prudent recommendations emanating from the Duke of Wellington, whose high position, and the benefits he had conferred on Spain, entitled his counsels to be regarded by the Spanish Government with peculiar respect, might have produced the desired effect. But, unfortunately, at this critical moment the ultra-royalist party obtained complete predominance at the Tuilleries; and at the

opening of the French Chambers Louis delivered a speech which rendered war inevitable, and completely frustrated the friendly efforts of the British Government to bring about an accommodation between France and Spain. 'I have made every endeavour,' the king said, 'to guarantee the security of my people, and to preserve Spain herself from the extremity of misfortune; the infatuation with which the representations made at Madrid have been rejected, leaves little hope of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of my minister; 100,000 Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family—by him whom my heart delights to call my son—are ready to march, invoking the God of St. Louis for the sake of preserving the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV., of saving that fine kingdom from its ruin, and of reconciling it with Europe.'

The most offensive part of the speech was the reference to the position and privileges of the Spanish king, which virtually adopted the notorious declaration of the allied despots at Laybach. 'Useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states,' they wrote, 'ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God had rendered responsible for power.' 'Let Ferdinand VII.,' re-echoed Louis, 'be free to give to his people the institutions which they cannot hold but from him. From that moment hostilities shall cease.'

This arrogant statement created deep indignation among all parties and classes in Great Britain, and it was denounced in the strongest terms in the House of Commons by the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His predecessor had waited six weeks before he blamed, in timid, feeble, and ambiguous terms, the Laybach manifesto of the continental monarchs. But Canning, as he stated in the House of Commons, waited 'not a week, not even a day,' in telling the French Government that 'the principle avowed in the king's speech was

one which a British statesman could not acknowledge, that it struck directly at the root of the British constitution, and that, as it could not be accepted as part of the British code of law, it could not be recommended by a British statesman to the acceptance of any other people. Of the construction to which the words of the speech were liable, and which, indeed, they most naturally bore,' said the eloquent statesman, 'there was not a man in the house who thought with more disgust and abhorrence than he did. If that speech were to be understood in the plain meaning of the words—namely, that the Spanish people were to be called upon to consent to certain modifications in their constitution, not because it was faulty in itself or dangerous to the neighbouring states, or unsafe even to the prince who ruled by it, but because it was not an emanation from the Crown—it was clear, on the one hand, that no Spaniard who had the slightest regard to the independence of his country could consent either to modify or to hear a modification proposed of that constitution; and on the other, that no British statesman, who valued his character as a member of a free state, could either think or hear of his country being made a party to negotiations for the purpose of discussing such monstrous proposals.'

The 'monstrous' proposition which the French ministers had put into the mouth of their king was indeed well fitted to excite deep indignation in the breast, not only of every Briton and every Spaniard, but of every right-thinking person. The assertion that reforms of a national constitution could not be tolerated unless made voluntarily by a despot, who in the case of Spain was almost imbecile, that the people have 'no rights except what he may choose to bestow upon them of his own free will, is an avowal worthy of the darkest of the dark ages. The statement also served to convict the French court of most disgraceful dissimulation. Up to this time they had in their communications with the British Govern-

ment professed an anxious desire for peace, and yet they now publicly declared that war was unavoidable 'so long as institutions existed in Spain that were not freely given by and held of the good pleasure of Ferdinand.' The indignation expressed at this statement in Louis' speech induced the French Ministry to make a futile attempt to explain away the words, and to 'adopt another construction of them' which, Canning justly said, 'the words were not altogether qualified to bear.'

It was notorious that the French Government had intrigued against the Spanish Ministry and fomented insurrections among the King of Spain's guards and the peasantry against the constitution. They had permitted the Spanish insurgents to assemble with forms of public authority on the French territory; they countenanced the raising of loans in Paris for the insurgents; they not only gave them an asylum when, after their defeat, they fled into France, but they allowed them to march back into Spain to raise again the standard of rebellion; and in the midst of all this instigation, support, and countenance, they had the meanness and bad faith to complain of the Spanish troops for having pursued the insurgents twice or thrice into valleys of the Pyrenees, where the frontiers of the two countries have never been accurately defined, though they are claimed by France as part of her dominions. The Spanish Government, in repudiating the imputations preferred against them by the French Ministry, made a cutting reference to their unfair and dishonourable conduct towards Spain. 'Up to this time,' they said, 'no French soldier or peasant can be cited whom we have seduced, armed, paid, and thrust into the bosom of his country to devastate it. We have not raised the tri-color flag; we have not refused to publish a generous and salutary amnesty; we have not invited to evening assemblies of etiquette French outlaws and conspirators; we have not tolerated that an individual at Madrid should invest himself publicly

with the title of Charge d'Affaires of the regency of France, whilst his Excellency M. de Lagarde was ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty at the court of his Catholic Majesty. In fine, we have done nothing against the French of those things which the French Government have done against us, and we have done for the governments which excommunicate us, what none of them have done for us.' 'The representatives of Spain,' they said, at the close of this spirited appeal, 'have ever declared that their country will never interfere with the internal affairs of other powers, and that neither will she consent to the scandalous dictation which it is wished to impose upon her.'

The king's speech was made the subject of a violent debate in both the French Chambers, and the statement respecting Spain was severely criticised and condemned, especially by M. de Talleyrand, who referred to the warning he had given Napoleon of 'the dangers that would arise out of an aggression equally rash and unjust.' 'Disgrace,' said the veteran diplomatist, 'was the reward of my sincerity. After so long an interval, I find myself, by a singular destiny, under the necessity of renewing the same efforts and the same counsels.' He warned the Government that they were pursuing an unjust as well as an unpopular policy, and that the wishes of the French people were decidedly for peace. 'On one side there is a whole people, and, on the other, some individual interests, which endeavour to turn to their advantage exclusively a restoration which was intended for the benefit of society at large.' It is an instructive proof of the state of feeling at this time in the two Chambers, that De Villèle thought it necessary to make the discreditable avowal in defence of the Government against the attack of M. de la Bourdonnaye, a fanatical royalist, that they 'had done everything that was in their power to favour the internal dissensions of Spain. Everything,' he said, 'which could be done against the

constitutional system was done. It was difficult to supply the extravagant demands for men and money made by the chiefs of bands; but assistance was given them, insurrection was stirred up wherever it was possible.' Of course, the ministerial policy was very cordially approved by the great majority of both Chambers, and an address was presented to the king by the Chamber of Deputies, expressed in terms offensive alike to good taste and good feeling, lauding the policy of the prince 'destined by Providence to close the abyss of revolutions, and to save Spain from the disastrous effects of the rebellion of a band of perjured soldiers.' The Chamber of Peers, indeed, though nominated by the king alone, 'as the bulwark and aristocratical fence of the monarchy,' gave no countenance to the infamous maxim that the Spaniards could receive and hold their liberties only from the hands and at the will of Ferdinand. But the Chamber of Deputies loudly applauded a theory of government according to which they themselves could not have existed, and would not then have been permitted to assemble to betray every principle of constitutional freedom. So outrageous were they in their support of these despotic maxims announced by their sovereign, that they expelled, amid a disgraceful scene of violence and clamour, one of the deputies, M. Manuel, simply because he had the courage to remind them of the fate of the Stewarts, who relied on the protection of France in opposition to their own people, and of the ruin which overtook the royal family of France in consequence of the interference of the other sovereigns of Europe in their behalf, after they had forfeited the confidence of their own subjects. Sixty of the deputies, however, formally protested against this procedure. 'We are convinced,' they said, 'that this first step is but the prelude to the system which conducts France to an unjust war abroad, in order to consummate the counter revolution at home, and to invite the foreign occupation of our ter-

ritory.' All the members, except two of the left side of the Chamber of Deputies (170 in number), withdrew in a body from the house, and they abstained during the remainder of the session from again appearing in their places, or taking any share in the proceedings of the Chambers.

These discussions in the Legislature were accompanied with great agitation throughout the kingdom; and crowds, chiefly composed of the working-classes, assembled in the capital and attacked the gendarmes and the Swiss soldiers amid shouts of 'Vivé Manuel!' 'Vivé la Charte!' A much more serious manifestation of public feeling against the impending war with Spain was the alarm which the prospect of hostilities excited in the manufacturing and commercial districts of the country. As Talleyrand warned the Government, 'All the parts of the empire, which presents so many varied interests, are unanimous on this question—Lille coincides with Strasbourg, Lyons with Bordeaux, and Marseilles with Grenoble.' Addresses were presented to the Chambers, signed by great numbers of persons engaged in the different branches of commercial and manufacturing industry, deprecating war with Spain as fatal to the internal prosperity of France. But the Ministry persisted in their preparations for war. The necessary supplies were voted by the Chambers, and at length a formal communication was made to them by the Minister of War on the 10th of April, that hostilities had commenced; on the 7th of that month the Duke d'Angoulême had crossed the Bidassoa.

While the continental despots were thus concerting the destruction of the Spanish constitution, and the restoration of the absolute authority of the king, both the Government and the people of that unhappy country were torn by internal dissensions. The suppression of many of the convents, some impolitic as well as unjust decrees of the Cortes on ecclesiastical property, and the banishment of those of the clergy who refused to give

in their adherence to the new constitution, excited discontentment among the peasantry. Conspiracies and openly avowed disaffection to the new order of things spread widely, and a Junta was formed by the royalist and priestly party for restoring the privileges of the crown and the church. Complaints were everywhere made of the weakness and incompetence of the Ministry, and the Cortes petitioned the king to dismiss them, and to intrust the administration of public affairs to men who were qualified for the task. The king reluctantly complied with this request, and accepted the resignation of four of the ministers, but did not immediately appoint their successors, and their colleagues who remained provisionally in office were not able to restore the country to peace and order. They clamoured for stronger powers, and the king, adverting to the perilous position in which the country was placed by 'the audacity of the factious enemies of the government,' submitted three bills to the consideration of the Cortes. The object of the first was the repression of the abuses of the liberty of the press. It denounced as *subversive* all writings injurious to the person of the king; as *seditionous*, all such as circulated doctrines or statements calculated to disturb the public tranquillity; and as *defamatory*, all writings injurious to the reputation of individuals. The second law was intended to restrict the individual right of petition, and to forbid petitions from collective bodies as illegal, when the object of them was not confined within the sphere of their legitimate functions. By the third it was proposed to subject all political clubs and societies to the strict and vigilant superintendence of the police.

These proposed laws were strenuously opposed in the Cortes, and a motion for their rejection was defeated by a majority of only six; but though they were vehemently denounced by the populace, and the Cortes had to be protected by a military guard, they were ultimately adopted by small majorities. The new cabinet was

at length completed; but the Cortes were not more favourable to them than to their predecessors. Disaffection still prevailed strongly in the provinces of Biscay, Navarre, and Galicia, and was studiously fostered by the officers of the French army, stationed first as a sanitary cordon, and next as 'an army of observation' on the frontier. It culminated at length in an open revolt, which was suppressed without much difficulty by the national guards. The insurgents, however, gathered round 'the banner of Royalism and the Faith,' were liberally supplied with funds by the friends of absolutism, and were thus enabled to harass the government, and to keep the country in a state of excitement. Riots, attended with great destruction to property and loss of life, broke out at Lorca, Valencia, and Pampeluna. At Lorca, on the 30th of April, the populace of the town, assisted by the neighbouring peasantry, broke open the prisons in which some of the conspirators were confined, and set them at liberty, amid cries of 'the King for ever! Religion for ever!' They afterwards attacked and burnt the house of the judge, and it was not until fresh troops were called in to the assistance of the garrison that the riot was suppressed, after a violent and bloody struggle. At Pampeluna there was a similar conflict between the troops and the inhabitants; and at Valencia a detachment of artillery in the citadel suddenly raised the cry of 'Long live the King! Down with the Constitution!' and it was not until a fire was opened upon the fort by the townsmen that they were compelled to surrender.

The Ministry, who were for the most part composed of members of the moderate party, took such measures as lay in their power to suppress these insurrectionary movements; but the majority of the Cortes were not satisfied with their operations, and insisted that the administration of affairs should be intrusted to other and abler hands. In an address to the king, which was carried by a majority of 81 votes to 54, they pointed out what they regarded

as the main causes of the disorder which was desolating the country, and dwelt on the necessity of intrusting the management of affairs to men who would adopt prompt and energetic measures to protect the constitution. They denounced in strong language the conduct of those 'ambitious prelates—those ministers of the sanctuary—who abuse the sacred and august functions of the priesthood to the propagation of superstition and the encouragement of disobedience; who preach against the liberty which the constitution sanctions; first deceive and then stimulate the people to insurrection, and would convert unhappy Spain into a frightful theatre of civil war.' And they conclude with an expression of their confidence that His Majesty would expel from the country 'those ecclesiastics and prelates who preach up fanaticism and rebellion, and prevent their return to fan the fire of discord, and light the torches of superstition.'

Ferdinand, who had left the capital some time previously, was now residing at Aranjuez, confined, as he alleged, by a fit of the gout, returned a vague and general reply to this address, evading its principal object, and merely expressing a hope that he would be enabled to restore public tranquillity by the employment of the resources and means intrusted to him by the Cortes, without having recourse to the dangerous expedient of extraordinary laws.

Meanwhile the insurrection continued to gain ground in the northern provinces. In Catalonia the two convents of Poblets and Escorial became the headquarters of the insurgents, who were under the command of Antonio Maranon, or the Trappist, a monk of La Trappe, who had formerly been an officer, and whose habits, appearance, and language had gained him great ascendancy over the ignorant and fanatical peasantry. He rode at the head of his band attired in his monastic habit, and bearing a cross in the one hand and a sabre in the other. Several severe engagements took place between the insurgents

and the constitutional forces, in one of which, fought at Cervera, the former were defeated with the loss of 1200 men. But though almost always worsted in their encounters, they still kept the field; and after each repulse they collected fresh recruits and attacked the national forces at another point. In the month of June the Trappist, at the head of nearly 5000 men, achieved an important success in carrying by escalade the town and fortress of Seu d'Urgel, which henceforth became the headquarters of the insurrection in Catalonia.

On the 27th of June Ferdinand returned to Madrid, and on the 30th he closed the session of the Cortes in a speech expressing his confidence in the future prosperity of the kingdom under constitutional rule. On his return from the hall of the Cortes he was saluted with loud cries of 'Liberty and the Constitution;' 'The constitutional king for ever.' The royalists in the mob, among whom were some soldiers, responded with shouts of 'Long live the king *only*.' On his arrival at the palace some of the populace, who were shouting 'Riego for ever,' endeavoured to enter the court along with the royal escort. They were repelled by the soldiers, who were so exasperated by the insults of the populace that they killed in the court-yard of the palace one of their own officers, a Lieutenant Landaburu, who was known to be a zealous supporter of the constitution. The news of this dastardly act excited a violent agitation in the city, and the militia and the troops of the garrison were called out and remained under arms all night. The Government immediately issued orders that the assassins should be brought to justice, and all proper precautions were taken to preserve the public peace; but the excitement still continued. Rumours of the most alarming kind were industriously circulated both by the absolutists and the constitutionalists. At length, on the evening of the 2nd July, four battalions of the guards, amounting to from 1500 to 2000 men, raised the standard of revolt and

entrenched themselves on the Prado. Meanwhile, Ferdinand remained shut up in his palace under the protection of the remaining battalions of the royal guard.

It was evidently the object of the more violent liberals to separate the king from the small body of troops that still surrounded him, and the municipality invited Ferdinand to repair with his family to the town hall. But though this request was strongly supported by a deputation from the Cortes, His Majesty, who was well aware of its object, firmly refused to leave the palace. The ministers, who were placed in a very difficult and perplexing position between the violence of the democratic clubs of Madrid on the one hand, and the ignorant fanaticism and bigotry of the rural population on the other, now tendered their resignation; but the king positively declined to accept of it, and commanded them to remain with him in the palace. This state of anxious suspense was at length brought to a close by the mutinous guards, who had formed the project of obtaining possession of the person of the king by making a sudden attack upon the city. Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th, the four battalions broke up from the Prado and endeavoured to make their way into the capital. They were immediately attacked, however, by the troops of the garrison of Madrid, supported by the militia, and were completely defeated. A portion of the fugitives took refuge with their comrades in the palace. The leaders of the liberal party in the city demanded that the whole of the royal guards should lay down their arms, and that the murderers of Lieutenant Landaburu should be given up to justice. Ferdinand reluctantly gave his assent to these terms, but the guards, on learning that they were to be disarmed, took to flight, and made their escape into the country. A strong body of cavalry and militia were promptly despatched in pursuit of the mutineers, and overtook them at the village of Bondella. The greater part of them were either killed or taken pri-

soners, and the royal guard was completely destroyed.

The king was now entirely in the hands of the 'Exaltados,' as the extreme liberals were called, and a new administration was formed, composed almost wholly of members of that party. A rapid change took place also in the members of the royal household, and even General Morillo, though he had exerted himself to the utmost in the defeat of the royal guards, was deprived of his posts as captain-general and political-chief of Madrid. The Duke de Infantado, the Marquises of Las Amarillas and Castellar, and other royal counsellors, who were accused of fomenting hostility to the constitution, were exiled by royal authority.

While the capital was in this state of excitement and disturbance, the insurrection of the absolutists continued to extend itself in Catalonia and Navarre. They had obtained, as we have seen, an important advantage by the capture of the fortress of Seu d'Urgel, and on the 23rd of July they carried by a sudden assault the town and fort of Mequinenza, and put to the sword the whole garrison, consisting of about 400 men. Emboldened by these successes, the absolutists now established at Seu d'Urgel a provisional government, composed of the Marquis of Mata Florida, the Archbishop of Tarragona, and General Baron d'Erolles, under the designation of 'the Supreme Regency of Spain, during the captivity of His Majesty, King Ferdinand VII.' They issued orders in the name of the 'imprisoned' king, and even went through the form of appointing ministers for the various departments of government. They declared that all the royal edicts published in the king's name since he had sworn to maintain the new constitution, were without validity, and should remain so until His Majesty, on being restored to liberty, should think fit to publish and ratify them anew.

At this period the insurgents had become powerful and very troublesome to the Ministry throughout Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, had obtained possession of five

strong fortresses, blockaded several others, and almost wholly cut off the communications between the other strongholds still retained by the Government. Early in September, however, the redoubtable General Mina arrived to assume the military command of the district, and the aspect of affairs speedily changed. The absolutists abandoned Cervera at his approach. Castell follit, after a siege of seven days, was carried by assault, and the town sacked, burned, and razed to the ground. A similar fate was threatened to every town that should surrender to a band of rebels amounting in number to less than one-third of its population. General d'Erolles, marching to recover Castell-follit, encountered Mina between Tora and Sunahuga, and met with a signal defeat. The constitutionalists were equally successful in Navarre, and obtained a complete victory over the insurgents under Quesada, of whom not less than 800 men were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and their commander took refuge in Bayonne. The self-appointed regency in these circumstances thought it prudent to transfer their headquarters to Puycerda, near the frontier of France, whence their chief supplies were drawn. 'Among the other attributes of more regular governments, they did not forget that of borrowing money, and they opened a loan of 80,000,000 of reals in the name of his Catholic Majesty, mortgaging for the payment of the loan the annual revenues, known in Spain under the name of the ecclesiastical subsidies.' The French Government, much to their discredit, connived at the attempts made in Paris to negotiate this loan and the sale of these securities.

Mina in the meantime followed up his successes with great energy and rapidity, defeated the insurgents in every encounter, drove them step by step to the frontier, and ultimately compelled the regency and the other leaders, including the Trappist and General d'Erolles, to take refuge in France. From the Pyrenees he published a general amnesty for the peasantry and

soldiers who were willing to return to their own country and to their allegiance.

In Navarre, Charles O'Donnell, the brother of the double-dealing and fickle Count del Abisbal, who had once more joined the absolutists, assumed the command of the insurgents on the flight of Quesada; but he met with no better success than his predecessor, and was completely defeated in a battle which took place at Estella. The remnant of his troops, consisting mainly of the peasantry, dispersed themselves among their respective villages. Thus, at the close of the year the constitutional cause seemed everywhere triumphant; and but for the support received from France, the insurrection would at this stage have been entirely suppressed. The appearance of the French army on the scene, however, speedily changed the aspect of affairs.

The Cortes were meanwhile busied in making preparations to resist the impending invasion of their country. They had unfortunately no ally. The relations of Portugal with Great Britain did not allow her to take an active part in Spanish quarrels; and the British Government, for weighty reasons, found it expedient to remain neutral, though the exportation of arms and ammunition to Spain was formally permitted, and Canning publicly denounced the invasion of the French as unjust, and wished the Spanish arms success. The Cortes were not equal to the emergency, and took more pains to vindicate the dignity of their country by words, and to repudiate in their official documents the attempt of foreign powers to interfere in their affairs, than to unite all parties in a determined resistance to the French arms. Much against his will they removed the king and the seat of government to Seville, ordered an addition of 30,000 men to the army, and took measures to provision and put in a state of defence the fortresses on the eastern and western frontiers. General Mina was appointed to the command of the forces in Catalonia; O'Donnell—Count d'Abisbal—was intrusted with the defence of Madrid;

Ballasteros was set over the eastern provinces of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia; while Morillo assumed the command in the north of Spain, including Galicia, Asturias, and Leon.

Military operations did not commence till the 7th of April. The invading army crossed the Bidassoa without opposition, but an attack which they made on St. Sebastian was repulsed with considerable loss; and leaving a body of troops to blockade that strong fortress, the Duke d'Angoulême proceeded towards Madrid. It soon became evident that the adherents of the constitution were confined to the educated class, the army, and the citizens of the large towns, and that the mass of the people, ignorant and superstitious, were completely under the control of the priesthood, who eagerly hailed the arrival of the French to restore the absolute form of government. The Spaniards seemed to have formed no definite or united plan of resistance, and abandoned position after position, though at insulated points they fought obstinately, and sometimes successfully, against the invaders. A desperate struggle took place at Logrono, and the citizens of Pampeluna and Santona refused the terms offered them, and prepared to stand a siege.

The French army moved on slowly and cautiously, evidently dreading a renewal of the guerilla warfare from which they had suffered so severely in Napoleon's invasion of Spain; but all efforts to rouse the people to defend the constitution proved abortive. The Duke d'Angoulême fixed his headquarters at Vittoria for a month, and then moved to Burgos, which he reached on the 10th of May. He then advanced with his army towards Madrid, meeting with no opposition on his march. In Lower Catalonia, where Mina commanded, they were kept in check for a considerable time; but the southern provinces, where the absolutists had always been predominant, were occupied by the invaders with scarcely any resistance. When the main body of the French army

under Angoulême reached Madrid, the constitutionalists proposed terms of surrender. Abisbal had been able to muster only 5000 men for the defence of the capital; and seeing clearly that resistance to the overwhelming forces of the enemy would have served no purpose but to expose his men to certain destruction and to subject the city to all the horrors of a capture by assault, he agreed to a convention by which his troops were to hold the capital till the French were ready to enter, and to protect the citizens against the excesses of the army of the Faith. Bessières, however, one of the absolutist leaders, attempted to force an entrance at the head of a strong column of infantry and cavalry; but after a fierce conflict he was defeated with the loss of eighty men killed, a great number wounded, and 700 taken prisoners. This attempt to violate the terms of capitulation made it necessary for the French to take possession of the city on the 23rd of May, a day sooner than was intended.

One of the first steps taken by Angoulême on obtaining the surrender of the capital was to appoint a regency, consisting of five individuals, headed by the Duke de Infantado, who were intrusted with the government of the country so long as 'the king was kept in a state of captivity.' They declared, like the allied monarchs at Trappau, that the king is the sole depositary of sovereign power, and that they would recognize no change that should be made in the constitution, but such as the king should make of his own free choice. But they had no pecuniary resources, and no power, even if they had the will, to restrain the furious ebullitions of the absolutists against the friends of the constitution, and the people had to look to the French for protection against the violence of their fellow-countrymen. It soon became evident that the constitutional cause was lost. No efforts could succeed in calling forth a display of national feeling, or rousing the people to take up arms against the French invaders. Dissensions broke out in the ranks of

the constitutionalists. Treason soon began to display itself amongst the officers of the army, and materially contributed of course to the downfall of their cause. The Count del Abisbal was the first to set the example, which soon found a host of imitators. On the 26th of June, General Morillo issued a proclamation declaring the members of the Cortes to be traitors, and, a fortnight later, deserted to the enemy with 3000 men. He shortly after withdrew from the country and took refuge in England. Ballasteros was the next to follow, after bargaining for the continuance of rank in the army and pay to himself and his inferior officers, so that Riego and Mina alone of the chief generals remained faithful to the constitutional cause.

While their adherents were thus falling away on every side, the Cortes continued as busy as ever in publishing bombastic proclamations, boasting of their patriotism and their determination to defend their country to the last, and as negligent in providing means to carry their resolutions into effect. They issued manifestos, discussed plans of defence, threatened the severest punishments against traitors, and passed decrees for conducting hostilities with success. But while these schemes remained a dead letter, and their attempts to excite a guerilla war completely failed, they continued to increase the hatred of the absolutists and to alienate not a few of their friends by the seizure of the property of their opponents, the exaction of a large forced loan, and the melting down and coining of the church plate. The war had now spread from the south to the north, and was actively prosecuted in Andalusia and Estremadura, the tide every where running strong against the constitutionalists. Sir William A'Court, the British ambassador, recommended the Government to negotiate with their opponents in order to bring hostilities to a termination, and offered to mediate between the two parties; but the Cortes, while thanking him for his good intentions, replied that they

stood in no need of any foreign interference.

They now resolved to remove the seat of government to Cadiz, the last stronghold of the constitutional cause; but Ferdinand, who had observed the growing unpopularity of his ministers, was most averse to such a step, and positively refused to accompany them. In this emergency the Cortes decreed that the king was in a state of 'moral insanity,' and appointed a regency with sovereign powers—a step which not only offered a gross indignity to the king, but was impolitic in the existing circumstances of the country. The British ambassador intimated that as he was accredited to the king, and not to a regency, he could not follow the government to Cadiz without further instructions. He, therefore, resolved to remain at Seville, as did also the minister of the United States of America, the ambassador of the Netherlands, and the ambassador of Sweden. Sir William A'Court shortly after took up his residence at Gibraltar. Ferdinand at last consented to accompany the Cortes and his ministers to Cadiz, being no doubt aware that if he had persisted in his refusal the Cortes had resolved to remove him by force. On his arrival at Cadiz, however, the three regents formally intimated their resignation of the executive power with which they had been intrusted during the journey of His Majesty and the royal family.

Great indignation was expressed by the regency of Madrid at the removal of the king from Seville. That body, which was now recognized by the four allied powers as the only legitimate government of Spain, issued a decree denouncing the penalties of treason, confiscation, and death against the members of the Cortes who had declared the king morally incapable, and they treated in a most cruel and vindictive manner the friends of the constitution within their power, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Duke d'Angoulême to restrain their excesses. He was ultimately compelled to deprive them of the powers he had intrusted to them, which they had so grossly abused,

and much to their disgust, he issued a decree prohibiting any arrest by Spanish authorities without the sanction of the French officer commanding in the district.

The duke arrived on the 10th of August at Port St. Mary, where he found an army of 30,000 men ready for operations against Cadiz. A personal appeal was made to Ferdinand to come to terms, with the intimation that if within five days he was still deprived of liberty, force would be employed to restore it to him. An answer was returned in the king's name, declaring that he was not deprived of any other liberty than that of which the operations of the French army had stripped him, and that he could not submit to the proposals made to him by the duke. On this the siege was commenced, and pressed with great vigour. An assault on the Trocadero, which commands all the approaches to Cadiz by sea, was made on the 30th of August, and was repulsed with considerable loss, but on the following night it was taken by surprise. The fort of Santi Petri next fell into the hands of the besiegers. The city was then bombarded by a flotilla of gun-boats, and the French next attempted to land on the isle of Leon. The Spaniards now saw that further resistance was hopeless and useless. Mutinies among the troops and dissensions in the Cortes had paralysed their operations, and it was at last agreed that Ferdinand should be re-invested with absolute power, and should be allowed to meet the Duke d'Angoulême at Port St. Mary, as his Royal Highness had some time before proposed. The king accordingly, after solemnly promising in a formal proclamation a complete amnesty and full oblivion of all offences committed by or alleged against the constitutionalists, repaired, on the 1st of October, to the French headquarters, where he was received with great pomp and ceremony. His first step was to declare all the acts of the constitutional government from March 7, 1820, to October 1, 1823, null and void, on the plea that during that period he was acting under

compulsion. He then issued an order that Cadiz should be delivered up to the French, and on the 3rd of October they took possession of that city.

While these events were taking place at Cadiz the invaders were employed in breaking up and dispersing the patriotic bands in the other districts of the country, and prosecuting the siege of the fortified towns, which still held out against their assaults. Riego was defeated at the village of Iodar, in Granada, and his men dispersed in all directions. The patriotic chief himself escaped and wandered for some time among the mountains, but was ultimately betrayed into the hands of the French, by whom he was basely delivered up to the absolutist regency at Madrid. Corunna and Ferrol opened their gates to the French. Mina, however, gallantly maintained the contest for some time in Catalonia. The French general Monecy, after failing in an attempt on Barcelona, suddenly marched against Tarragona, but was defeated by the Spaniards under Milans, the coadjutor of Mina, with the admitted loss of 600 men. The victors asserted that the loss in reality amounted to 1700, of whom 170 were taken prisoners. Pampeluna, however, after a protracted and vigorous defence, capitulated on the 17th of September. Santona surrendered on the 26th and St. Sebastian on the 27th of that month, and Figueras shortly after fell into the hands of the French.

Mina could have protracted for some time longer the struggle in Catalonia; but after the surrender of Cadiz he saw that to do so would only increase the sufferings of the people and the exhaustion of the country. He therefore consented to surrender Barcelona on honourable terms, securing the safety of his soldiers from the outrages of the absolutists; and then provided for his own by setting sail for England, where, on his landing, he was received with the most enthusiastic applause. Badajoz and Carthagená held out till the end of the war. On the 13th of November Ferdinand returned to Madrid, and on the 23rd of that

month the Duke d'Angoulême recrossed the Bidassoa, and on the 2nd of December made a triumphal entry into Paris. He left behind him the greater part of his army, and by a convention between the two governments, the principal fortresses and cities of Spain were to be occupied for six months by 40,000 French troops.

In the miserable condition to which Spain was now reduced, the presence of the French army contributed somewhat to repair the injuries which their invasion had inflicted upon the country, by restraining the persecuting and vindictive proceedings of the restored government (at the head of which was Don Victor Saiz, who had long been the king's confessor) against the friends of the constitution. Many of them sought safety in flight, and of those who remained great numbers were secretly and arbitrarily imprisoned, in flagrant violation of Ferdinand's promise at Cadiz. But for the intervention of the French this system of persecution would have been carried to a still greater height. The gallant chief Riego, who was an honest as well as a brave man and a true patriot, with a flagrant contempt both of law and justice, was condemned to death for his share in the proceedings of the Cortes at Seville, and on the 7th of November was hanged on a gibbet sixty feet in height. The whole proceedings of the restored government were conducted in the same revengeful, fraudulent, and oppressive spirit. The Treasury was empty, home and foreign credit were alike destroyed, and trade and commerce were paralysed. The bitter hatred which the two parties cherished towards each other was manifested in every possible way. Society, already shaken by years of war and unrestrained license and deeds of violence, seemed on the eve of entire dissolution; and it is doubtful whether the country has ever recovered from the effects of the unwarrantable and unprovoked interference of France with its constitution and government.

The restoration of the old form of

government in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was not followed by the return of tranquillity, still less of contentment among the subjects of King Ferdinand. The measures taken by the old despot, indeed, on finding himself once more in possession of absolute authority, were not calculated to reconcile his people to the abrogation of the constitution. Numerous State trials immediately followed his return to his own dominions. Rumours of secret associations and conspiracies continued to disturb his mind, and to excite him to incessant vigilance and activity to discover the Carbonari who were plotting the overthrow of his government. The proceedings adopted by his ministers against all whom they even suspected of complicity in these conspiracies were enveloped in such secrecy, that it is difficult to discover either the precise nature of the charges brought against them, or the evidence, if any, by which they were supported. Sometimes, however, the indignation almost universally felt at the tyranny of the government broke out in such a form that it could no longer be concealed. Two persons suspected of Carbonarism, one of them a lay brother of the Franciscan order, were arrested and imprisoned, the one at Lorenzana, the other at Cabillo, about the end of January 1822. But their associates or accomplices broke open by night the prisons in which they were confined, and set them at liberty. The Government were both alarmed and enraged at this outrage, and immediately adopted rigorous measures to punish those who had taken part in it. The whole district in which it had occurred was placed under military law. The inhabitants were disarmed. A court-martial was instituted for the trial of the rioters, and no fewer than twenty-four of the ringleaders implicated in the affair were condemned to death; but fifteen of these had their sentence commuted for several years' imprisonment in irons.

A considerable number of persons who had taken a prominent part in the revo-

lution of 1820 had fled the kingdom, to escape the doom which they well knew awaited them. A decree was now published, declaring that any individual convicted of holding, with any of these fugitives, a correspondence tending to disturb the internal tranquillity of the state, should be punished with death and confiscation of property. A similar fate, but without confiscation of goods, was denounced against any person holding a correspondence of the same nature with any person residing in the kingdom. As the clergy were regarded as powerful auxiliaries of the absolute monarch and his ministers, every effort was made to extend their influence; and it was ordained that all parents or guardians should take care that their children attended the congregations, *Di Spiritu Santo*, which were established in the various parishes. Neglect of this decree incurred the penalty of exclusion from all public employment, on the part both of parents and children.

The persons—forty-three in number—who had taken the lead in the military revolt at Monteforte in 1820 were brought to trial before the high court specially appointed for the purpose. Judgment was pronounced on the 10th of September. Thirty of the accused were sentenced to death, and thirteen to imprisonment in irons for twenty-five years. Of the former, only two were executed; four had their sentence commuted to perpetual imprisonment, and sixteen to imprisonment for thirty years. The term of imprisonment awarded to the others was reduced from twenty-five to eighteen years. An apologist for the unjust and cruel proceedings of the Government admits that there was 'more of policy than of clemency in this commutation,' and that 'the feeling which dictated it seems to have been less of mercy towards the criminals than a fear of shocking the public feelings by multiplied executions.' A general amnesty was then proclaimed, from which, however, General William Pepe, and other eminent indi-

viduals, were excepted; and secret societies, and even meetings for the discussion of religious or political subjects, were strictly prohibited under the severest penalties.

A plot was alleged to have been discovered in Sicily for the expulsion of the Austrian troops of occupation from the island. A great number of arrests took place, and nine persons accused of complicity in the conspiracy were tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be shot. A general disarmament of the inhabitants was rigidly enforced. A special commission was appointed to try the revolutionists of 1820. A considerable number of persons were condemned by it to capital punishment or to long terms of imprisonment; and such was the extent to which these proceedings were carried, that it is alleged that in the month of March no fewer than 16,000 individuals were confined in the prisons throughout the island. In Lombardy, which was directly under the Austrian rule, a similar oppressive policy was adopted. A special commission was appointed to try the individuals who were charged with having taken part in the revolutionary movements in the north of Italy. Among these were Silvio Pellico, Count Gonfalonieri, Maroncelli, and other distinguished literary men, who after being condemned to death had their sentences commuted to imprisonment in the castle of Spielberg. The greater part, however, of the accused patriots, among whom were not a few persons of rank and wealth, had saved themselves by flight. They were condemned in absence as 'contumacious,' and their property was sequestered. A tribunal of a similar kind was established in the duchy of Modena. Nine persons were charged with treason and capitally convicted, but only two had been arrested, one of whom, Andreole de I. Posidonio, an eminent professor, was put to death. Other thirty-nine individuals were condemned to the galleys or to imprisonment.

The members of the Holy Alliance were not satisfied with the overthrow of the new

constitution in Spain and in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, they were determined to extend the system of arbitrary control and coercion over the whole continent of Europe. They communicated to the Germanic Diet the circular which had been issued by the Congress at Verona, and the representative of Austria proposed a resolution approving of the proceedings of the Congress and of its circular. But the minister of Wirtemberg refused to concur in the resolution, and was supported by Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt, and to some extent by Bavaria and Hanover.

The allied sovereigns were indignant at the independent spirit exhibited by the government of this small principality, and intimated to the court of Stuttgart their high displeasure that it had tolerated the freedom with which the *German Observer* had discussed political questions; and finding that this intimation of their views produced no effect, they brought the matter under the notice of the Diet. A committee was appointed to investigate the subject, and they reported that the journal in question advocated revolutionary principles regularly and perseveringly. They, therefore, recommended that it should be suppressed by the Diet. The report was approved by a great majority, and the government of Wirtemberg, unable to resist the decree of their powerful neighbours, were obliged to carry it into effect. Bavaria, also, which had hitherto exhibited a liberal spirit, was now compelled to adopt a restrictive policy, both in regard to the press and to the associations of students. More offensive and ominous still was the interference of these allied despots with the Swiss cantons, who were obliged by similar pressure to place restrictions on the liberty of the press, and to expel from the Swiss territory all French, Italian, and Piedmontese refugees. It seemed at this period that freedom was completely crushed throughout the whole Continent, and the various countries subjected to the unlimited control of an iron despotism.

CHAPTER XV.

Disappointment and anger of George IV. at the result of the Trial of the Queen—Resignation of Mr. Canning—Debates in Parliament regarding the Queen's Annuity—Roman Catholic Disabilities—The Relief Bill—Reform of the Representation of Parliament—Degraded State of the Press—The *John Bull*—"The Bridge Street Gang"—The King's Coronation—Memorial by the Queen to be Crowned at the same time as His Majesty—Her proposal rejected—She is refused permission to attend the Ceremony—Her Protest and Remonstrance—She makes an unsuccessful attempt to obtain admission to the Abbey—The Coronation ceremonials in the Abbey, and the banquet in Westminster Hall—Serious Illness of the Queen—Her Death—Disturbances at her Funeral—The King's visit to Ireland.

THE proceedings against the queen brought great discredit not only upon the king, but upon his ministers; and it is the opinion of a high authority connected with their party, that they never recovered the loss of prestige which followed their conduct in this unhappy transaction. 'It was damaging enough,' he said, 'to have embarked in an affair which, be the facts of the case what they might, the people of England could never be brought to regard, except as cruel and iniquitous. It was still worse to fail.' The king, whose malignant passions they had stooped to gratify in direct opposition to their own convictions, was furious at the result of the trial, declared his intention of dismissing them, and was with difficulty induced to change his mind, in consequence of a statesman-like remonstrance from the Duke of Wellington. But Lord Liverpool never regained the royal confidence, and His Majesty permitted no opportunity to escape him of showing that such was the case. If the Clerk of the Council is to be believed, there was no love lost between the king and his ministers. 'They,' he says, 'do not conceal their contempt or dislike of him, and it is one of the phenomena of the present times, that the king should have ministers whom he abuses and hates, and who entertain corresponding sentiments of aversion to him; yet they defend all his errors and follies, and he affords them constant countenance and protection.'

The Ministry were not more popular in the country than they were at court. Public meetings were held in all parts of

the kingdom, at which addresses to the Crown were adopted, entreating His Majesty to dismiss from his service ministers whose 'injustice and folly had so scandalously compromised the dignity of the Crown and endangered the tranquillity of the nation.' The adherents of the Government exerted themselves to procure counter addresses from county meetings and other similar bodies—'hole and corner' men, as they were termed; but it was found impossible to obtain even from them any expression of approval of the conduct of the Ministry in the proceedings against the queen. They confined themselves to the more prudent course of denouncing the 'unconstitutional and revolutionary' steps which had been taken by 'the enemies of the existing order of things.' Even the staunch Tory Fremantle wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, 'Never was anything so low and wretched as the Treasury bench. It is quite disgraceful and contemptible.' 'As to the ministers,' said Curran in the House of Commons, 'they had fully proved their inability to govern; never was the community so universally impressed with the conviction of the incapacity of their responsible rulers as at the present moment! so general was the feeling, that all ranks of men looked to their removal as their only hope.'

At this juncture the Ministry were deprived of the services of their most eloquent and popular defender in the Commons, by the resignation of Mr. Canning. It was well-known that Canning was one of the oldest friends whom the queen possessed

in England, and that he had been in the constant habit of enjoying Her Majesty's hospitality at Blackheath and at Kensington. When the Ministry resolved to institute proceedings against the queen he proposed to retire; but at their urgent solicitation he consented in the meantime to retain his office and his seat in the Cabinet, taking no part, however, in their action against Her Majesty. It appears that even at this stage Canning cherished the hope that an amicable arrangement might be effected, which would avert the public scandal that was certain to ensue if measures were taken to procure a divorce. But when the efforts of Wilberforce to bring about a compromise failed, Canning at once sought an interview with the king and tendered his resignation. His Majesty, as he afterwards declared, with extreme reluctance, at the instigation of Lord Liverpool commanded Canning to remain in office, but granted him permission to abstain, as completely as he might think fit, from any share in the proceedings against the queen. In compliance with His Majesty's injunctions, Canning accordingly retained his office and position in the Government, taking no part of course in the preparation of the bill of Pains and Penalties, and even spending the autumn on the Continent. On his return to England, he found that the conduct of the Ministry in connection with the queen's case was still the subject of general animadversion, and that the position of Her Majesty would without doubt be keenly discussed in the ensuing session of Parliament. In these circumstances, he was obliged to reconsider his own position and the course which he ought to pursue. To use his own words, 'For a minister to absent himself altogether from the expected discussions in the House of Commons, intermixed, as they were likely to be, with the general business of the session, appeared quite impossible. To be present as a minister taking no part in these discussions would only be productive of embarrassment to him, and of perplexity

to his colleagues.' To take any part in them he conceived to be still, as always, out of the question. He therefore found it necessary once more to wait upon the king and again to tender the resignation of his office, which was now accepted. An attempt was made to keep the affair secret, which was of course unsuccessful; and as soon as it became public, Canning was obliged to make known to his constituents his reasons for resigning, and he at the same time intimated his intention again to leave England until the agitation connected with this affair had ceased.

Canning's retirement was a serious blow to his colleagues. They endeavoured to persuade Peel to accept the vacant office; but he was too cautious to cast in his lot with a ministry which was both out of favour at Court and unpopular in the country, and which was allowed to remain in office simply because there was at this time no other body of men to whom the administration of affairs could be transferred. Lord Liverpool was therefore obliged to patch up his Government with the materials at his disposal, and the office which Canning had vacated was conferred on Bragge Bathurst, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Parliament met on the 23rd of January. As had been foreseen, the proceedings of the Ministry in the case of the queen were at once brought under the notice of the representatives of the people. On the first day of the session Lord Archibald Hamilton intimated his intention to bring forward a motion relative to the omission of the queen's name from the Liturgy. Numerous petitions from influential public bodies and meetings were presented, complaining in strong terms of the injustice inflicted on Her Majesty, and praying the Parliament to exert its influence in advising the king to dismiss from his councils men whose conduct had so seriously endangered the dignity of the Crown and the peace and prosperity of the nation. It was on the presentation of one of these petitions from Hampshire

by Lord Carnarvon, that the Duke of Wellington employed the unfortunate and oft-repeated phrase, 'the farce of a county meeting,' which for many years continued to be adduced as an unequivocal proof of the disregard entertained by the illustrious soldier for the popular institutions of the country.

The Ministry, notwithstanding their general unpopularity at this time, were able to defeat by large majorities the various motions brought forward by the Opposition in connection with the proceedings against the queen. They carried by 310 votes against 209 the motion that 'the House do now adjourn,' against the censure proposed by Lord Archibald Hamilton on the Order of Council omitting the queen's name from the Liturgy as 'a measure ill-advised and inexpedient,' though supported by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wetherell, a staunch Tory, in a speech of great ability and legal learning. A vote of censure on the Ministry was moved by the Marquis of Tavistock, and seconded by Mr. Lambton, afterwards Earl of Durham, and was very ably advocated both by them and by Lord Milton, Sir Robert Wilson, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Brougham, while the defence was feeble in the extreme; but the motion was nevertheless rejected by 324 votes to 178. Mr. John Smith, an influential member of moderate political opinions, proposed the restoration of the queen's name to the Prayer-book; but though supported by Mr. Wilberforce, and most of the speakers on the other side expressed their disapproval of the original omission of Her Majesty's name from the Liturgy, he was beaten by 298 votes to 178. An Act which was brought in to authorize the Parliament to provide for the queen a suitable residence and an annuity of £50,000, led to a very keen discussion. Her Majesty sent a message to the House of Commons, announcing her resolution to accept no income from Parliament 'while her name continued to be excluded from the Liturgy.' She afterwards, however,

recalled this announcement, and the Commons proceeded to hurry the bill with all speed through the House. Mr. Holme Sumner, the member for Surrey, with equal disregard of good taste and good feeling, made an attack on the ill-used and unfortunate princess, which drew down upon him a severe and well-merited castigation from Dr. Lushington, Alderman Wood, and Mr. Brougham; and his proposal that the queen's annuity should be reduced to £30,000, though supported by Mr. Stuart Wortley, was set aside, and the sum originally proposed was agreed to without a division.

Though the attention of Parliament and of the country was thus largely occupied with these wretched squabbles, which the unprincipled conduct of the sovereign and the folly and incapacity of the Government had originated, two questions of great importance to the peace and prosperity of the nation were not entirely lost sight of during this session—the removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, and the reform of the electoral system of the House of Commons. The Roman Catholic question had ever since the beginning of the century been the cause of agitation in the country and of violent debates in Parliament. It had made and unmade governments—had been the means of conferring the highest offices in the state on men who were quite unfit for such a position and unworthy of such honours, and had excluded from all share in the administration of public affairs some of the greatest statesmen and most eloquent orators our country has produced. The union between England and Ireland had been carried with the assistance of the Irish Roman Catholics, on the understanding on their part that it would be followed by the repeal of the disabilities under which they still laboured; and there can be no doubt that the Cabinet fully intended, on the earliest opportunity, to bring before the Imperial Parliament an adequate measure of relief. George III., however, unfortunately had been induced to believe that he

was prevented by his coronation oath from acceding to any such scheme; and Mr. Pitt, who regarded himself as bound in honour to propose and carry it through the legislature, resigned his office, and made way for the appointment of an administration under Mr. Addington, whose views on this question were in entire accordance with those of the sovereign. A Roman Catholic might at this time hold a commission in the army in Ireland; but it was doubtful whether this privilege could be legally conceded to him in England. The Ministry of 'All the Talents' brought in a bill, in 1807, to settle this question; but through some misunderstanding as to the extent to which the king was willing to go in this matter, the bill proposed to open every rank in the navy as well as in the army to members of the Roman church. The king, incited by the Duke of Cumberland and other leaders of the ultra-Protestant party, insisted not only that the measure should be withdrawn, but that the Ministry should give a written declaration that they would propose no further concessions to the Roman Catholics. They considered it inconsistent with their duty to give such a pledge; and, on their refusal, the king at once dismissed them from office. The 'No-Popery' cry was raised with such effect that, on the dissolution of Parliament, which speedily followed, a strongly Protestant House of Commons was returned to support the new administration, of which the Duke of Portland was the head. The subject of the Roman Catholic disabilities was repeatedly brought forward by the eloquent Irish statesman, Mr. Grattan, who had obtained a seat in the Imperial Parliament; but though able and eloquent speeches were made in support of his motions, nothing was done, as it was quite understood that it was in vain to press the question so long as George III. lived and reigned.

After the restrictions imposed upon the Regent were removed in 1812, and Lord Liverpool was placed at the head of the Government, the emancipation of the Roman

Catholics was made an open question. The premier himself was hostile, but Lord Castlereagh, the leader of the House of Commons, was favourable to concession, and so was Mr. Canning, by far the most eloquent member of the Government. Towards the close of the session of 1812, he proposed that the House should resolve, early in the following session, 'to take into most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland,' and the motion was carried by a majority of 235 to 106. A motion to the same effect, which was made in the House of Lords, was lost by only a single vote, 125 having voted for and 126 against it.

The Parliament was dissolved in the autumn of 1812, and at the commencement of the session of 1813 this 'vexed question' was once more brought forward by Grattan, who moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee on the Roman Catholic claims. After a debate, which was protracted over four days, Grattan's motion was carried by 264 votes to 224. In committee it was resolved, by a majority of 186 votes to 119, that 'it was highly advisable to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects now labour.' The next step was the introduction by Grattan of a bill to give effect to this resolution. It proposed to substitute for the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints, an oath of allegiance to the king and of support to the Protestant succession—a renunciation of the infallibility of the Pope, and a disavowal of any intention to injure the Established church. It was also provided that the office of bishop in the Roman Catholic church should be restricted to natives of the United Kingdom, and that every Roman Catholic clergyman should take an oath that he would never consent to the appointment of any bishop 'but such as he shall deem to be of unim-

peachable loyalty and peaceable conduct,' and that his communications with the Pope or the papal court should be strictly confined to ecclesiastical affairs.

In order to render the measure of relief more palatable to the ultra-Protestant party, Canning intimated his intention to move the insertion of a clause, giving the king or the lord-lieutenant of Ireland a vote in the nomination of the bishops and deans of the Roman church. The proposal excited great alarm among the Roman Catholic hierarchy; but before it could be submitted to the House a motion had been carried in committee by 251 votes to 247, mainly by the influence of the Speaker, excluding Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament. Mr. Grattan, in consequence, declined to proceed farther with a measure which had thus been deprived of its most important provision. In the course of the session, however, an act was passed enabling Irish Roman Catholics to hold in Ireland all such offices as they were entitled to hold in England. The success which had so far attended the Roman Catholic claims excited serious alarm among the members of the Established church in England. Numerous Protestant societies were formed throughout the country to maintain the ascendancy of that church, and multitudes of petitions were presented to Parliament against any concession to the Romanists. But the violence and folly of their leaders were far more injurious to their cause than the hostility of their avowed enemies. Mr. Grattan's bill was denounced by the Roman Catholic Board in Dublin as imperfect and inadequate, and the Catholic prelates unitedly declared that the ecclesiastical clauses in the bill were 'incompatible with the discipline of the Roman Catholic church.' They even went so far as to issue a pastoral letter, declaring that they could not accede to the bill without incurring the guilt of schism, and that the ecclesiastical clauses have not, and in their present shape never can have, our concurrence.' The papal court saw clearly that such conduct was as unwise

as it was unreasonable and ungrateful. But in those days the Irish Catholics were not inclined to show much subserviency to papal authority, and the more headstrong and violent members of the Roman Catholic Board were indignant at the attempt of 'the slaves at Rome' to advise them as to their proceedings.

It soon became evident that the opposition of their enemies, and their own indiscretion and violence combined, had caused an indefinite postponement of a favourable consideration of their claims. It was not until 1815 that they were again brought before Parliament, when a resolution similar to the motion proposed by Grattan in 1813, was rejected by 228 votes to 147—a diminution of no less than 117 in the number of their supporters. The attempt to secure consideration for the Roman Catholic disabilities was not renewed until the session of 1819. On the 3d of May, Grattan, availing himself of the weak and disorganized state of the Ministry, moved that the state of the laws by which oaths were required to be taken or declarations made, as qualifications for the enjoyment of offices and the exercise of civil functions, so far as they affected Roman Catholics, should be immediately taken into consideration in a committee of the whole House. The debate which followed the opening speech of the eloquent advocate of religious liberty, was prematurely cut short, by the impatience of the House for a division, before Canning, Plunket, and other eminent personages, had spoken. Several members were shut out from the division, which took place unexpectedly; four or five, it was found, had entered the House after the question had been put, and their votes, after some discussion, were disallowed. The numbers, as ultimately settled, were 241 for Grattan's motion, and 243 against it. A similar resolution, proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Donoughmore, was rejected by 147 votes against 106.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Grattan, for the last time, addressed the House of

Commons on this familiar theme—almost the last time, indeed, that he took part in any parliamentary discussion. In the summer of the following year he set out from Ireland for London, in the hope that he might be able once more to advocate the cause he had long had so much at heart. His infirmities, however, rendered him quite unfit for any active service; and after performing the journey by slow and painful stages, he reached London ‘in the lowest state of physical exhaustion.’ He died on the 4th of June, after having spent well nigh half a century in the service of his country.

Henry Grattan was the last, and not the least eminent, of the great orators bequeathed by the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. His outward appearance was not prepossessing. His stature was short and his person awkward, and he had some peculiarities both of speaking and of action, which, at the outset, somewhat detracted from the effect of his speeches. But he had none of the faults which frequently beset the orators of his country, and his eloquence was as natural and unaffected as it was original. ‘He had one excellence, of the highest order,’ says Lord Brougham, who knew him well, ‘in which he may be truly said to have left all the orators of modern times behind—the severe abstinence which rests satisfied with striking the decisive blow in a word or two, not weakening its effect by repetition and expansion; and another excellence, higher still, in which no orator of any age is his equal—the easy and copious flow of most profound, sagacious, and original principles, enunciated in terse and striking, but appropriate language. In the constant stream of a diction replete with epigram and point—a stream on which floated gracefully, because naturally, flowers of various hues—was poured forth the clearest reasoning, the most luminous statement, the most persuasive display of all the motives that could influence, and of all the details that could enlighten his audience. Often a different strain was

heard, and it was declamatory and vehement; or pity was to be moved, and its pathos was touching as it was simple; or, above all, an adversary sunk in baseness or covered with crimes was to be punished or to be destroyed, and a storm of the most terrible invective raged with all the blights of sarcasm and the thunders of abuse. The critic, led away for the moment, and unable to do more than feel with the audience, could, in these cases, even when he came to reflect and to judge, find often nothing to reprehend; seldom, in any case, more than the excess of epigram, which had yet become so natural to the orator, that his argument and his narrative, and even his sagacious unfolding of principles, seemed spontaneously to clothe themselves in the most pointed terseness and most apt and felicitous antithesis.’

In his private relations Grattan was upright, honourable, and pure, singularly amiable in his disposition, and most exemplary in the discharge of all the duties of domestic and social life. He was as much beloved by his family and friends as he was esteemed and revered by his countrymen, to whose welfare his whole energies were devoted. A letter, drawn up by Samuel Rogers, and signed by the leaders of the Liberal party, was sent to Grattan’s family, soliciting that his remains might be buried in Westminster Abbey, instead of being conveyed for interment to Ireland. This request having been complied with, the obsequies were attended by all the more distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament, who assembled around his grave to do honour to one who was a sincere patriot, as well as the most earnest, persevering, and eloquent advocate of the claims of the Roman Catholics to equal rights and privileges with their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

The excitement caused by the proceedings against the queen, as well as the death of the leader of the party, prevented any step being taken to promote the Roman Catholic cause until the session of 1821. On the

28th of February of that year the question was once more brought before the House of Commons by Mr. William Plunket, member for the University of Dublin, and the most eminent member of the Irish bar. As a preliminary to the discussion, numerous petitions were presented from Roman Catholics, both in England and Ireland, praying for admission to the privileges from which they were excluded. One of these signed by 8000 persons, natives of Great Britain, excited special attention. Attached to it were the signatures of seven peers and sixteen baronets; among the former were representatives of the only four baronies remaining the holders of which had signed Magna Charta—the rest being extinct. The petitioners stated that ‘they had been accused of giving to a foreign potentate part of that allegiance which is due to their rightful sovereign; but they had repeatedly denied the charge, and they again denied it. To their sovereign,’ they said, ‘they swear full and undivided allegiance; in him alone they recognize the power of the civil sword within the realm of England; they recognize in no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate any power or authority to use the same in any matter or cause whatever, whether civil, spiritual, or ecclesiastical.’ There is no reason to doubt that these were the genuine opinions of the Roman Catholics of that period, and they present a very striking contrast to the Ultramontane dogmas of the present day.

Mr. Plunket, who now took up the mantle which had fallen from the shoulders of the lamented Grattan, was the son of an Irish Unitarian minister, and had no sympathy with the tenets of the Roman Catholic church. He was a powerful and even brilliant speaker, though his speeches were distinguished by his masterly grasp of the subject and his close reasoning rather than by lofty flights of imagination. His style was simple and earnest, and his general manner remarkably calm, presenting both in matter and manner a striking contrast to the usual character-

istics of Irish eloquence. His speech on this occasion was exceedingly able and impressive, although the subject had been so completely exhausted that his arguments presented little that was novel, and were less interesting than his powerful appeals to the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the memories of the illustrious statesmen, the ‘great lights and ornaments’ of the age, ‘backed by the memories of every man who possessed buoyancy enough to float down the stream of time.’ By a majority of 227 votes to 221 the House agreed to resolve itself into a committee. Two days afterwards Plunket proposed a series of resolutions relating to the repeal of the oaths required to be taken against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, and the explanation of the word ‘spiritual’ in the passage of the oath of supremacy which affirms that ‘no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within these realms.’

On the 7th of March Plunket introduced two bills, based on these resolutions. The first dealt with the oath of supremacy, and so altered it as to admit the Roman Catholics to every office except the chancellorship of England and the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. The second of these bills regulated the intercourse between Roman Catholic priests and the papal see, and exacted an oath from them that they would not concur in the appointment of any dignitary of their church whom they should not conscientiously deem to be of unimpeachable loyalty, and that they would have no correspondence with Rome ‘on any matter which might affect the civil duty and allegiance due to the king.’ The second reading of the bill was carried on the 16th of March, by 254 votes to 243. An attempt in committee to insert a clause prohibiting Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament, which wrecked the bill of 1813, was rejected by 223 votes to 211; and finally, on the 2nd of April, the

third reading of the two bills combined was carried by a majority of 216 to 197.

The Relief Bill had been supported in the Lower House, not only by a majority of votes, but by the influence and eloquence of Canning, Castlereagh, Palmerston, Croker, Charles Wynn, and Wilberforce, as well as by the Liberal leaders, Brougham, Mackintosh, Plunket, and Tierney. But a different fate awaited it in the House of Lords. Every influential member of the Government there—the Prime Minister, the Chancellor, the Home Secretary, and the Duke of Wellington—were strenuously opposed to the Roman Catholic claims. The Duke of York, the heir presumptive to the throne, also declared his decided opposition to the bill. ‘He was thoroughly convinced,’ he said, ‘of the dangerous tendency of measures of this character. His opposition to them arose from principles which he had embraced ever since he had been able to judge for himself, and which he hoped he should cherish to the last day of his life.’ There can be no doubt that the declaration of His Royal Highness materially contributed to the rejection of the bill. ‘It did more,’ Lord Eldon said, ‘to quiet the matter than everything else put together.’ After a protracted debate the bill was thrown out on the second reading by 159 votes to 120—a majority of 39. Out of the twenty-seven bishops who took part in the discussion, only two, the bishops of Norwich and Rochester, supported the measure. After this victory, Lord Eldon says, ‘a very fashionable toast’ among the Tories was, ‘To the thirty-nine who had saved the Thirty-nine Articles.’

The question of the reform of the representation of Parliament, which had been repeatedly brought before the House of Commons in previous years, made some progress in the session of 1821. On the 17th of April Mr. Lambton, in a long and able speech, moved that the members ‘should resolve themselves into a committee of the whole House, to consider the state of the representation of the people in Parlia-

ment.’ Though the debate was protracted over two days, none of the leaders on either side took part in it; and the division having accidentally taken place while most of the members were absent, including Mr. Lambton himself, only 98 voted on it, and the motion was rejected by 55 votes to 43—a majority of only twelve.

Three weeks later the subject was again brought before Parliament by Lord John Russell in a more practical form than was set forth in the motion of Mr. Lambton. His Lordship proposed a series of resolutions, stating that grievous complaints had arisen respecting the undue elections of members to serve as burgesses in Parliament by gross bribery and corruption; that it was therefore expedient to give to such places as had greatly increased in wealth and population, and were not at present adequately represented, the right of returning members to sit in Parliament; and that a select committee should be appointed to inquire how this reform could be most conveniently carried into effect, and how any boroughs which might hereafter be convicted of notorious bribery and corruption might be disfranchised. The previous question was carried by a majority of 155 votes to 124.

Notwithstanding these defeats an important step was taken this session, which made the first breach in the anti-reform bulwarks. In 1818, Lord John Russell brought in a bill for the disfranchisement of the Cornish borough of Grampound, in which corruption had become so general and gross, that the proposal met with no opposition. His lordship proposed to transfer the right of election to the borough of Leeds, on the ground that it had ‘of late years become a place of great trade, population, and wealth.’ But the progress of the bill was for the time arrested by the return of the queen from the Continent and the absorbing incidents which followed. It was renewed, however, early in the session of 1821. The Ministry were in favour of extending the right of voting in

Grampound to the free-holders of the adjacent hundreds of Powder and Pyder, but this proposal was rejected without a division. The enfranchisement of Leeds was strongly objected to by Charles Wyun, a member of the Grenville party, who dreaded that it would lead to the extension of the privilege to other large and populous towns which were now unrepresented. He accordingly proposed that the two members taken from Grampound should be transferred to the county of York, but his motion was rejected by 126 votes to 66. Lord John Russell at first proposed to confer the franchise in Leeds on every five pound householder, but he subsequently restricted it to the ten pound householders. Even this scheme, however, was too liberal for the House of Commons; and Mr. Stuart Wortley, one of the members for Yorkshire, moved and carried an amendment, that the qualification of each voter in the new borough should be the occupation of a £20 instead of a £10 house. As this proposal entirely altered the character of the measure, Lord John Russell dropped the bill. Wortley, however, took it up and carried it without opposition through its subsequent stages in the House of Commons.

When the bill was introduced into the House of Lords it met with a different reception. Limited as it was, the measure was regarded with uneasiness and aversion by the Lord Chancellor, who denounced it as 'completely irreconcilable with the law and constitution of the country,' and proposed that the bill should only disfranchise the electors who had been proved to have been bribed, and should confine the franchise to the unconvicted burgesses. The Prime Minister, though not altogether hostile, wished to transfer the two seats to Yorkshire. And although this proposal was resisted, both by Lord Harrowby, one of the members of the Cabinet, and by Lord Harewood, the most influential Tory magnate in the county, it was carried by a majority of twenty-seven. When the bill was sent down again to the House of Com-

mons, Lord Milton, one of the members for Yorkshire, though he expressed his disapproval of the amendment, moved that it should be accepted in order to prevent the loss of the measure, and though Mr. Stuart Wortley was vehement in his opposition, the House judiciously accepted the amendment, and the bill in this shape became law.

Meanwhile the social agitation which the proceedings against the queen had excited, had not subsided. While the trial lasted, the press teemed with scurrilous assaults upon the king, for which his private life afforded only too much ground. Pictorial sketches, indecent though clever, were issued in thousands, and, as a contemporary writer alleged, 'newspapers, placards, pamphlets, and caricatures of the most filthy and odious description were exposed for sale in every street, alley, and lane of the metropolis.' These publications issued chiefly, though not exclusively, from persons of a very low grade, who had no higher aim than to pander to the popular taste in the metropolis for their own pecuniary gain; but a portion of the ministerial and court press were most unsparing in their attacks upon the queen, and most unscrupulous in their mode of giving publicity to the evidence of the Italian witnesses against her while the trial was pending. After the Bill of Pains and Penalties was withdrawn, Her Majesty, anxious for peace and tranquillity, discouraged all proposals to prosecute either those perjured witnesses or her assailants in the press. But this forbearance, instead of inducing her cowardly calumniators to refrain from further attacks, only made them the more active in the dissemination of their slanders, when they found they could do so with impunity. 'The consequence was,' says Lord Brougham, 'that the press was polluted with a degree of malignity and impurity before wholly unknown. Newspapers that used formerly to maintain some character for liberality towards political adversaries, became the daily and weekly vehicles of personal abuse against all who took the queen's part.

Journals which had never suffered their pages to be defiled by calumnies against individuals, nor had ever invaded the privacy of domestic life for the unworthy purpose of inflicting pain upon the families of political enemies, devoted their columns to the reception of scandal against men and even women who happened to be connected with the queen's supporters. As if the publications already established were too few for the slanderer's purpose, or too scrupulous in lending themselves to his views, new papers were established with the professed object of maintaining a constant war against all who espoused Her Majesty's cause.'

A special and most unenviable notoriety was obtained by one of these new vehicles of slander—a Sunday newspaper, which was established at this time for the avowed purpose of libelling the queen, and making calumnious attacks upon the ladies who visited her. The journal was designated the *John Bull*, and bore on its front a bible and a crown. The main difficulty was to find at the outset an editor possessed of the requisite qualifications to conduct it in the manner desired; and after some inquiry the parasites of the king and the court, by whom the newspaper was set on foot, found in Theodore Hook a person every way suited to their purpose. He was the son of a musical composer, who obtained some celebrity in his day. Young Hook was good-looking and witty, of exuberant spirits and full of fun; and his talents for singing and song-writing were turned to good account by his father, who not only enjoyed his son's society with a keen relish, but availed himself of the opportunity of getting words written for his music at home. Thus Theodore, while but a youth of sixteen, had the misfortune to be free of the theatre and the green room, and to become the indulged associate of a light-hearted race of singers, actresses, and players. Before he had reached his twentieth year he had composed several farces and dramas which were very popular; had written a novel entitled 'Mus-

grave;' and a comic opera called 'The Soldier's Return;' had played off several mischievous and reprehensible practical jokes, which might have been attended with serious consequences to himself; and had become noted for his singular talent for improvisation. On one occasion he played and sang at the Marchioness of Hertford's before the Prince Regent, who was much pleased with Hook's display of his peculiar talent, and not only received him into the circle of the favourites who ministered to the royal amusement, but in 1812 appointed him accountant-general and treasurer to the Mauritius, with a salary of £2000 a year. Hook spent five years on that island, 'enjoying life,' but utterly neglecting the duties of his office; and in 1818, owing to the dishonesty of a clerk named Allan, who shortly afterwards shot himself, his accounts turned out deficient to the extent, it was at first alleged, of £20,000 but afterwards found to be £12,000. Hook was in consequence arrested and sent back to England. The auditors of the public accounts were at this time engaged in making inquiry into the amount of his defalcations, and he was hanging about London with scanty means but extravagant tastes, when he was brought under the notice of the persons who were making arrangements to start the *John Bull* newspaper. He had no scruples as to the work they wished him to undertake, and, indeed, apparently no moral principle of any kind, and was utterly indifferent to any distinction between truth and falsehood, or between right and wrong. The journal, under his management, commenced its career by publishing those contents of the 'Green Bag' which the Ministry themselves had hitherto kept private. He levelled the envenomed shafts of his sarcasm and scurrilous invective at the supporters of the queen without pity or remorse, and openly avowed his determination to assail the private character of every lady who visited Her Majesty. The lists of the ladies who left their names at Brandenburgh House were regularly

published, accompanied by the most infamous comments upon the private life of several of them; and 'the scandalous chronicle was diligently ransacked for every circumstance that directly or indirectly might involve imputations upon their character.' The attacks upon some of these ladies were so calumnious, that they were compelled to take legal steps to vindicate their own reputation and to punish the cowardly assailant. The real criminal, however, escaped, and the punishment fell only upon the subordinates connected with the journal. 'Money was no object' with the proprietors of the journal, and the fines and expenses which they incurred were ungrudgingly paid, so long as their object was attained, and they saw the Whig aristocracy shrink from exposing their wives and daughters to Hook's infamous assaults. Although the paper rapidly attained a high circulation, and the editor received from it an income of £2000 a year, which he squandered with his habitual improvidence and recklessness, honourable men of his own party did not conceal their disgust at the conduct of the court journalist. A contemporary writer, who was decidedly hostile to the queen, nevertheless expresses in strong terms the feelings entertained by high-minded men of both political parties, and says, 'every liberal and honourable mind must feel disgust and horror at the introduction into party warfare of an instrument of offence which may equally be employed against all sides; and in the attack which was directed against female character there was a combination of cowardice and cruelty, which no purpose of political good, however undisputed, can shield from contempt and execration.'

The pecuniary success which had attended the establishment of the *John Bull* encouraged a low class of publishers in the metropolis to start on the other side new periodicals of the same class, equally unscrupulous and scurrilous, but possessing neither the ability nor the wit of their precursor. The upper classes connected

with the Tory party were scandalized at the indecency and virulent abuse habitually indulged in by these profligate prints, and a considerable number of wealthy and influential individuals formed themselves into an association for 'discountenancing and opposing the dissemination of seditious principles,' and for 'supporting the laws for suppressing seditious publications, and for defending the country from the fatal influence of disloyalty and sedition.' Tory peers and prelates, members of Parliament and clergymen, hastened to enrol themselves in the ranks of these volunteer defenders of the constitution and of religion and morality; and subscriptions poured in for the purpose of supplying the means of carrying out vigorously the object for which they had combined. They assumed the name of 'The Constitutional Association for opposing the progress of disloyal and seditious principles,' but their opponents branded them with the designation of the 'Bridge Street Gang,' from the place where the office of the society was situated. Its earliest operations, however, were unobjectionable. It circulated a brief and clear exposition of the English law of libel among the vendors of seditious publications in the metropolis, not a few of whom from a dread of prosecution immediately abandoned their trade, and the offensive placards and caricatures which had been openly sold in the streets at once disappeared. Emboldened by this success, the society proceeded to institute prosecutions against the authors and publishers of some of the works which it considered libellous. The public expressed its disapproval in no ambiguous terms of these proceedings, which it stigmatized as oppressive and unfair. An obscure and probably needy author or printer, it was pointed out, contended against such a society with very fearful odds; 'the best counsel engaged for his opponents—great practice in the particular court and particular species of cause—witnesses thoroughly hackneyed in a court of justice, and an unlimited command of money'—to say nothing of the vast weight

which the names of great noblemen and prelates must have with a jury in a case of this kind. The legality of such a combination was called in question, and so high did the feeling against it run, that an attempt was actually made to indict the members of the society for a conspiracy. Two of their bills were thrown out by the grand jury, and in a third case—an indictment against one of the Carliles for the publication of a seditious libel—the jury could not agree on their verdict and had to be discharged. The subscribers to the association were so numerous, that it was difficult to impanel a jury without including some member of the 'Bridge Street Gang.' A new rule had in consequence to be made by the judges, that in every prosecution the jurymen should state on oath whether or not they were members of the association, to prevent the miscarriage of justice which might ensue from the prosecutors sitting in judgment on their own cause. In consequence of the feeling thus excited against the association, it met with little success in its criminal prosecutions. 'After a year and a half's work,' it was said, 'the members have convicted a fustian cutter at Manchester of selling an address to the Reformers; one wretched old man of seventy whom they were fain to allow to plead guilty, upon an engagement never to bring him up to judgment; and a lad or two whom they detected selling in a shop things, the nature of which they were incapable of understanding.' The constitution and object of the association were brought before the House of Commons, and the dangers to which the rights and liberties of the people were exposed in consequence of its interference with the duty of the Government were forcibly pointed out, as well as the probability that such a combination would be employed for party purposes and the oppression of its political opponents. The force of these weighty objections was recognized by all moderate and unprejudiced persons, and even the Government, which the association was

intended to support, became cool in its defence. In no long time the subscribers began to withdraw their contributions, and the 'Gang' expired unnoticed and unregretted.

The coronation of the king revived for a brief space the excitement and angry discussion respecting His Majesty's treatment of his royal consort. It was originally intended that the ceremony should take place on the 1st of August, 1820; but the return of the queen to England, and the introduction of the bill of Pains and Penalties, had rendered it necessary that the solemnity should be postponed. Now, however, that the case had been settled, the preparations, which were on a most magnificent scale, were resumed, and a proclamation was issued, announcing that the ceremony would take place on the 19th of July. In the beginning of the year His Majesty had gone in state to the three great theatres, and his reception on these occasions had been of such a flattering description, that his advisers thought that no apprehensions need be felt as to the state of popular feeling on the subject. There was some doubt, however, whether the exclusion of the queen from the honours, which had usually been shared by her predecessors on the throne, would be acquiesced in by the people; but it is possible that the hope was cherished that Her Majesty might be induced not to claim a right which could not be exercised without serious annoyance and suffering, both to her husband and herself. If any such expectation was cherished by the king and his ministers, it was doomed to disappointment. On the 25th of June, a memorial was presented from the queen to the king in council preferring a formal claim to be crowned at the same time as His Majesty. The memorial was referred to the privy council, before whom the claim was fully argued on the 5th of July.

The meeting, which was largely attended, consisted of two of the royal dukes—York and Clarence—the members of the cabinet,

one or two bishops, and some of the judges. Several members of the Opposition, and independent members of Parliament, were added, for the purpose of giving an 'appearance of impartiality to the least impartial of tribunals.' The question referred to the decision of the council was, 'Whether or not the queen-consort of the realm is entitled, as of right, to be crowned when the king celebrates the solemnity of his coronation.' Brougham and Denman were heard in support of Her Majesty's claim, and argued the case with great ability and historical research. Brougham showed that the queen-consort had been crowned in fourteen or fifteen instances when the king's coronation had before been celebrated, and when the performance of the ceremony could have no reference to him; and that in six of these cases, at the least, the queen-consort was crowned alone, sometimes in her husband's absence, sometimes in the presence of him, as a mere assistant at the solemnity; and he contended that the three tests by which a substantive right can most surely be known—its separate and independent enjoyment, its connection with other rights arising out of it and dependent on it alone, and its suberviency to some important purpose of the claimant or of the realm—proved that the ceremony in question, so ancient, so universal, so regularly observed, interwoven with other usages and the foundation of various rights, could not be, as the crown counsel contended, a mere creature of accident, and dependent upon the individual pleasure or personal will of the sovereign. The attorney and solicitor general were heard in reply, and maintained that the usage had originated in the mere permission or will of the monarch—that there was a marked distinction between the coronation of the king and the queen—that the former was accompanied by important political acts, while the latter was a mere ceremony. And with respect to usage, while the claim of Queen Caroline was to be crowned with

the king on the same day and at the same place, on only eight occasions since the Conquest had a king and queen of England been crowned together; there were no less than ten instances in which the queen-consort had been crowned alone; and since the reign of Henry VIII. there were seven instances of queens-consort who had not been crowned at all, and only six who had undergone that ceremony. After the conclusion of the argument their lordships adjourned to the 9th, and on that day, 'after a long and solemn deliberation, they decided that the queens-consort of this realm are not entitled of right to be crowned at the time specified in Her Majesty's memorial.'

This decision was communicated next morning by Lord Sidmouth to Lord Hood, the queen's chamberlain, and she immediately returned an answer in her own name to the Home Secretary, intimating that it was her fixed intention to be present at the coronation on the 19th, and demanding 'that a suitable place might be prepared for her reception.' Lord Sidmouth, in reply, referred Her Majesty to the letter of Lord Liverpool in answer to her former application, in which she was informed that 'the king, having determined that the queen should form no part of the ceremonial of his coronation, it was therefore his royal pleasure that the queen should not attend the said ceremony.' Though thus repulsed in her applications to the Ministry, Her Majesty persisted in her determination to obtain admission to the coronation, and she next applied to the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, intimating her intention to be at the door of Westminster Abbey on the morning of the 19th, and requiring him to have persons in attendance to conduct her to her seat. The duke replied through his deputy, Lord Howard of Effingham, that he had submitted the application to the Home Secretary; and, learning from him that it was not the king's pleasure that the queen should be present, he could not have the honour of obeying Her Majesty's com-

mands. The helpless, baffled princess next wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, expressing her desire to be crowned some days after the king. The primate informed her that he could take no part in the ceremony of Her Majesty's coronation, except by 'orders from the sovereign.'

Common sense, right feeling, regard to propriety and public opinion, combined to recommend the queen to submit to these reiterated decisions against her claim. But headstrong as ever, she was still determined not to yield. On the 17th—the same day on which the replies of the primate and the earl marshal were received—she signed a formal protest and remonstrance against the rejection of her claim, and recapitulating the grievances of which she complained. 'The queen,' she said, 'like your Majesty, descended from a long race of kings, was the daughter of a sovereign house connected by the ties of blood with the most illustrious families of Europe, and her not unequal alliance with your Majesty was formed in full confidence that the faith of the king and the people was equally pledged to secure to her all those honours and rights which had been long enjoyed by her royal predecessors. In that alliance Her Majesty believed that she exchanged the protection of her family for that of a royal husband of a free and noble-minded nation. From your Majesty the queen has experienced only the bitter disappointment of every hope she had indulged. In the attachment of the people she has found that powerful and decided protection which has ever been her steady support and consolation. Submission from a subject to injuries of a private nature may be matter of expediency, from a wife it may be matter of necessity; but it can never be the duty of a queen to acquiesce in the infringement of those rights which belong to her constitutional character. The queen does therefore repeat her most solemn protest against the decision of the Council, considering it only as the sequel of that course of persecution under which Her Majesty has so long

and so severely suffered, and which decision, if it is to furnish a precedent for future times, can have no other effect than to fortify oppression with the forms of law, and to give to injustice the sanction of authority.'

It was now sixty years since a coronation had been witnessed in London, and the approaching ceremony was in consequence expected by the inhabitants of the metropolis and the upper classes of society with peculiar interest. In accordance with the well-known tastes of the king, the preparations for his coronation were made on the most costly and magnificent scale, and nothing was spared that could enhance the pomp and splendour of the pageant. Ambassadors extraordinary were sent by all the sovereigns in Europe to grace the solemnity; a large creation of peers took place a few days before the ceremony; five barons, among whom was Lord Chancellor Eldon, were raised to the rank of earl; the Earl of Aylesbury was created a marquis; and two Scottish and six Irish peers were admitted to the British peerage. An extra number of Orders of Knights Grand Cross and Commanders of the Bath, were also distributed on the occasion.

One untoward occurrence, however, threatened to disturb the good order and quietness which every where prevailed among the vast crowd of spectators who thronged the streets. The queen did actually carry out her threat to present herself at the door of the abbey, in order to demand admission to witness the spectacle. At the early hour of five o'clock in the morning she set out in a coach of state drawn by six horses, accompanied by Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, and followed by her chamberlain, Lord Hood, in his own carriage. On reaching Palace Yard, where a temporary platform stopped the way, she dismounted from her carriage, and leaning on Lord Hood's arm she made her way through the crowd to the door entering the abbey at the Poet's Corner. The door-keeper refused to admit

her without a ticket. Lord Hood who had a ticket in his pocket, offered it to the queen; but after a little hesitation she declined to enter the abbey alone, and turning away from the door entered her carriage in tears, and drove home amid the jeers of the crowd at her failure. She obtained little sympathy under the mortification to which she had thus voluntarily and needlessly subjected herself. Her law advisers had waited upon her the day before and earnestly entreated her to abandon her intention to insist upon admission to the abbey, and it is understood that even the advisers whose counsels she had too often followed in opposition to those of Brougham and Denman concurred in their recommendation. But with her usual headstrong and perverse disposition she persisted in the determination to carry out her own resolution, and thus subjected herself to the personal humiliation, under which she received little commiseration.

While the ill-fated queen was thus in vain demanding admission to a spectacle which must have given great pain to herself, while her presence must have caused uneasiness and suffering to every one else, Westminster Hall, 'the old hall of William Rufus,' was crowded with those who were to take part in the ceremony from which she was excluded. The king arrived at ten o'clock, and half an hour later he set out for the abbey, preceded by all the great dignitaries and nobles of the realm. A canopy of cloth of gold was supported over his head by sixteen barons of the Cinque Ports, and his train was borne by eight youths, the eldest sons of peers of high rank; followed by the lords of the Bedchamber and other officers of the household. 'The solemn order, the variegated costume, and the excessive richness of the several parts of this splendid procession,' says an enthusiastic spectator, 'conveyed to the mind an idea of all that was brilliant in feudal grandeur and superb in chivalry, and was finely set off by the venerable piles of Gothic architecture which

commenced and terminated the line of its march.'

The ceremony in the abbey, which lasted for five hours, was no doubt gorgeous, but tedious and heavy; and not a little of the details were antiquated and unmeaning, if not actually childish. They were closely copied from the ceremonials observed centuries ago, when they were really significant; but were sadly out of keeping with the feelings and modes of thought in the nineteenth century. Still the spectacle must on the whole have been imposing, as well as splendid. Sir Walter Scott, who was present, says, 'The effect of the scene in the abbey was beyond measure magnificent. Imagine long galleries stretched among the aisles of that venerable and august pile, those which rise above the altar pealing back their echoes to a full and magnificent choir of music, those which occupied the sides filled even to crowding with all that Britain has of beautiful and distinguished, and the cross gallery most appropriately occupied by the Westminster school-boys in their white surplices, many of whom might on that day receive impressions never to be lost during the rest of their lives. Imagine this, I say, and then add the spectacle upon the floor, the altar surrounded by the fathers of the church, the king encircled by the nobility of the land and the counsellors of his throne, and by warriors wearing the honoured marks of distinction bought by many a glorious danger; add to this the rich spectacle of the aisles crowded with waving plumage and coronets and caps of honour, and the sun which brightened and saddened, as if on purpose, now beaming in full lustre on the rich and varied assemblage, and now darting a solitary ray which caught, as it passed, the glittering folds of a banner or the edge of a group of battle-axes or partizans, and then rested full on some fair form, "the cynosure of wondering eyes," whose circlet of diamonds glistened under its influence. But there were better things to reward my pilgrimage than the mere

pleasures of the eye and ear; for it was impossible, without the deepest veneration, to behold the voluntary and solemn interchange of vows betwixt the king and his assembled people, whilst he, on the one hand, called God Almighty to witness his resolution to maintain their laws and privileges, whilst they called at the same moment on the Divine Being to bear witness that they accepted him for their liege sovereign, and pledged to him their love and their duty. I cannot describe to you the effect produced by the solemn, yet strange mixture of the words of Scripture with the shouts and acclamations of the assembled multitude, as they answered to the voice of the prelate who demanded of them, whether they acknowledged as their monarch the prince who claimed the sovereignty in their presence.'

The banquet which followed the ceremony of the coronation was of the most expensive and cumbrous character. It took place in Westminster Hall, in which six dinner-tables, each fifty-six feet long, had been placed to accommodate the guests, and which was lighted by twenty-eight magnificent lustres, each containing sixty wax candles, suspended by chains of gold from the angles in the roof. The chroniclers of the day dwell with enthusiasm on the appearance of the procession ushering in the first course, attended by the Deputy Earl Marshal Lord Howard of Effingham, the Duke of Wellington, as lord high constable, and the Marquis of Anglesey, as lord high steward, riding on horseback, and on the manly and chivalrous air with which young Dymoke, of Scrivelsbay, hereditary Champion of England, threw down his gauntlet, and delivered his challenge. They mention in minute detail the dishes which had been prepared for the company at 'this princely banquet—one hundred and sixty tureens of soup, one hundred and sixty dishes of fish, one hundred and sixty hot joints; more than three thousand other dishes—side dishes, dishes of cold meat, dishes of pastry, dishes of

vegetables'—washed down by more than eight hundred dozens of wine, and one hundred gallons of punch.

When the champion entered the hall the company paid their obeisance to the king by kneeling on one knee; and when taking a cup from the cup-bearer, Dymoke proposed the toast, 'Long live his majesty King George the Fourth,' 'a loud and involuntary cry of "God bless the King," escaped at that moment from the hall. Acclamation was loud and long ('loud enough and long enough,' says a historian of a different class, 'to do honour to the most virtuous of princes'). A thousand plumes waved in glorious pride; a thousand voices swelled the loud acclamation; joy lighted up the countenance of beauty; and the gaze of ardent loyalty beamed around the throne of a monarch who, at that moment, had much reason to feel happy. Very characteristically, when the lord mayor of London presented himself to perform his service of offering wine to the king in a golden cup, His Majesty did not bow as usual, but turned to the lord chancellor and conversed with him, nor was the lord mayor allowed to kiss the king's hand. Even in the midst of his temporary triumph George IV. could not forget the support which his 'good city of London' had given to his ill-used queen. *Non nobis, Domine*, having been sung by the choir, the peers paid their homage to His Majesty. The remark, indeed, is as true as it was pungent, that 'princes and courtiers, prelates and ministers, had on that day given the honour, not to God, but to the king.'

In the midst, however, of all the adulations and the festivities of this gorgeous scene, the thought of his ill-used wife haunted the monarch, and, like the skeleton at the Egyptian feasts, brought painful thoughts to his mind. Outside the hall in which he was receiving the homage of his nobles, there were assembled large multitudes of his lieges who were expressing, by hootings and yells, their indignation that the queen-consort had not been admitted to her share in the pageant.

Courage was not one of the distinguishing characteristics of George IV., and he readily believed what he was told, that if he attempted to return to his palace by the ordinary route, he would run the risk of being torn in pieces by the mob. To avert this danger, it was resolved that he should return home by Tothill-Fields, a region at that time of very ill repute. Accordingly 'the most gorgeous monarch on the most gorgeous day of his reign' was conveyed through the back slums of Westminster, by a long circuitous route, to the back entrance of Carlton Palace, which he did not reach till eleven o'clock at night. 'The king,' says Lord Albemarle, who tells the story, 'was terribly nervous, and kept constantly calling to the officers of the escort to keep well up to the carriage windows.'

Fire-works of the most splendid description, an air-balloon, a boat race, and other exhibitions of a similar character, were provided for the amusement of the people; and in the evening all the public offices and establishments in the metropolis, and many private houses, were brilliantly illuminated in honour of the coronation. It was computed that not less than 500,000 persons shared, in one way or other, in the festivities. The expense, of course, was enormous; but that was a consideration which had never any weight with King George when his own gratification was concerned, and his ministers in those days were careful not to thwart his wishes, or to restrict his wasteful and selfish expenditure on his pleasures.

While the king was thus rejoicing in the only gleam of popularity that he had ever enjoyed, his unhappy wife was on her death-bed. The bitter mortification and fatigue which she had undergone on the 19th of July had produced a deep impression upon her mind, and had injuriously affected her bodily health. Two or three days afterwards she was taken ill at Drury Lane Theatre with fever and inflammation. Physicians were called in and prompt remedies applied, but the symptoms continued unabated. She expressed from the first her

belief that her condition was hopeless. On Saturday, the 4th of August, she slightly rallied, and on Monday some symptoms of improvement were visible, and her household fancied that she was out of danger. But she passed a sleepless night, and about noon on Tuesday, alarming symptoms appeared. The inflammation increased, and she had no strength to resist this new attack. She sunk into a torpor, and died between ten and eleven o'clock.

The death of the queen was regarded by the Ministry, as Lord Londonderry wrote the chancellor, as 'the greatest of all possible deliverances, both to His Majesty and the country.' But by their own perverse mismanagement and folly, the Ministry contrived to make that event the means of once more rousing popular feeling in her favour, and against them. A general desire was entertained that some demonstration of the attachment of the people to the ill-used queen should be made on the occasion of her funeral; and it was particularly wished by the citizens of London that for this purpose the procession should pass through the city; and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London were also desirous that they should have an opportunity of testifying their respect for the remains of the queen within the limits of their own jurisdiction. But the Government were firmly determined that the wishes, both of the citizens and the city authorities, should be frustrated. They gave orders that Her Majesty's remains should be removed on Tuesday, the seventh day after her decease, from Brandenburgh House, where she died, to Harwich, and there embarked on board the *Glasgow* frigate, *en route* to Brunswick, where she had desired to be buried. The queen's ladies declared that the time was too short to enable them to complete their preparations to attend the funeral, and entreated for the delay of at least another day; but they were peremptorily informed that the arrangements could not be altered, nor the procession postponed for another hour. A

squadron of the Horse Guards had been ordered to escort the funeral cortege through the metropolis. This mark of respect from those who had uniformly refused the queen a guard of honour during her life, was regarded as a mere mockery; and Lady Hood entreated that the escort should be countermanded, as Her Majesty's remains ought to be left to the protection of the people, who had been her 'only friends in her lifetime.' But her remonstrance was made in vain. The Ministry doggedly adhered to every portion of their own plan.

Accordingly on the morning of the 14th of August the coffin containing the remains of Her Majesty, and bearing the inscription, 'Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England,' was removed from Brandenburgh House in spite of the protest of Her Majesty's executors. Although the rain fell in torrents, an immense crowd had collected, who showed unmistakable signs of their warm sympathy with the deceased princess, and of sorrow for her fate. Led by the Horse Guards, the procession advanced peaceably along the prescribed route till it reached Kensington church, where it was to turn to the left along Church Street to the Uxbridge Road. But the street was so completely blocked up by the populace that the procession was compelled to take the direct road to London. At Hyde Park Corner, however, the soldiers succeeded in forcing a passage to the left, and turned away from the city towards Cumberland Gate. But in attempting to pass out of the park, at the place where the marble arch now stands, in order to reach the Edgware Road, the troops were violently assailed with mud and stones. They were at length provoked to fire upon the mob, and two men, named Honey and Francis, were killed.

The procession moved on amid the loudest execrations and threatenings until it reached Tottenham Court Road. But every avenue that led to Islington was barricaded, not only by a dense mass of people, but by

overturned carts and loaded waggons so as to render the road completely impassable. The troops were therefore compelled to allow the procession to follow the forbidden route and to enter the city at Temple Bar. It thence proceeded along Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill, where the lord mayor, preceded by the marshals and the city officers, placed himself at its head and conducted it through St. Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside, Leadenhall Street, Aldgate, and Whitechapel, to the boundary of the city. It thence proceeded without further interruption to Harwich, where the coffin containing the body was immediately embarked for Stade on its way to Brunswick.

Public feeling ran strong against the Ministry for the mingled spite and headstrong folly which had led to this catastrophe. The Radicals were furious at the conduct of the troops, while moderate and impartial persons laid the blame not on the military, who simply obeyed orders, but on the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister, who were chiefly responsible for these discreditable proceedings. The juries on the coroner's inquests, held upon the two men who were killed by the fire of the soldiers, showed how strongly the public feeling ran against the authorities. The verdict returned in the case of Honey was one of 'Manslaughter against the officers and men of the first regiment of Life Guards who were on duty between Tyburn Gate and Park Lane when the deceased met his death.' The jury on Francis found a verdict of wilful murder 'against a Life Guardsman unknown.' The Ministry, irritated at the general condemnation of their conduct, vented their anger on Sir Richard Birnie, the head of the police (whom they dismissed from his office because he had permitted the funeral procession to pass down Tottenham Court Road—which he could not prevent), and on Sir Robert Wilson, a gallant officer who had acquired great distinction in the service of the country, but who incurred the royal displeasure by taking an active part in the procession, and

was in consequence deprived of his commission in the army by the Duke of York. This unjust and unwise proceeding served only to add to the unpopularity of the Ministry, who had been guilty of the folly of procuring or assenting to the dismissal of one of the most distinguished military officers of that day for what was at most only an act of indiscretion; and a liberal subscription was at once raised to compensate Sir Robert for the loss of his professional emoluments.

While these events were taking place in London the king was paying to Ireland the visit he had for some time contemplated. He embarked on board the royal yacht at Portsmouth on the 31st of July—the day on which the physicians became apprehensive that the illness of the queen was likely to have an unfavourable issue. When he reached Holyhead he learned that she was in imminent danger, and he remained there till the news of her death reached him. He then crossed the channel to Dublin; but as the wind was contrary he quitted his yacht and embarked on board the *Lightning* steam packet, which in six hours conveyed him to Howth. Although his arrival was not expected the news soon spread, and the Irish people poured out in thousands to welcome their sovereign. He had been drinking all the way from Holyhead, and, according to Fremantle, at the time of his landing ‘he was in the last stage of intoxication.’ His conduct was in keeping with this report: ‘His Majesty shook hands most cordially,’ says the royal chronicler, ‘with every person within his reach, without distinction of rank or appearance.’ And when he alighted in the Phoenix Park, he addressed the mob, who crowded around him, in a speech which too plainly indicated his condition. He could not express the gratification he felt at the warm and kind reception he had met with on the day of his landing. ‘I am obliged to you all,’ he said; ‘I am particularly obliged by your escorting me to my very door. I may not be able to express my

feelings as I wish; I have travelled far, I have made a long sea voyage—besides which, particular circumstances have occurred, known to you all, of which it is better at present not to speak. This is one of the happiest days of my life; I have long wished to visit you; my heart has always been Irish. From the day it first beat I have loved Ireland. Rank, station, honours are nothing, but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects is to me the most exalted happiness.’ Amid all the folly and absurdity of His Majesty’s rambling and rollicking address on this occasion there was one truthful statement in his closing advice and promise, ‘Go and do by me as I shall do by you—drink my health in a bumper; I shall drink all yours in a bumper of *good Irish whiskey*.’

During the three weeks of the king’s stay in Ireland all classes and parties seemed to vie with each other in the exuberant expressions of loyalty and personal esteem for their sovereign, and in predicting that his visit would be productive of the happiest consequences. It was resolved to make a subscription to raise a testimonial to commemorate this auspicious event, and O’Connell proposed that a royal palace should be erected ‘worthy of the monarch and of the Irish nation,’ with the hope that the king might be induced to pay frequent visits to the metropolis of Ireland. Dunleary, the port from which he embarked on his return to England, was henceforth denominated Kingstown as a compliment to His Majesty. Even the *Dublin Evening Post*, the organ of the Roman Catholic and Opposition party, declared that the beneficial effects of the royal visit were already felt. ‘It had been the harbinger of conciliation. In the course of three short weeks greater strides had been taken to allay faction, to remove prejudices, to diminish feuds, to decrease the ill-blood generated by a collision of opposite sentiments in short, to conciliate and to unite in the bands of one interest and one loyalty, than all the

exertions of good and wise men had been able to accomplish in thirty years.'

The king sailed from Kingstown for England on the 5th of September, but owing to a violent storm he was unable to land at Milford Haven until the 12th. He arrived at Carlton House on the 15th, and on the 20th of September he again left England on a visit to Hanover; on his way thither he visited Brussels and the field of Waterloo, in company with the Duke of Wellington. He appears to have been welcomed with sufficient cordiality by his Hanoverian subjects, but the contrast between German phlegm and Irish vivacity is alleged to have produced a somewhat unpleasant impression on His Majesty's mind.

The king had scarcely reached Windsor when Irish feuds and outrages broke out more fiercely than ever, and the 'miracles' which 'the patriot king' was alleged to have performed vanished like 'snowflakes on the river.' The whole incidents of His Majesty's

visit to Ireland could not be regarded at the time by any judicious person, or be recalled to recollection now, without mingled feelings of astonishment and regret, not unmingled with disgust; and the scathing satire of Lord Byron's 'Irish Avatar,' bitter and abusive as it is, was not wholly undeserved.

'He comes in the promise and bloom of threescore,
To perform in the pageant the sovereign's part—
But long live the shamrock which shadows him o'er;
Could the green in his *hat* be transferr'd to his *heart*—

'Could that long-wither'd spot but be verdant again,
And a new spring of noble affections arise—
Then might freedom forgive thee this dance in thy chain,
And this shout of thy slavery which saddens the skies.

'Is it madness or meanness which clings to thee now,
Were he God, as he is but the commonest clay,
With scarce fewer wrinkles than sins on his brow,
Such servile devotion might shame him away.

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'Ay! "Build him a dwelling," let each give his mite,
Till, like Babel, the new royal dome hath arisen!
Let thy beggars and helots their pittance unite,
And a palace bestow for a poorhouse and prison!'

CHAPTER XVI.

Position of the Liverpool Ministry—Additions to the Cabinet—Agricultural Distress—Budget of 1822—Conversion of the Navy Five per Cents.—Reduction of Estimates and Repeal of various Taxes—Death of Lord Londonderry (Castlereagh)—His Character and Policy—Visit of George IV. to Scotland—Readmission of Canning to the Cabinet—His Defence of the Government's Spanish Policy—Revolt of the Spanish South American Colonies—Mexico—Bolivia—Chili—Exploits of the Chilian Navy under Lord Cochrane—Recognition by Great Britain of the Independence of the South American Colonies—Canning's account of his Policy at this time—Amelioration of the Criminal Code—Reform of the Marriage Laws—Repeal of the Spitalfield Acts—The Navigation Acts—Insurrections in Ireland—Great Destitution and Famine in Ireland—Public Subscription for the Relief of the Peasantry—Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill—Repeal of Combination Acts—Strikes and Outrages of Workmen.

THE Ministry of Lord Liverpool had at one time been very powerful; but its strength was now greatly diminished, both at court and in the country. The agricultural distress had raised a feeling of dissatisfaction among the country gentlemen, who had hitherto been its firmest supporters, but were now clamouring for relief, and angry because no adequate relief could be afforded them. The Ministry had lost the favour of the king, who annoyed them by continual fault-finding with their appointments. It was known that an uncomfortable state of feeling existed, in particular between His Majesty and the Prime Minister. As the Duke of Wellington informed Lord Liverpool, 'The king has never forgiven your opposition to his wishes in the case of Mr. Sumner (afterwards bishop of Winchester). This feeling has influenced every action of his life in relation to his government from that moment.' He took a malicious pleasure in thwarting every proposal of the Prime Minister, utterly regardless of the effect which such conduct exercised on the administration of affairs and the welfare of the country. So keenly did the Cabinet feel the annoyances to which they were thus subjected from 'the king's habits and character,' that the Duke of Wellington declared, 'there are few of us who would stay where we are, were it not for the consideration that, by resigning, we would give up the government to the Whigs and Radicals, or, in other words,

the country, in all its relations, to irretrievable ruin.'

The state of feeling which existed between the king and his ministers could not be concealed from the public, and their disfavour at court contributed not a little to weaken their authority in the House of Commons. They were plainly told by a leading agricultural representative that 'they had fully proved their inability to govern.' They were compelled to concede a committee on agricultural distress, were defeated on a motion for the repeal of the additional malt tax, and a second time on a motion for the repeal of the agricultural horse tax. Even Joseph Hume, though his economical proposals had made him no favourite with the Ministerialists, succeeded in compelling the Government to concede a select committee to inquire into the extravagant system of collecting the revenue, which in the previous session they had stoutly defended.

It had become evident, that unless the Ministry obtained additional strength, they could not long maintain their ground. With the exception of the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Wellington, they all belonged to the class of 'safe and well-meaning men,' described jocularly by Mr. Canning as 'meaning very little, nor meaning that little well.' Lord Liverpool, who, though he himself belonged to that class, yet could appreciate superior abilities in others, made a strenuous effort at this juncture to procure the consent of the king to the reinstatement of

Canning in the Cabinet, and at one time was about to intimate to His Majesty that he and his colleagues would resign unless this request was granted. But the king angrily refused to accede to the proposal, partly because he was indignant at the course which Canning followed on the queen's trial, partly because he believed that 'Canning's accession to the Government was peculiarly desirable to the Premier.'*

Lord Liverpool was more successful in his effort to strengthen his Ministry by the accession of the Grenvilles. Lord Grenville, the chief of this family party, had of late been gradually withdrawing himself from his former colleague, Lord Grey, and showing a decided leaning towards the Government. He had, indeed, given them his strenuous support, both on the question of the 'Peterloo massacre' and of the 'Six Acts,' though he and his friends still continued friendly to the claims of the Roman Catholics, to which the great majority of the Cabinet were hostile. He had now, however, retired from public life, and declined to take office; but his nephew, the Marquis of Buckingham, who was regarded as the head of the party, was willing to support the Ministry for 'a consideration.' It was impossible to satisfy his 'immeasurable pretensions,' as the king called them; but a dukedom was conferred upon himself, while one of his cousins, Charles Wynn, was made President of the Board of Control, and another of the Wynns was appointed envoy to Switzerland, with a salary raised to £4000 a-year. Places at the India Board were also given to Phillimore and Fremantle, who sat for two of Lord Buckingham's nomination boroughs. The bargain was not regarded as a profitable one for the Government, who gained the accession of less than a dozen votes, while they lessened their own dignity in the

public estimation, and gave great offence to many of their best friends, who complained bitterly of the 'smart bounty' given to the new recruits on their enlistment, 'of which it was thought that the old and staunch supporters of the Ministry would have been much more deserving recipients.' The accession of the Grenvilles was especially distasteful to Lord Eldon and the Tories of his school. The Chancellor had the sagacity to perceive that it foreboded still farther changes in a liberal direction. 'This coalition,' he said, 'I think will have consequences very different from those expected by the members of administration who have brought it about. I hate coalitions.' 'No small and insignificant party was ever bought so dear as the rump of the Grenvilles,' wrote Mr. Banks, an influential supporter of the Government. 'All articles,' said Lord Holland, 'are now to be had at low prices, except the Grenvilles.'

A much more important addition to their strength was obtained by the Ministry at this time, in the person of Mr. Peel, who was induced to accept the office of Home Secretary, from which Lord Sidmouth retired. Even at that period it was said of him by a high authority that 'talents, independent fortune, official habits and reputation, and above all, general character both in and out of Parliament, have disposed more men to follow and more to unite with him than any other person.' Lord Sidmouth, who had retired from the Home Office because, as he said, 'his official bed had become comparatively a bed of roses,' was assured by his friends that the principles by which his career had been regulated would be steadily carried out by his successor, and that the 'substitution of the one for the other could have no effect on the course of administration.' His lordship's complacency would have been considerably modified if he could have foreseen the vast changes in the old system of administration which his successor in office was to introduce.

* It was alleged at the time, that one cause of the king's dislike to Canning, was the proposal which the latter made, that the expense of the notorious Milan Commission should be defrayed by His Majesty himself, and not by the Treasury.

The pressure of agricultural distress at this time had produced great and increasing dissatisfaction among the landed proprietors and their tenantry, and numerous county meetings were held, attended by noblemen and other territorial magnates, at which resolutions were adopted demanding a reduction of taxation and of the public expenditure. The Government saw clearly that some steps must be taken in order to appease the discontent of their supporters. Accordingly when Parliament met on the 5th of February, 1822, the members of the House of Commons were informed that the estimates had 'been framed with every attention to economy which the circumstances of the country will permit,' and that His Majesty had been enabled to make 'a large reduction in our annual expenditure, particularly in our naval and military establishments.' This promise was redeemed to a larger extent than had been anticipated. The estimates for 1822 were upwards of a million and a half below those of 1821. The conversion of the navy five per cents. into four per cents. effected a further saving of £1,200,000. An attempt on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to shift the burden of 'the dead weight,' as it was called—the pensions granted to officers in the army, navy, and the civil service—from the shoulders of the present to the succeeding generation, proved a failure. But he succeeded in carrying through a part of the original scheme in the face of the strenuous opposition of every member of Parliament conversant with economical principles, and was thus enabled to make an immediate reduction of expenditure at the expense of posterity. A tax of five per cent. was imposed on the salaries of the civil servants to assist in defraying the cost of their superannuations, and one of ten per cent. on the officers of the royal household and offices held at the pleasure of the Crown. It was estimated that the two assessments would effect a saving of £373,000 a year.

It was confidently expected that in con-

sequence of these large reductions, 'perilous and merciless retrenchments,' as Lord Sidmouth termed them, would be no more heard of. But a considerable number of the members of the House of Commons were still dissatisfied with the financial arrangements of the Government. A proposal to revise the diplomatic expenditure was prevented by the threat of Lord Londonderry, that he would resign if it were carried. But the House, by a majority of 182 votes to 128, compelled the Government to abolish the two junior lordships of the Admiralty, and the abolition of one of the two offices of Postmaster-General was carried by 216 to 201. His Majesty appears to have taken these reductions sore to heart. 'He has been in a bodily condition,' wrote Lord Eldon, 'not enabling him to bear well (what has greatly hurt him) the knocking off the postmaster after knocking on the head the Admiralty lords. I don't wonder that he feels, for they are stripping the Crown naked.'

Still the demand of the country and of the Parliament for retrenchment was not satisfied. Mr. Joseph Hume adduced undeniable facts and unanswerable arguments to prove that the reduction both of taxation and expenditure ought to be carried a great deal farther, and was now for the first time listened to by the country gentlemen with marked attention and conviction. The Ministry voluntarily promised to remit the additional duty on malt, which had been fiercely assailed in the preceding session. A motion for the gradual repeal of the salt tax was lost only by a majority of four votes; and warned by this narrow escape, the Ministry reduced that obnoxious duty from 15s. to 2s. a bushel: they took off one-half of the duty on leather, abolished the tonnage duty on shipping, and the Irish window and hearth taxes. Thus an immediate reduction was effected in the expenditure of the country to the amount of £3,673,000 a year, and by the repeal of the various taxes enumerated, the tax payers were relieved of an annual burden of £3,500,000.

The discussions which took place during the session of 1822 on agricultural distress, reduction of taxation, parliamentary reform, the Roman Catholic claims, the condition of Ireland, the renewal of the Alien Act, and other important subjects, were numerous and lengthened. The session had in consequence been protracted to what was then regarded as an unusually late period. Parliament was not prorogued till the 6th of August. The labours and discussions of the session pressed heavily on Lord Londonderry, who had almost always to bear the brunt of the battle in defence of the measures of the Government. His mind became unhinged by the long-continued strain on his energies. He complained that he was worn out with the incessant fatigue to which he had for many months been subjected. His health began to be visibly affected; he became very low-spirited and anxious; declared that conspiracies had been formed against his character and his life; imagined that his colleagues and friends shunned him; that his servants had ordered up his horses from Cray to London to enable him to escape, and that he had no alternative but to fly the country. He was preparing at the close of the session to start for Vienna, where the Congress of 1822 was to be held; but at the meeting of the Cabinet on the 7th of August, when the instructions for his mission were settled, Lord Londonderry took no part in the discussion, and appeared very low, out of spirits, and unwell. Two days later, when he took leave of the king, previous to His Majesty's departure for Scotland, the disorder of his faculties was visible to every one present, and attracted the particular attention of the king. The Duke of Wellington, who saw his colleague repeatedly at this time, was convinced that he was labouring under strong mental delusions, and entreated him to send for Dr. Bankhead, his usual medical attendant. In case Lord Londonderry should not follow this advice, the duke took the precaution to send notice himself to the doctor of his

colleague's alarming condition. Bankhead lost no time in waiting upon his Lordship, and caused him to be cupped. The operation afforded him immediate relief, and he was well enough to drive down to his seat at North Cray on the evening of Friday, the 9th of August, but requested the doctor to follow him, as he was very ill. Bankhead went down to Cray next day, and seeing clearly that his patient was in a high fever and labouring under mental delusions, he gave orders that all razors and knives and pistols should be removed out of his Lordship's reach. But unfortunately a small penknife, which was in his dressing-room, was overlooked or forgotten by the servants; and on Monday morning, 12th August, he severed the carotid artery with this instrument at the moment he heard the doctor's footstep at the door of his room, and expired almost instantly in his arms.

The unexpected death of this powerful minister produced a profound sensation throughout the country, and was fatal to the system of repression, of which he had long been the main support. It was on him that the continental despots chiefly relied to obtain the connivance, if not the actual assistance of England, in riveting the chains on their subjects. In his diplomatic arrangements with them, after the downfall of Napoleon, Lord Londonderry took part in re-arranging the various countries of Europe, and in transferring them from one master to another, apparently without a thought of the justice of these settlements, or of the influence they were calculated to exercise on the welfare of the people, who were disposed of like a flock of sheep without the slightest regard to their own wishes or feelings. The immense power which he wielded in deciding the destiny of the continental nations, and his intimate association with their despotic sovereigns, exercised an injurious influence on his personal character and political views. Mr. Greville asserts that Lord Londonderry's 'head was turned by emperors, kings, and

congresses, and that he was resolved that the country which he represented should play as conspicuous a part as any other in the political dramas which were acted on the Continent. The result of his policy is this, that we are mixed up in the affairs of the Continent in a manner we have never been before, which entails upon us endless negotiations and enormous expenses. We have associated ourselves with the members of the Holy Alliance, and countenanced the acts of ambition and despotism in such a manner as to have drawn upon us the detestation of the nations of the Continent; and our conduct towards them at the close of the war has brought a stain upon our character for bad faith and desertion, which no time will wipe away, and the recollection of which will never be effaced from their minds.'

Lord Londonderry's domestic policy was founded on the same basis, and breathed the same spirit, as his foreign policy. His position as leader of the House of Commons, together with his firmness and courage, and his active business habits, gave him in reality more power in the deliberations of the Cabinet, and in the discussions in Parliament than the Prime Minister himself. In consequence there existed towards him, among the mass of the people, a strong feeling of distrust and dislike—a disposition to attribute to his influence all the most violent and stringent coercive measures of the Government, and a conviction that he was systematically actuated in all his official measures by principles irreconcilable with the spirit of the British constitution. Hence, among a large portion of the common people, the death of this powerful minister was regarded as matter for satisfaction, not of sorrow or regret.

It is admitted, even by those who were most strongly opposed to his political proceedings, that Lord Londonderry was regarded with devoted affection by his relatives and friends, that his disposition was amiable, though not warm, his temper equal and mild, his manners simple and

courteous; that he was a man of high honour and unblemished integrity, and most exemplary in his discharge of all the duties of domestic and private life. Lord Londonderry's abilities were certainly not of a commanding order, though, as Lord Brougham admits, his capacity was greatly underrated from the poverty of his discourse; and his ideas passed for much less than they were worth, from the habitual obscurity of his expressions. But he was far above most of his colleagues in abilities, and none of them all exercised so large an influence over the fortunes of their country. Lord Londonderry's diction 'set all imitation, perhaps all description, at defiance.' 'It was an awkward medley of official periphrasis and a bald familiarity, variegated by ill-assorted metaphors and misapplied expressions, without the slightest tinge of scholarship or literature.' It has been doubted, indeed, whether he ever looked into a book, unless it were a party pamphlet, or the more recent volumes of the Parliamentary debates, or possibly the files of the newspapers only. But he had great quickness of apprehension and clearness of understanding, indomitable courage, great readiness, an imperturbable temper, complete self-possession, and a quick and accurate perception of the feelings of his audience; and these qualities, combined with his fine person and graceful manners and address, made him a most efficient and popular leader of the House of Commons. Charles Greville, a shrewd and impartial observer, who acknowledges that he was 'not in the slightest degree affected by Lord Londonderry's death,' and speaks with contempt of the persons who, though 'it was certain that they did not care' for that incident, yet thought it becoming to 'assume an air of melancholy,' thus sums up the character of the departed statesman:—

'As a minister he is a great loss to his party, and still greater to his friends and dependents, to whom he was the best of patrons; to the country I think he was none. Nobody can deny that his talents

were great, and perhaps he owed his influence and authority as much to his character as to his abilities. His appearance was dignified and imposing; he was affable in his manners and agreeable in society. The great feature of his character was a cool and determined courage, which gave an appearance of resolution and confidence to all his actions, and inspired his friends with admiration and excessive devotion to him, and caused him to be respected by his most violent opponents. As a speaker he was prolix, monotonous, and never eloquent, except, perhaps, for a few minutes, when provoked into a passion by something which had fallen out in debate. But notwithstanding these defects, and still more the ridicule which his extraordinary phraseology had drawn upon him, he was always heard with attention. He never spoke ill; his speeches were continually replete with good sense and strong argument, and though seldom offering much to admire, they generally contained a great deal to be answered. I believe he was considered one of the best managers of the House of Commons who ever sat in it; and he was eminently possessed of the good taste, good humour, and agreeable manners, which are more requisite to make a good leader than eloquence, however brilliant.'

At the time when the most influential member of the Ministry had passed away in this distressing manner, the king was on his voyage to Scotland. He embarked at Greenwich on the 10th, and arrived at Leith on the 14th of August. The news of Lord Londonderry's death was received by him next day. Lord Liverpool, in communicating the distressing intelligence, suggested that no steps should be taken to fill up the vacant office of the deceased minister until after His Majesty's return to London; and the king, always willing to put the evil day afar off, readily expressed his acquiescence in the proposal. He wrote to Lord Eldon, 'I have this moment heard from Lord Liverpool of the melancholy death of his and my dear friend, poor

Londonderry. On Friday was the last time I saw him; my own mind was then filled with apprehensions respecting him, and they have, alas! been but too painfully verified. My great object, my good friend, in writing to you to-night, is to tell you that I have written to Liverpool, and I do implore of you not to lend yourself to any arrangement whatever, until my return to town. This, indeed, is Lord Liverpool's own proposal; and, as you may suppose, I have joined most cordially in the proposition. It will require the most prudent foresight on my part relative to the new arrangements that must now necessarily take place. You may easily judge of the state of my mind.'

The king spent a fortnight in Scotland in a round of fêtes, levees, drawing-rooms, processions, and banquets, under the indefatigable superintendence of Sir Walter Scott. No reigning sovereign since the Revolution of 1688, and no prince of the House of Hanover ever touched the soil of Scotland, except one, 'whose name had ever been held there in universal detestation'—the cruel conqueror of Culloden—the butcher Cumberland.' The visit, therefore, of George IV. naturally excited extraordinary interest among all classes, and all requisite preparations were made to give him a loyal welcome, although the feelings of no inconsiderable portion of the Scottish people towards the king, as a staunch Tory admits, had been 'unfavourably tinged in consequence of several incidents in his history—above all, the unhappy dissensions and scandals which had terminated in the trial of his queen.' On the day of the king's entry into Edinburgh, the aspect of the city and its vicinity was of the most magnificent character; every height and precipice occupied by the regular troops or by detachments of the more picturesque Highland clans—lines of tents, flags, and artillery circling Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, and the Calton Hill; and the old black castle and its rock wreathed in the smoke of repeated salvos, while a huge

banner-royal, such as had not waved there since 1745, floated and flapped over all'—every street, square, garden, or open space below, paved with solid masses of silent expectants, except only where glittering lines of helmets marked the avenue guarded for the approaching procession. Although the Highland clans had always constituted a small and very generally an unimportant part of the Scottish population, it would almost seem as if those who took charge of the ceremonials during the king's visit had imagined that Scotsmen and Highlanders were synonymous terms. The procession from Holyrood palace to the castle, when the king visited that ancient fortress, though arranged for the purpose of calling up as exactly as might be the time-hallowed observance of 'the Riding of the Parliament,' gave a prominence to Macdonells and Macleods and Campbells, with their 'tails,' which must have astonished every one who knew the feelings entertained by the Lowland Scots towards the 'Highland Caterans' while Scotland was an independent kingdom. Not unnaturally, the king himself seems to have imagined that the marking and crowning glory of Scotland consisted in the Highland clans and their chieftains. At the levee which he held at Holyrood, His Majesty diverted many and delighted the Celtic chieftains by appearing in the full Highland garb, the same brilliant Stewart tartans, so called, in which certainly no Stewart, except Prince Charles, had ever before presented himself in the saloons of Holyrood. But His Majesty's satisfaction therein was 'cruelly disturbed' when he discovered 'towering and blazing' above the genuine Highland chiefs a figure, even more portly than his own, wrapped in an equally complete set of the self-same conspicuous Stewart tartans. As Byron says in his 'Age of Bronze'—

'We caught Sir William Curtis in a kilt—
While thronged the chiefs of every Highland elan
To hail their brother Vich Ian Alderman.'

To crown all, at the banquet in the Parliament House the king, after proposing

the health of his hosts, the magistrates and corporation of the northern capital, rose and said there was one toast more, and but one, in which he must request the assembly to join him, 'The Chieftains and Clans of Scotland, and Prosperity to the Land of Cakes;' and 'the Highland chiefs and their followers' were the only persons singled out for special thanks in the letter which Mr. Peel by the king's command sent to Sir Walter Scott, on the eve of the king's departure from Scotland.

But however agreeable it was to His Majesty to drink bumpers of Highland whisky, and to listen to shouts of applause from Edinburgh lawyers and doctors disguised as Celts, 'all plaided and plumed in their tartan array,' it was impossible to postpone indefinitely a decision respecting Lord Londonderry's successor. The king was well aware that Mr. Canning would be proposed to fill the vacant office, and he must have had a misgiving that he would be obliged to yield to the wishes of his Ministers. Lord Liverpool had repeatedly pressed upon His Majesty the importance of readmitting the eloquent orator and experienced statesman to the Cabinet; but the king had always offered such a stubborn resistance to the proposal, that Canning had at length been induced to accept the office of Governor-General of India, as successor to the Marquis of Hastings. He had gone to Liverpool to bid farewell to his constituents before leaving the country, when the news of Lord Londonderry's death reached him. There was a general feeling of strong regret and dissatisfaction, that the man who was regarded as the foremost orator and statesman of his party, should be allowed to go abroad when his services were so much needed at home. Mr. Ward expressed the universal opinion when he wrote, 'It will be a singular and unsatisfactory termination to the career of the greatest orator in either House of Parliament, of a man too whose talents have always been directed towards the support of a system of policy which has succeeded

beyond the most sanguine hopes of its promoters.' This was the general impression even during Lord Londonderry's life; but after the death of that nobleman, it was felt that Canning's assistance was indispensably necessary to enable the Government to conduct their affairs successfully in the House of Commons. Much, however, to the surprise and dissatisfaction of the public, no intimation was given of any intention on the part of the Ministry to solicit his aid. The Duke of Wellington was at once selected to fill Lord Londonderry's place at Vienna; but no arrangements were made to supply his place at the Foreign Office. Canning continued his preparations for his departure to India. He informed the members of the Canning Club at Liverpool, who entertained him at dinner on the 22nd of August, that no overtures had been made to him. 'I know as little,' he said, 'as any man that now listens to me, of any arrangements like to grow out of the present state of things.'

It was well known that the delay which had taken place in making proposals to Canning, arose entirely out of the king's personal dislike to that eminent statesman. He had written from Scotland to the Prime Minister, to request that on no account should any attempt be made to alter or delay the arrangements respecting India, 'as it is my decision,' he added, 'that they should remain final and unalterable.' On his return to London, however, he learned, to his great mortification, that his Ministers were by no means disposed to acquiesce in this 'final and unalterable' decision. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Sidmouth, indeed, would have rejoiced at Canning's exclusion from the Cabinet, and they appear to have privately made the king aware of their feelings; but the other Ministers saw clearly that the support of their best friends would be lost if advantage were not taken of this opportunity of securing Canning's services. The Duke of Wellington was therefore employed to overcome the king's resistance, and managed the affair

with his usual dexterity and tact. 'Your Majesty conceives,' wrote the duke on the 7th of September, 'that Mr. Canning has offended you, and that your Majesty's honour requires that you should resent that offence. The honour of your Majesty consists in acts of mercy and grace, and I am convinced that your Majesty's honour is most safe in extending your grace and favour to Mr. Canning on this occasion.' The king was so taken with the idea that his compliance with the request of his Ministers was to be regarded as a gracious act of royal clemency, that he forthwith informed Lord Liverpool that he was 'aware that the brightest ornament of his crown is the power of extending grace and favour to a subject who may have incurred his displeasure,' and that he 'therefore permits Lord Liverpool to propose Mr. Canning's readmission into the Government.' Canning, however, regarded the matter in a very different light, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to withhold an indignant refusal to accept office on any such terms, and to write Lord Liverpool a reply 'full of gratitude, duty, and acquiescence.'

Mr. Canning's acceptance of the office which Lord Londonderry's death had rendered vacant, required that he should also succeed him as the leader of the House of Commons. This position, together with his great powers of debate, of course gave him immense influence with his party. In no long time it became evident that new wine had been poured into the old bottles, and though the outward form of the ministerial policy remained unaltered, its spirit had undergone a great change. Canning's accession to the Ministry was speedily followed by various other significant changes in the administration. Lord Sidmouth still retained his seat in the Cabinet, though without office; but two of his nominees, Vansittart and Bathurst, held situations from which it was found necessary to remove them, in order to make room for friends of the new Foreign Secretary. Bathurst, who was chancellor of the Duchy

of Lancaster, was induced to resign by the grant of a pension of £900 a year to his wife, with reversion to his daughters, and Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as it was delicately expressed by a friend of the Government, 'had always gained more respect by his virtues than admiration by his talents, retreated from the fatigues of finance to the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Bexley.' The way was thus opened for the promotion of two of Canning's friends. Mr. Robinson succeeded Vansittart as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Huskisson was appointed President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Arbuthnot, Secretary to the Treasury, was elevated to the office of First Commissioner of Land Revenue, which Huskisson had vacated. Wallace, the member for Weymouth, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, who felt aggrieved that he had been passed over for the sake of Huskisson, was solaced by promotion to the Mastership of the Mint, which Lord Maryborough, the Duke of Wellington's brother, was compelled, much against his will, to exchange for the office of Master of the Buckhounds.

When Mr. Canning was appointed to the office of Foreign Secretary, he declined to stand again for Liverpool, and Mr. Huskisson was chosen to succeed him, while Canning was returned for the borough of Harwich, and took his seat on the 12th of February. The Parliament assembled on the 4th. A sharp discussion took place at once on the conduct of the allied sovereigns towards Spain, and Brougham's denunciation of their unjustifiable proceedings was received with loud applause from both sides of the House. After the papers connected with the Spanish question had been laid before Parliament, addresses censuring the Ministry for their proceedings in regard to the invasion of Spain by France were moved in both Houses, but were rejected by large majorities. It was justly remarked respecting the debate in the Upper House that the voice of the Opposition peers was not

for war, and yet it was not for peace. War was to be avoided, but we had not gone sufficiently near to it; peace was to be maintained by us, but we had not sufficiently endangered it. The debate in the House of Commons, which began on the 28th of April, was twice adjourned, and on the third night Mr. Canning vindicated the neutrality which the Government had adopted with such conclusive arguments as secured the approbation, not only of the House, but of the country. The object of the Allied Powers was to concert a general war against Spain; the object of the British Government was to maintain the peace of Europe—peace between France and Spain, and peace for their own country. They had succeeded in defeating the intention of the continental despots to involve Europe in a war with Spain, and had thus frustrated the main purpose for which the Congress of Verona had been held. 'Whatever,' he said, 'might grow out of a separate conflict between Spain and France, though matter for grave consideration, was less to be dreaded than that all the great powers of the Continent should have been arrayed together against Spain; and that although the first object in point of importance, indeed, was to keep the peace altogether, to prevent any war against Spain, the first in point of time was to prevent a general war—to change the question from a question between the allies on one side and Spain on the other, to a question between nation and nation. This, whatever the result might be, would reduce the quarrel to the size of ordinary events, and bring it within the scope of ordinary diplomacy. The immediate object of England, therefore, was to hinder the impress of a joint character from being affixed to the war—if war there must be—with Spain; to take care that the war should not grow out of an assumed jurisdiction of the Congress; to keep within reasonable bounds that predominating areopagitical* spirit, which the

* An allusion to the meddling conduct of the Council of Areopagus at Athens.

memorandum of the British Cabinet of May, 1820, describes as "beyond the sphere of the original conception and understood principles of the alliance"—an alliance never intended as a union for the government of the world, or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of other states; and this, I say, was accomplished.'

This speech was one of Mr. Canning's most felicitous efforts, and such was the effect which it produced upon the House, that the Opposition poured in a body into the lobby along with the Ministerialists, and only twenty votes were given against the motion approving the conduct of the Government. The result fully vindicated the wisdom of this course. As not only the nobility and clergy, but the great body of the Spanish people welcomed the French army which invaded Spain for the purpose of destroying the liberal constitution, it is clear that the active interference of Great Britain would not have saved that constitution, while it would have kindled a general European war.

While Spain was suffering all the miseries of civil war and of foreign invasion, the magnificent possessions of the monarchy in South America, which for centuries had been a source of wealth to the mother country, were passing away from its control. The Spanish colonial system was one of the worst the world has ever seen, and was productive of incalculable suffering to the ill-governed and oppressed colonists, whose interests were deliberately and constantly sacrificed to those of the mother country. The Spanish viceroy was endowed with almost absolute authority, and was responsible only to the king. Every situation, from the highest to the lowest, was bestowed upon native Spaniards; indeed, the colonial offices were systematically disposed of in Madrid to the highest bidder. In order that the exclusive enjoyment of these privileges might be preserved to the Europeans, the natives were studiously kept in ignorance. Every branch of learning was not only discouraged, but

prohibited. No books were allowed to be read by the natives until they had been submitted to the censorship of the monks. The cultivation of tobacco, flax, hemp, or saffron—of the olive, the mulberry, and the vine—was prohibited under severe penalties, as they were produced in Spain in sufficient quantities, it was thought, to supply both the mother country and the colonies. Even the growth of what is termed colonial produce, such as coffee, cocoa, and indigo, was allowed only to such an extent as Spain might require to import. The colonists were also forbidden to manufacture any article which the mother country could supply. Foreign vessels were rigidly excluded from the colonial ports, and even vessels in distress were seized as prizes, and their crews thrown into prison. As might have been expected, this unjust, unwise, and most oppressive system gave rise to the most extraordinary system of organized smuggling which the world had ever seen. The whole system of administration, civil, fiscal, and criminal, was tyrannical, partial, and unjust. The taxes, duties, and tithes pressed heavily on all classes, and were levied with unexampled severity. In addition to the tithes, which no one was allowed to escape, every individual was compelled to purchase annually a certain number of papal bulls, which the king bought of the Holy See and retailed to his colonial subjects at an enormous profit. The courts of law were in the most corrupt and deplorable condition; and the administration of justice could scarcely be said to exist. Imprisonment was the punishment inflicted for almost all offences of every kind and degree, and the dungeons in which the ill-fated prisoners were fettered, and sometimes even tortured, were a disgrace to humanity. To crown all, the Inquisition was invested with an almost unlimited power over the intellects and consciences of all classes of the people. In such circumstances it need be no matter of surprise, that the colonists should have been at length roused to throw off the

oppressive yoke of the mother country and to assert their independence.

During the latter half of the last century there were frequent risings of the colonists against the Spanish Government, and almost every province attempted to rebel once, or oftener. Mr. Pitt was repeatedly applied to for help by General Miranda on behalf of Venezuela, and was on the eve of complying with the request when circumstances arose which caused the design to be delayed, though not laid aside, and the ministries both of Addington and the Duke of Portland gave encouragement to the South American patriots. The tidings of the seizure and imprisonment of the Spanish king and his son by Napoleon gave the first shock to the royal authority in South America; and at length, on the 16th of September, 1810, the standard of revolt was unfurled in the province of Guanajuato, in Mexico, by a curate named Don Miguel Hidalgo, who speedily found himself at the head of a large force, and obtained possession of the capital of the province. He was defeated, however, in November by the royalists, after a sanguinary conflict, and a second time on the 16th of January, 1811. A few months later he fell into the hands of the royalists, and was shot on the 27th of July.

The death of Hidalgo, however, did not arrest the progress of the insurrection. Armed bands of insurgents overran the open country, and hardly a day passed without a skirmish between them and the royal forces. In September a junta, consisting of five members, was installed as a provisional government. Another curate, named Morelos, was appointed captain-general, and obtained several brilliant successes over the Spaniards, who were guilty of shocking excesses. A national congress was held on the 13th of September, 1813, and the independence of Mexico was formally declared. It was still, however, far from being achieved. The insurgents experienced defeat after defeat; and at length Morelos himself was taken prisoner and

shot (22nd of December, 1815). A similar fate befel the celebrated Spanish guerilla chief Mina, who left Spain and landed in Mexico in April, 1807. The other insurgent chiefs were either killed or driven off the field, so that in the summer of 1819 not one of the original leaders of the revolution remained.

The news of the revival of the constitution in the mother country reacted upon the colonies, and another revolution broke out in Mexico in 1821, headed by Colonel Don Augustin Iturbide, a native Mexican, who had distinguished himself in the previous struggle. The Spanish forces soon found that, with the whole population hostile to the royal authority, they could effect nothing in the field, and had no resource but to take shelter in the towns, leaving the open country in the undisturbed possession of the insurgents. The insurrection continued rapidly to extend on every side, and the forces of Iturbide daily received accessions; while the royal army was steadily diminishing by dissensions. Many of the most important towns opened their gates to his troops. At length the viceroy was obliged to sign a treaty at Cordova, on the 24th of August, 1821, by which Mexico was acknowledged as an independent sovereignty. The Spanish forces embarked for Europe, and on the 27th of September Iturbide, at the head of his army, made a triumphant entry into the capital. His career was for some time successful. A regency of five was appointed, of which he was the head; and he was at the same time created generalissimo and lord high-admiral, with a salary of £24,000 a year. He was not satisfied with these honours and emoluments, and on the 19th of May he was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Augustin I. He speedily alienated the people, however, by his assumption of arbitrary powers, his arrest of the liberal deputies, and his dissolution by force of the legislative assembly. His subjects took up arms against his authority, and invested with the supreme command a patriotic chief named Guada-

lupe Victoria, who, on the suppression of the insurrection against the Spanish authority, had lurked for several years in the wildest recesses of the forests and mountains. Generals Santa Anna, governor of Vera Cruz, Bravo, Guerrero, and Negrete, abandoned the cause of Iturbide, and joined the republican army; and the defection became so general that he was obliged to quit the country and set sail for Europe. After visiting Italy and England, he embarked for Mexico in May, 1824, in defiance of the sentence of the Congress outlawing him; and shortly after he landed, he was apprehended and shot. The form of government established by the Congress was that of a federal republic, after the model of the United States. Nineteen states and four territories were united in one confederation, with Victoria as president and Bravo as vice-president.

The most distinguished and successful of the colonial patriots who took part in throwing off the Spanish yoke was Simon Bolivar, who belonged to a noble family in Venezuela. His fellow-citizens attempted to obtain their independence in 1811, but were unsuccessful; and Bolivar, who took a prominent part in the contest, was obliged for a time to leave the country. The effort, however, was renewed; after a protracted struggle, the battle of Carabola, fought in June, 1821, established the independence of the country, and in August of the same year Venezuela and New Granada united to form the republic of Colombia, of which Bolivar was elected president. The republic of Bolivia, formed under his auspices, proclaimed him its perpetual protector, and intrusted him with the preparation of its constitution. The battle for independence in this extensive territory was thus brought virtually to a successful close.

The contest in Chili attracted peculiar attention in Great Britain, mainly in consequence of the part taken in it by the famous sea-captain, Lord Cochrane. It began in April, 1811, and during the early part of the struggle the Chilean troops were

for the most part successful in their conflicts with the royal forces; but ultimately large reinforcements were sent from Spain, and after a severe contest the patriots were compelled, by vastly superior numbers, to submit to the sovereignty of the mother country. The old system of tyranny and misgovernment, however, was still continued with all its former severity; and at length, in 1817, the patriot refugees, having levied a body of troops in La Plata, and received the support of their friends in Buenos Ayres, inflicted a signal defeat upon the Spaniards at Chacabuco. A popular form of government was next organized, of which General San Martin was appointed supreme governor. But at this juncture the Chileans were defeated by the Spaniards, with great loss, at Chanchavayara, and they must, in all probability, have once more succumbed to the Spanish authority had it not been for the gross carelessness of the royalist forces. Believing that the insurgents were completely crushed, they neglected the most ordinary military precautions, and were in consequence surprised by the patriots in the plains of Maipú, and defeated with great slaughter. It is said that not more than five hundred men escaped from the battlefield.

It was at this period that Lord Cochrane was invited to take the command of the Chilean navy. He arrived at Chili in November, 1819, and a considerable number of English officers and seamen, attracted by the celebrity of his name, eagerly enlisted under his command. In the course of a few months his ships were ready for action; and in February, and afterwards in September, 1819, he made several gallant and successful attacks on the batteries and shipping at Callao, and surprised and captured a number of valuable Spanish ships at Guayaquil. He then sailed for Valdivia—an important and strongly-fortified Spanish town, with a noble harbour, protected by fifteen forts. On the 2nd of February, 1820, he attacked this place, and by a remarkable combination of cool

judgment and daring, obtained possession of all the enemies' batteries, and subsequently of the town and province.

After this splendid achievement Lord Cochrane returned to Valparaiso, where he devoted himself with unremitting assiduity to the equipment of a fleet destined to accompany an expedition to Peru, under General San Martin, for the purpose of assisting that State—the last to throw off the Spanish yoke—in achieving its independence. But he was sadly hampered by the petty jealousies and incapacity of the wretched Government which he served. The seamen became mutinous for the want of their pay and prize-money, and it was only by pledging his personal credit that Lord Cochrane contrived to get a squadron manned for this new expedition. His little fleet set sail on the 20th of August, and after some annoying delays reached Callao, the seaport of Lima, and anchored in the outer roads. In the inner harbour lay the *Esmeralda*, a large forty-gun frigate, and two sloops-of-war, moored under the guns of the castle, defended by three hundred pieces of artillery, on shore; by a strong boom with chain moorings, and by armed block-ships; the whole being surrounded by twenty-seven gun-boats. Lord Cochrane resolved to undertake the apparently desperate enterprise of cutting out this frigate from under the fortifications, and led the attack in person. The Spaniards, though at first taken by surprise, made a gallant resistance; but in a quarter of an hour they were completely overpowered, and the captured ship was steered triumphantly out of the harbour, under the fire of the batteries on the north side of the castle. Lord Cochrane himself was severely wounded in the fray; but he had only eleven men killed and thirty wounded, while the enemy lost upwards of one hundred and twenty. The Spaniards, who had nicknamed Lord Cochrane 'El Diabolo,' were so terror-stricken by this astonishing enterprise that their ships never afterwards ventured to quit the harbour, but left the

great seaman undisputed master of the coast.

While these brilliant achievements were performed by sea, the land expedition, under San Martin, remained in a state of inaction, as did the greatly superior force of the royalists at Lima. The indecision and procrastination of the viceroy, Pezuela, at length excited such strong dissatisfaction among his troops, that he was compelled to resign, and General La Serna was appointed in his stead. But the discontent and divisions prevailing in the Peruvian capital so weakened his hands, that he could not venture to take the field against the patriots. About the end of June San Martin appeared before Lima, and the viceroy, finding that the citizens, eager for independence, and anxious to put an end to a state of things which had caused a total stagnation of all trade and external commerce, would not support him in resisting a siege, came to the conclusion that he had no alternative but to evacuate the city, leaving, however, a force of 800 men to garrison the fort of Callao. On the 16th of July, San Martin made a solemn entrance into Lima, and under the title of 'Protector of Peace' issued a proclamation guaranteeing to all perfect security for their personal property, placing Indians on the same footing with the other races, and abolishing the tribute and forced labours to which they had been subjected. At a great assembly of the people and notables of the city, it was unanimously agreed to be 'the general will that Peru be declared independent of Spanish and all other foreign dominion.' Callao, which commanded the capital, was immediately blockaded, and on the 22nd of September the garrison capitulated and were allowed to withdraw, taking with them all their arms, stores, and treasure.

San Martin, who had assumed almost unlimited authority, did not long retain his popularity, and was obliged to resign his office of protector on the 21st of September, 1822. But the proceedings of the new executive appointed by the Congress were marked by feebleness and dissension, and

their forces met with several reverses. The cause of Peruvian independence seemed hanging by a thread, when the celebrated Bolivar came to the assistance of the patriots on the 1st of September, 1823, and was immediately invested with supreme authority, military and political. Although, in consequence of a mutiny of the soldiers at Callao, that town and fort along with the capital once more fell into the hands of the royalists, Bolivar's firmness and activity checked further defections, and his military skill and courage enabled the patriot troops on the 9th of December, 1824, to gain a complete victory at Ayacucho over an army of royalists greatly superior in numbers. This battle, which has been pronounced 'the most brilliant ever fought in South America,' almost annihilated the royal forces, and though the struggle was protracted for more than a year, the issue was no longer doubtful. At length Callao was surrendered on the 19th of January, 1826, and thus 'the last link of the chain which bound America to the Spanish crown was finally broken.'

Long before the termination of the contest, it had become evident to all impartial observers, that the efforts of Spain to bring her South American colonies back under her sway were utterly hopeless, and the injury inflicted on British commerce by the fruitless attempts on the part of the Spanish authorities to prevent the merchantmen of other countries trading with the insurgent colonies formed a constant source of irritation to Great Britain. Remonstrances were repeatedly addressed to the Spanish Government respecting the depredations of the Spanish cruisers on British trading vessels, but without effect. A flagrant case, which occurred in 1821, at length exhausted the patience of the Ministry. A British merchant vessel, named the *Lord Collingwood*, was seized by a Spanish privateer, carried into Porto Rico, and condemned on the ground that 'she was found trading with the vessels of Buenos Ayres,' though that territory had long ceased to yield obedience

to the mother country, and every vestige of Spanish authority had disappeared from the colony. The British Minister at Madrid was instructed to remonstrate with the Spanish Government, but, as usual, they did nothing. Canning, however, on his accession to office, was not inclined to continue a system of forbearance which, under his predecessor, had already been extended too far. 'Representations and remonstrances,' he said, 'had been made to the Spanish Government, inquiry and redress had been promised, but redress there had been none.' Orders were therefore issued to the Admiralty 'to adopt the most decisive and summary measures for affording protection to His Majesty's subjects, and to the navigation of the West Indian seas.' The commander of the British squadron in these seas was instructed not only to capture the piratical vessels when they met in with them at sea, but to pursue the pirates into their 'asylum in the ports and fortresses of Cuba,' and to take signal vengeance on them 'for the outrages which have, in so many instances, been committed by them against the commerce, persons, and lives of His Majesty's subjects.'

The Spanish Government was at this time threatened by the Allied Sovereigns at Verona, and could not venture to set at defiance their only powerful friend. They therefore promptly acknowledged the right of the merchantmen of other countries to trade with the insurgent colonies, and promised to pay a considerable sum of money for the satisfaction of the claims for redress on the part of British merchants. Canning, however, had no confidence in Spanish promises, and felt assured that the trade with the American colonies would never be placed on a satisfactory footing until their independence was recognized by the European governments. 'Every day,' he wrote to the Duke of Wellington on the 8th of November, 'convinces me more and more that, in the present state of the world—in the present state of the Peninsula, and in the present state of this country—the

American questions are out of all proportion more important to us than the European; and that if we do not seize and turn them to our advantage in time, we shall rue the loss of an opportunity never to be recovered. Every day,' he wrote again on the same date, 'brings some fresh report of wrong inflicted on our commerce by vessels bearing the flag of Spain, and acting under Spanish authorities. Accounts have been received at the Admiralty only to-day, by which it appears that the Spanish governor of Porto Cabello (the only place of which the royalist forces are in possession in the whole extent of the province of Columbia) has commissioned several ships-of-war to cruise against the merchant ships of every country presuming to trade with the insurgent colonies. It is impossible that this country should much longer put up with such outrageous injury.'

Meanwhile, however, the French Government were watching with great interest the contest between Spain and her South American colonies, with an evident intention of interfering, whenever they could do so with safety, for the purpose of acquiring commercial advantages, if not also an extension of territory for themselves. They had even offered to place a French expedition at the disposal of the Spanish Government, provided that France was placed on a commercial equality with Great Britain. The British Ministry, however, were determined to trade with the American colonies, whether France liked it or not; and if France was so ill-advised as to send a large fleet to help the Spanish *guarda costas* which attempted to prevent that trade, Britain would send a large fleet 'to watch (at least) their operations.' As soon as the long-threatened invasion of Spain by France commenced, Canning wrote to the British minister at Paris—'Time and the course of events appear to have substantially decided their separation from the mother country. Although the formal recognition of these provinces as independent states by His Majesty may be hastened or retarded

by various external circumstances, as well as by the more or less satisfactory progress in each state towards a regular and settled form of government, Spain has been long apprised of His Majesty's opinions upon this subject. Disclaiming in the most solemn manner any intention of appropriating to himself the smallest portion of the late Spanish possessions in America, His Majesty is satisfied that no attempt will be made by France to bring under her dominion any of these possessions either by conquest or by cession from Spain.'

This, however, was precisely what France wished to do, as soon as her forces had destroyed the Spanish constitution and restored Ferdinand to the possession of absolute authority. But Canning was not disposed to allow the French Government to remain in ignorance of the policy he intended to pursue. He informed the Prince de Polignac, the French ambassador in London, that 'the British Government were of opinion that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain must be entirely hopeless, that all negotiation for that purpose would be unsuccessful, and that the prolongation or renewal of the war for the same object would be only a waste of human life.' 'If war should be unhappily prolonged, however, the British Government would remain strictly neutral; but the junction of any foreign power in an enterprise of Spain against the colonies would be viewed by them as constituting an entirely new question, and one upon which they must take such decision as the interests of Great Britain might require.'

Polignac, while admitting that it was 'utterly hopeless to reduce Spanish America to the state of its former relation to Spain,' was by no means disposed to concur in the opinion expressed by Canning, that any fresh attempt to hinder British trade 'might be best cut short by a speedy and unqualified recognition of the Spanish American States.' He could not even conceive what, under the present circumstances, could be meant

by 'pure and simple acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish colonies;' 'there existed no government in these colonies which could offer any appearance of solidity, and the acknowledgment of American independence, so long as such a state of things continued, appeared to him to be nothing less than a real sanction of anarchy. . . . It would be worthy of the European governments to endeavour to bring back to a principle of union in government, whether monarchical or aristocratic, people among whom absurd and dangerous theories were now keeping up agitation and discord.' Canning, however, was not inclined to approve of the proposal to apply the procedure of the Holy Alliance for the coercion of the South American colonists, who were entitled to decide for themselves as to the form of government under which they preferred to live. And he told the French ambassador that 'however desirable the establishment of a monarchical form of government in any of these provinces might be on the one hand, or whatever might be the difficulties in the way of it on the other hand, his Government could not take upon itself to put it forward as a condition of their recognition.'

The first step towards the recognition by Britain of the independence of the South American colonies was the appointment of consuls to take charge of British commerce at their ports. The intention of the Government to adopt this measure was intimated by Canning in his answer to an invitation to send a representative to a conference at Paris to 'aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America.' 'Commercial intercourse,' he said, 'had grown up between this country and South America to such an extent as to require some direct protection by the establishment of consuls. As to any further step to be taken by His Majesty towards the acknowledgment of the *de facto* governments of America, the decision must depend upon various circumstances. But it appears manifest to the British Government that if

so large a portion of the globe should remain much longer without any recognized political existence, the consequences of such a state of things must be most injurious to the interests of all European nations. For these reasons the British Government is decidedly of opinion, that the recognition of such of the new states as have established *de facto* their separate political existence cannot be much longer delayed.'

It was evident that the appointment of consuls to protect the interests of British trade with South America would be followed by the recognition of the independence of the colonies. But the British Government were desirous that Spain 'should have the grace and advantage of leading the way in that recognition among the Powers of Europe,' and therefore delayed for a little taking that important step. The Spanish king, however, had no such intention. He hoped that, by means of a conference with his 'dear and intimate allies'—the Russian Czar, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of France—he would obtain their 'aid in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America.' Canning peremptorily refused to have anything to do with any conference held for such a purpose, and the President of the United States formally intimated that he would not tolerate the interference of any European power in the contest between Spain and her revolted colonies. In these circumstances the South American question might be regarded as virtually settled; and though King George exerted all his influence to prevent the recognition of the insurgent colonies, and his views were supported by the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and Lords Sidmouth and Westmoreland, the British Ministry resolved to begin by negotiating a commercial treaty with Buenos Ayres, and thus virtually recognizing its independence. In the course of a few months similar relations were formed with Mexico and Columbia. When this step was taken, the Duke of Wellington tendered his resignation; but he was

induced to retain his seat in the Cabinet. Lord Eldon expressed his dissatisfaction, but yielded to the opinion of the majority of his colleagues. Lord Sidmouth, however, after in vain protesting against the decision, availed himself of a private excuse to retire from the Government; but he was mainly induced to take this step by the fact that he could not agree with those 'of his colleagues who advocated the immediate recognition by His Majesty of the independence of Buenos Ayres.' Without questioning the accuracy of the statement that the recognition of the Spanish colonies, at *some time*, had been decided on by the Cabinet before Canning's return to office, there can be little doubt that this step was at last mainly due to his exertions, and that he was justly entitled to all the credit which he claimed in the famous speech in which, two years later, he gave an account of his policy at this period.

It had been alleged by the Opposition that the French occupation of Spain had exalted France and lowered England. Canning expressed his dissent from that averment. 'The House knows,' he said, 'the country knows, that when the French army was on the point of entering Spain, His Majesty's Government did all in their power to prevent it; that we resisted it by all means short of war. I have just now stated some of the reasons why we did not think the entry of that army into Spain a sufficient ground for war; but there was, in addition to those which I have stated, this peculiar reason, that whatever effect a war commenced upon the mere ground of the entry of a French army into Spain might have, it probably would not have had the effect of getting that army out of Spain. In a war against France at that time, as at any other, you might perhaps have extended your colonial possessions; you might even have achieved at great cost of blood and treasure an honourable peace; but as to getting the French out of Spain, that would have been the one object which you almost certainly would not have accomplished.

How seldom in the whole history of the wars of Europe has any war between two great powers ended in the obtaining of the exact, the identical object, for which the war was begun!

'I have already said that when the French army entered Spain we might, if we chose, have resisted or resented that measure by war. But were there no other means than war for restoring the balance of power? Is the balance of power a fixed and unalterable standard? or is it not a standard perpetually varying as civilization advances, and as new nations spring up and take their place among established political communities? The balance of power, a century and a half ago, was to be adjusted between France and Spain, the Netherlands and England. Some years afterwards Russia assumed her high station in European politics. Some years after that Prussia became not only a substantive, but a preponderating monarchy. Thus, while the balance of power continued in principle the same, the means of adjusting it became more varied and enlarged. They became enlarged in proportion to the increased number of considerable states, in proportion, I may say, to the number of weights which might be shifted into the one or the other scale. To look to the policy of Europe in the times of William and Anne for the purpose of regulating the balance of power in Europe at the present day, is to disregard the progress of events, and to confuse dates and facts which throw a reciprocal light upon each other. It would be disingenuous indeed not to admit that the entry of the French army into Spain was, in a certain sense, a disparagement, an affront to the pride, a blow to the feelings of England; and it can hardly be supposed that the Government did not sympathize on that occasion with the feelings of the people. But I deny that, questionable or censurable as the act might be, it was one which necessarily called for our direct and hostile opposition. Was nothing then to be done? Was there no other mode of resistance than by a direct

attack upon France, or by a war to be undertaken on the soil of Spain? What if the possession of Spain might be rendered harmless in rival hands—harmless as regards us, and valueless to the possessors? Might not compensation for disparagement be obtained, and the policy of our ancestors vindicated by means better adapted to the present time? If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No. 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 regeneration of the Liverpool Cabinet produced a marked effect upon the domestic as well as foreign policy of the country, and in no department was this more conspicuous than in the amelioration of the criminal code. On the lamented death of Sir Samuel Romilly, his mantle fell upon Sir James Mackintosh, whose experience as a criminal judge in Bombay had convinced him that ‘capital punishment should never be inflicted except on rare occasions, and for very atrocious crimes.’ When he returned to England, and entered the House of Commons, there were upwards of two hundred offences which, according to law, might be punished with death. Many of these were of such a trivial character, that it is matter of astonishment that they should have ever been included in the list of statutable offences. Sixty years ago a person might be executed according to law for cutting down a hop-

vine; breaking the head of a fish-pond; being found on the highway, or upon an open heath, common, or down, armed and with his face blackened; being armed and disguised in any forest, park, or warren; robbing warrens; injuring Westminster Bridge; making a false entry in a marriage register; cutting down or destroying trees, and numerous other offences of a similar character. It is true that in practice the punishment demanded by the law for offences of this class had not been inflicted for the previous seventy years, and that there were only twenty-five offences for which any one had suffered death during that period. But retaining on the statute-book penalties which were never inflicted was not only useless, but mischievous; and Mackintosh argued, with irresistible force, that ‘either the law which sanctioned capital punishment for such offences was wrong, or that the practice which prevented its enforcement was mistaken—that the practice ought to be assimilated to the law, or the law brought into accord with the practice.’ He proposed, in 1819, that a select committee should be appointed to consider as much of the criminal law as relates to capital punishment; and though the Ministry attempted to smother the inquiry, by moving that the committee should have power to report on the whole subject of the criminal code, Mackintosh carried his motion by a majority of 147 votes to 128.

The select committee appointed in accordance with this resolution, before the close of the session, presented to Parliament an interesting and instructive report upon the subject referred to their consideration, and showed that the severity of the punishment denounced against minor offences, but not inflicted, had not prevented their great increase:—

‘It has sometimes been said,’ they remarked, ‘that the abolition of penal laws, which have fallen into disuse, is of little advantage to the community. Your committee consider this opinion an error. They forbear to enlarge on the striking remark of

* ‘Canning’s speech the night before last was most brilliant; much more cheered by the Opposition than by his own friends. He is thought to have been imprudent, and he gave offence to his colleagues by the concluding sentence of his reply, when he said, “I called into existence the New World to redress the balance of the Old.” The *I* was not relished. Brougham’s compliment to Canning was magnificent, and he was loudly cheered by Peel. Altogether it was a fine display.’—*Greville’s Journals*, i. 83.

Lord Bacon, that all such laws weaken and disarm the other parts of the criminal system. The frequent occurrence of the unexecuted threat of death in a criminal code tends to rob that punishment of all its terrors, and to enervate the general authority of the Government and the laws. The multiplication of this threat in the laws of England has brought on them, and on the nation, a character of harshness and cruelty which evidence of a mild administration of them will not entirely remove. Repeal silences the objection. Reasoning founded on a lenient exercise of authority, whatever its force may be, is not calculated to efface a general and deep impression.'

The committee recommended that the statutes which imposed capital punishment on trivial offences should be repealed; that certain other offences which they deemed 'malignant or dangerous' should in future be punished with imprisonment or transportation instead of death; and that, in addition, as Romilly had proposed, the punishment of death should be abolished for privately stealing five shillings from a shop, forty shillings from a dwelling-house, or from a vessel on a navigable river. During the session of 1820 Mackintosh brought in several bills for the purpose of giving effect to the recommendations of the committee. He succeeded in abolishing the penalty of death for stealing five shillings from a shop, and for those nominal or trivial offences which really deserved no punishment; and also in obtaining the substitution of transportation or imprisonment for capital punishment in the case of a number of more serious offences. But he failed to carry other bills to repeal the statutes which made it a capital offence to steal forty shillings from a dwelling-house or from a boat on a navigable river. His attempt to reform the laws respecting forgery was also unsuccessful. He introduced these bills a second time in 1821; but though adopted by the Commons, they were, as usual, rejected by the Lords. A bill for amending the laws

relating to forgery was supported by considerable majorities in its earlier stages; but the Ministry, who had opposed it throughout, succeeded, on the motion that 'the bill do pass,' in rejecting it by 121 votes to 115.

Mackintosh appears to have been a good deal discouraged by the failure of his benevolent efforts to ameliorate the sanguinary criminal code of our country, for it was not until the session of 1822 that he brought the subject again before Parliament. On the 4th of June he moved a resolution that the House should, 'at an early period of the next session, take into its serious consideration the means of increasing the efficacy of the criminal law by abating its undue rigour.' The proposal was resisted with all the influence of the Government; but so strong was the feeling of the House of Commons as to the necessity of modifying the severity of the code, that it was carried by a majority of 117 votes to 101.

Before next session the death of Lord Londonderry removed one of the main obstacles to this much-needed reform; and the substitution of Mr. Peel for Lord Sidmouth at the Home Office had placed the power to amend the criminal law in the hands of one who was both a sagacious and a humane legislator. He disapproved of Mackintosh's proposal to proceed by resolution; but he at once introduced bills to carry into effect his principles. 'Statutes exempting from capital punishment about an hundred felonies' were passed without the slightest opposition; and the House of Lords, which, under the guidance of Lord Chancellor Eldon, had hitherto shown a dogged determination to maintain the existing penal code in all its rigour, were now found as compliant as the House of Commons, and the 'royal assent was given without any difficulty to measures which had hitherto been represented as mischievous and alarming.'

A similar humane and liberal spirit was now displayed in other departments of legislation. Repeated attempts had been

made, but without effect, for the prevention of cruelty to animals. At last, in the session of 1822, the legislature was induced to interfere for the protection of cattle against cruel treatment, mainly through the exertions of Mr. Martin of Galway, whose benevolent labours in this sphere obtained for him the *soubriquet* of 'Humanity Martin.' It had hitherto been the custom to bury *felo de se* suicides in some public place, usually at the intersection of four cross roads, a stake being driven through the body; but this revolting practice was now abolished, and it was enacted that such persons should be interred in burial-grounds, though without the usual funeral rites, and between the hours of nine and twelve at night. Lord Hardwick's marriage law, as it was termed, which was passed in the reign of George II. for the purpose of preventing clandestine marriages, declared that the marriage of a minor by special license without the consent of his parents or guardians was null and void, and the children born under it were illegitimate. But very inconsistently and absurdly the law did not apply to marriages by banns. The evils arising from this unrighteous enactment were very great. It was not unusual for marriages to be invalidated after many years of cohabitation, and the children rendered illegitimate, and that at the instance of the individual who availed himself of his own illegal act to inflict this grievous wrong upon his unoffending wife and family. The misery produced by this state of the law was so flagrant that the Commons had repeatedly passed bills to restrict the period within which a marriage could be made void, and placing marriages by banns on the same footing as marriages by license; but they had always been thrown out by the House of Lords, mainly through the influence of the Lord Chancellor, who declared that a measure of this kind 'went to take away the advantages of legitimacy from the legitimate and to confer them on the illegitimate,' and that it was calculated to affect the whole 'mass of private property

in the kingdom both as to succession and possession.'

In 1822, however, an incident occurred which made the Peers practically aware how the law could be made to affect them as well as other people. The Marquis of Donegal had married in 1795 a Miss May, a minor, the natural daughter of an Irish baronet. Owing to the terms of Lord Hardwick's Act, her mother's consent to her marriage was informal, a fact of which Lord and Lady Donegal do not appear to have been aware. They had a numerous family, and their eldest son, the Earl of Belfast, was about to marry a daughter of the Earl of Glengal, when the brother of the marquis intimated his intention to call in question the validity of the marriage. Lord Glengal at once very naturally refused to allow his daughter to marry a person over whose head a sentence of illegitimacy was suspended; and this state of affairs excited great alarm in the minds of those that had hitherto been quite insensible to the wrongs and the misery of the plebians, who had up to this time been the chief, if not the only sufferers, from the English marriage law. A bill was introduced into the House of Commons, which provided that marriages which had not been declared void by any competent court should be only voidable and not actually void, and that the marriages of minors should be voidable only during their minority and at the suit of parents or guardians. The Lords altered the bill so far as to decree that no solemnized marriage whatever could be annulled, but added a long series of formalities enforced by severe penalties. The Lord Chancellor and his brother, Lord Stowell, who had firmly, indeed angrily, opposed the bill, were in no degree reconciled to it by these amendments. 'The bill,' the former said, 'was a partial measure giving validity to illegal marriages solemnized by license, which were the marriages of the higher classes, but leaving wholly uncured the defects in marriages by banns, which were those of humbler people. But his

principal ground of opposition was its injustice to persons who, having by the invalidity of particular marriages acquired certain rights of property, would now by this new law be deprived of those rights *ex post facto*.' In order to prevent what he regarded as an infringement of the rights of others, he moved the omission of the retrospective clause, and next a provision invalidating marriages by license when the consent of the father had been refused. Both were rejected, and then the stout-hearted old Conservative proposed the insertion of a clause for giving validity to deeds, assignments, and settlements made by persons having claims on any property affected by the bill. This, too, was rejected, as its effect would have been, as Lord Lansdowne observed, to declare children legitimate, and yet disinherit them—to people the House of Lords with titled beggars. These reiterated defeats by considerable majorities roused the indignation of the Chancellor, who exclaimed, with unusual warmth, 'To say the best of this measure, I consider it neither more nor less than a legal robbery, so help me God.' Their Lordships, however, did not sympathize with the fears of the veteran lawyer, and greatly to his disgust carried through the bill by a majority of more than two to one. The formalities, however, with which the new Marriage Act was encumbered proved so troublesome, especially to the poorer classes, that in the following session they were repealed, and a committee of the Lords was appointed to frame another and permanent bill on the subject. The new measure confirmed all previous marriages except those which had been declared null and void by a competent tribunal; but it empowered the courts on the suit of a parent as guardian to deprive persons marrying a minor of any property which they would otherwise have obtained from their marriage.

The nomination of Mr. Huskisson to the office of President of the Board, and of Mr. Robinson to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, speedily produced an important

change in the commercial policy of the Ministry. In the budget for 1823 the revenue of the country was estimated at £57,000,000, the expenditure at £50,000,000. Robinson resolved to devote £5,000,000. of the surplus to the reduction of the national debt, and the residue to the remission of taxation. His incompetent predecessor had established a sinking fund for the purpose of liquidating the public debt by the absurd expedient of borrowing the money to maintain the fund, frequently at a higher rate of interest than he had paid for the debt which he thus liquidated. The result was, that while Vansittart boasted that, by means of his sinking fund, he had paid off nearly £25,000,000 of debt since 1817, he had overlooked the fact that he had added £700,000 to the annual interest. In other words, by his costly methods of borrowing with the one hand to pay on the other, he had actually added £7,500,000 to the national debt in the course of four or five years. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer abolished this absurd arrangement of paying off one debt by contracting another and a larger, and established a sinking fund of his own, on the common-sense principle of devoting only the surplus revenue of the country to the reduction of debt.

Mr. Robinson was less fortunate in his adoption of Vansittart's scheme for the transference of the 'dead weight annuity'—the sum required for pensions and superannuations—to the shoulders of posterity. The amount that was needed in 1822 for the payment of these pensions was £4,900,000, some portion of which was constantly falling in by the death of the pensioners. It was calculated that the whole amount would expire in the course of forty-five years; but it occurred to Vansittart that if large capitalists would agree to give a fixed annual sum of £2,800,000 for forty-five years, the existing generation would immediately be relieved of the payment of a large sum of money. He appears to have overlooked or disregarded the fact that this would be done

at the expense of the succeeding generation. Greatly to Vansittart's mortification, the scheme proved a failure, in consequence of the refusal of the leading capitalists to advance the necessary funds. He did not, however, abandon the project, but proposed that an annuity of £2,800,000, to run for forty-five years, should be vested in trustees, consisting of the First Lord of the Treasury and other leading members of the Government, who should be required to pay into the Treasury the sum required for the pensions and superannuations. In order to provide the necessary funds, the trustees were authorized either to issue exchequer bills, or to sell portions of the annuity. It is strange that any person should have failed to see that this scheme, as far as it went, was simply undoing the effect of the sinking fund by contracting new loans at compound interest, while it was the object of that fund to reduce the national debt by the action of compound interest. It is no great matter of surprise that some matter-of-fact persons took seriously the joke of Lord King, who moved a preamble to the bill for carrying out this absurd transaction, concluding with the enactment that 'a series of loans shall be raised in a circuitous manner, and that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury shall have power to lend to themselves, and to borrow of themselves, and to conceal the whole transaction from themselves and from all other ignorant and well-disposed persons.' Mr. Robinson seems to have imagined that he was bound to carry through this arrangement of his predecessor, which was concluded in 1823 with the Bank of England, though, as it was justly remarked, 'the circumstances of the times made the bargain with the bank as disadvantageous in its terms as it was objectionable in its principle.' But though strenuously opposed by Mr. Hume and some other members of Parliament, it received the sanction of the legislature. A portion of the surplus revenue was devoted to the remission of taxation. Several taxes—such as the tax on ponies

and mules, which pressed heavily on the agricultural classes, on occasional gardeners, and on the lower order of taxed carts—were abolished. So also was the tax on shop windows. Ireland was relieved of the whole of the assessed taxes. The general window tax was reduced by one-half, as were the assessments on male servants, carriages, and horses.

The liberal commercial policy now inaugurated continued to make steady progress, though each particular interest in turn vehemently resisted the abolition of the 'protection' which it enjoyed. When the statute which empowered the magistrates to fix the wages of the Spitalfield silk weavers was about to be repealed, 11,000 of their number, in a state of 'dismay and alarm,' petitioned Parliament that the law should be retained; and such was the effect of their agitation that the third reading of the bill was carried in the Lower House by a majority of only 13, and was altered and disfigured to such an extent by the Lords that its promoters withdrew it. In the following session, however, a bill for the repeal of the Spitalfields Acts, which Wallace declared to be 'unjust to the merchant, unjust to the manufacturer, and above all unjust to the workman,' was introduced into the House of Lords by the Earl of Lauderdale, and was carried by a large majority. It was sent down to the Commons, and passed through all its stages without material opposition.

A much more important subject was the Navigation Acts, which had first been passed in the time of the Commonwealth, and were adopted in their existing form during the reign of Charles II. In order to protect British shipping, and to maintain the naval supremacy of Britain, it was enacted that foreign goods should be imported only in British-built ships, commanded only by British captains, and manned chiefly by British sailors. Heavy duties were imposed on goods imported in foreign vessels, and they were not allowed to be brought in at all in Dutch ships. These restrictions were long submitted to

by other nations, apparently without any doubts as to their justice and expediency; but at length, after the close of the war with France, the United States of America refused to endure any longer these one-sided restrictions on their commerce, and retaliated by imposing similar duties on goods imported into the States in British vessels. The inevitable result was that a serious loss was inflicted on the commerce of both countries, as the ships of each had to return home in ballast, and the consumers of the goods had, of course, to pay double freight. This state of matters was so manifestly injurious to the commercial interests of all parties that, in 1815, the two governments agreed to repeal the restrictive duties, and to place the vessels of both countries on the same footing. The lesson thus taught was not lost on other countries. Portugal followed the example of the United States, and imposed retaliating duties on British ships. The Netherlands passed a law granting a premium of 10 per cent. on all merchandise imported in Dutch vessels. Prussia also raised the duties on all British ships, and declared her intention to impose still heavier duties if Britain did not consent to substitute 'reciprocal facilities in the place of reciprocal prohibitions.'

It was evidently hopeless to attempt in these circumstances to maintain a system so injurious to commerce, now that all enlightened governments had come to the conclusion with the Prussian minister, 'that reciprocal commercial restrictions were reciprocal nuisances, prejudicial to all nations having reciprocal interests, and particularly to those engaged in extensive commerce.' In 1822 Mr. Wallace, Vice-president of the Board of Trade, to whom the credit is due of making the first modification of the provisions of the Navigation Act, brought in and carried five bills relaxing to a considerable extent the restrictions on the shipping of other countries, and on the trade of the West Indies with foreign nations. The claims of this enlightened statesman were

neglected by the Ministry, not much to their credit; but they were very gratefully acknowledged by the merchants of the metropolis. 'There was but one opinion among them,' said Mr. Baring in the House of Commons, 'and that was, that since the first establishment of the Board of Trade, all the exertions of all the former presidents were not, when counted, equal to those which had been made by the right honourable gentleman alone.' Mr. Huskisson, on his appointment to the office of President of the Board of Trade, carried out the liberal commercial policy which Wallace had so well begun; and on the 6th of June, 1823, he brought in the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, which placed the vessels of foreign nations on an equality with British merchantmen as regards duties and drawbacks whenever equal privileges abroad were conceded by the countries to which the vessels belonged. It was so clear that 'either we must commence a commercial conflict through the instrumentality of protecting duties and prohibition, or else we must admit other powers to a full equality and reciprocity of shipping duties,' that the bill passed the Commons in a thin House by a majority of 75 to 15. The gratifying result was, that from the passage of the Reciprocity Acts onwards the increase in British shipping was more than four times greater than it had been during the last nineteen years of the restrictive system.

The internal prosperity of the country kept pace with the improvement in its legislation. The official value of the imports rose from thirty millions in 1822 to thirty-four and a-half in 1823, and to upwards of thirty-six in 1824, while the exports, which in 1823 were valued at £34,589,410, rose in 1824 to £37,600,021. The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the revenue of 1823 at fifty-seven millions; but though two millions of taxes had been repealed, the actual receipts amounted to £673,000 above the sum estimated, and the income exceeded the expenditure by no less than £1,710,985. The Ministry were quite en-

titled in these circumstances to insert in the king's speech at the close of the session a cordial congratulation of the legislature and the country on the 'flourishing condition of all branches of our commerce and manufactures, and the gradual abatement of those difficulties under which the agricultural interest has so long and so severely suffered.' While it was 'recovering from the depression under which it had laboured, an increasing activity was pervading almost every branch of manufacture,' and 'trade and commerce were extending themselves both at home and abroad.'

It is noteworthy that at this period of national prosperity steps were taken for the first time to provide a National Gallery. On the death, in 1822, of Mr. Angerstein, a London merchant, who had formed a splendid collection of pictures, comprising the best specimens both of the ancient and modern schools, the Government availed themselves of the opportunity to secure them for the sum of £57,000, to form a nucleus for a National Gallery in the metropolis. Mr. Robinson justly remarked that 'if a National Gallery had existed in former times the liberality of individuals would long ere this have furnished it with as fine and beautiful specimens of art as can be found in any part of the world,' and he expressed his hope that if a National Gallery were formed at this time the collection of 'a high-spirited individual of acknowledged taste and judgment' would be presented to it. This expectation was speedily fulfilled. Sir George Beaumont, the generous patron of Wordsworth—to whose exertions the purchase of the Angerstein collection was mainly owing, two years after this transaction was completed—presented sixteen fine pictures to the nation. At this time, too, a magnificent addition was made to the library of the British Museum. George III. had collected a splendid library of 65,000 volumes, which his successor chose to regard as his own private property, and he also appropriated to himself, quite illegally, not

only the money which his successor left, but the whole of the jewels both of the late king and queen, and also of his own wife. He even laid hands on some valuable jewels which undoubtedly belonged to the Crown, and afterwards bestowed them on some of his female favourites.' 'The king had even a design,' says Greville, 'of selling the library collected by the late king; but this he was obliged to abandon, for the ministers and the Royal Family must have interfered to oppose so scandalous a transaction. It was, therefore, presented to the British Museum,' and obtained for His Majesty from courtly historians totally unmerited eulogiums on his 'royal munificence.'

At this period, when a feeling of content and satisfaction was widely diffused through all classes of the British people, Ireland was, as usual, in a state of anarchy and misery. The king had scarcely quitted her shores when the Orangemen and the Roman Catholics were again at open war, and the most shocking outrages were perpetrated in every part of the country. The Government tried a conciliatory policy. Lord Talbot, the ultra-protestant viceroy, was recalled and succeeded by the Marquis of Wellesley, a zealous advocate of the Roman Catholic claims; and Saurin, the severe and unpopular attorney-general, was replaced by Plunket. But the disorder of Ireland had now attained a height far beyond the reach of such a remedy as the mere change of ministers. Large districts of the country were in a state of open insurrection. Disguised bands of ruffians ranged throughout Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary, breaking open the houses of the gentry, seizing arms and gunpowder and portable articles of value, robbing the mails, and murdering the guards, houghing cattle, carrying off females possessed of a little money into the recesses of the mountains, outraging them in the most brutal manner, and compelling them to marry some of their captors. The country was virtually in a state of insurrection, and immediate and

stringent measures were required for the restoration of order before anything could be done to ameliorate the condition of the wretched inhabitants.

Accordingly, in 1822, the Ministry laid before Parliament bills for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the re-enactment of the Insurrection Act. The lord-lieutenant was empowered, on a memorial from seven magistrates, to proclaim any county to be in a disturbed state. The proclamation warned the inhabitants of a disturbed district that they must remain within their houses from sunset to sunrise. Any justice of the peace might enter any house in such a district, during the period mentioned, and give orders for the apprehension of the inmates who were absent. All persons found out of their usual places of residences, except on lawful business, from sunset to sunrise, were to be treated as idle and disorderly persons. All persons administering illegal oaths or demanding arms, all persons having offensive weapons in their possession and refusing to give them up, all persons not being travellers or inmates found assembled in a public-house at night, and all persons hawking or dispersing seditious papers or pamphlets, were to be classed in the same category, and to be tried without a jury. The persons found guilty of the last-mentioned offence were to be held liable to twelve months' imprisonment. Those who committed any of the other offences enumerated in the Insurrection Act were to be liable to transportation for seven years. An act was also passed to indemnify persons who since the preceding November, with a view to the preservation of peace, but without legal authority, had seized arms or gunpowder. Severe restrictions were also imposed on the importation of arms and ammunition into Ireland, or the manufacture of these articles in the country. These restrictions were to remain in force for seven years. The operation of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was limited to the 1st of August following.

These extraordinary powers intrusted to

the Irish Government were exercised with great activity and vigour, and the effect speedily appeared in the improved condition of the disaffected districts. As the spring advanced and the nights shortened, flagrant outrages diminished both in number and atrocity. The law was firmly put in execution against the disturbers of the peace, whenever satisfactory evidence could be obtained. At the Special Commission in Cork alone, 366 offenders were brought to trial, and thirty-five were condemned to death. Some of them were immediately executed, and it was intimated that the fate of the remainder would be determined by the conduct of the people in the district. By these vigorous measures disturbances in the proclaimed districts were completely suppressed, but still the country continued in a feverish and excited state. Coercion was necessary, and it had done its work; but the root of the disaffection and misery of the Irish people had not been reached, and in consequence the Government found it necessary to apply to Parliament for the continuance of the Insurrection Act for another year. The proposal was strenuously resisted by Mr. Charles Grant, who had for several years held the office of Irish Secretary. He contended that the present disorders in Ireland were only the symptoms of a deep-seated and chronic disease in the body politic. He traced the causes to the wretched condition of the Irish peasantry, who were reduced to the lowest possible scale of existence, so that, having nothing to fall back upon, the most common variation of fortune plunged them at once into absolute misery; to the unsatisfactory relations between landlords and tenants; to the rapid increase of the population, which leads to the minute subdivision of land; to the exorbitant rents exacted by the landlords; the burden of local taxation; the want of education; the miserably defective state of the police; the sectarian animosities between Roman Catholics and Protestants; the tithe system, and the oppressive mode in which tithes were exacted; and, to

crown all, to the rooted distrust among the people of the intentions of the British Government and Legislature—the fatal legacy of six hundred years of injustice and oppression. Mere coercion might repress for a time violent outrages and disorders; but unless accompanied by remedial measures, it would do nothing to cure the evils with which Ireland was affected. The House was assured that measures of relief were under the consideration of the Irish executive, and the adverse motion was in consequence not pressed to a division.

The insurrection had scarcely been suppressed by the iron hand of authority when famine broke out among the wretched inhabitants of the southern provinces of Ireland. The incessant rains of the autumn of 1821 had, to a large extent, destroyed in the ground the staple article of food for the Irish peasantry. The consequence was that, early in the spring, great numbers of them were in a state of destitution. The price of potatoes rose from a penny or three-halfpence to sixpence-halfpenny the stone. The stores of the poorer classes were speedily exhausted, even the roots intended for seed were consumed, and the towns and villages were crowded with the starving peasantry in search of employment or relief. The tales of their sufferings were heart-rending. It was no uncommon thing to see men and women fainting in the streets or on the roadside from mere hunger. Malignant fever followed in the wake of famine, and carried off great numbers, whose strength had been broken down by want of food.

If the British parliament and people had been slow to devise adequate remedies for the disordered state of Ireland, they deeply sympathized with the misery of the people, and nobly responded to the claims made upon them to alleviate their sufferings. A public subscription was opened in England for the relief of the starving peasantry in the sister island, and a most liberal response was made to the appeal on their behalf. A committee was formed in London to promote this praiseworthy object, and a ball

was held at the King's Theatre, which produced £3500 to relieve the distress. A royal letter was sent to the two archbishops, requiring them to enjoin the clergy of their respective provinces to enforce upon their parishioners the duty of affording succour to their distressed fellow-subjects, and authorizing collections to be made from house to house throughout every parish in England. A sum exceeding £250,000 was thus raised, which was supplemented by an equal amount placed by Parliament at the disposal of the Irish government, to be spent in giving employment to the people on works of public utility. By these measures the plague was stayed, and the people saved from actual starvation, until about the end of August the new potato crop furnished a sufficient supply of the usual food for the peasantry.

The disturbances and the distress which had for some time prevailed in Ireland had diverted public attention from the question of Roman Catholic emancipation; but on the 30th of April, 1822, Mr. Canning introduced a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 30th Charles II. as prevented Roman Catholic peers from sitting and voting in the Upper House, and supported it by a speech of remarkable eloquence. Though opposed by Mr. Peel, the motion was carried by 249 to 244, and the second reading was passed by 235 votes to 223. It was sent up to the House of Lords about the end of May, but was thrown out there on the second reading by a majority of 42.

The cause of emancipation suffered not a little from the conduct both of the Roman Catholics in Ireland and of their friends at Westminster. As no general measure of relief had been proposed in 1822, it was deemed expedient to bring the question formally before Parliament during the session of 1823, and the 17th of April was fixed for a motion on the subject. On that day, after several petitions had been presented for and against the Roman Catholic claims, Sir F. Burdett made a fierce attack on Mr. Canning, who was absent at the

moment, for his alleged defection from the cause, and represented the discussion on the subject as 'an annual farce, carried on year after year, conducive to no good purpose.' Tierney followed, and charged the Foreign Secretary with the ruin of the hopes of the Roman Catholics, from his having taken office without making the concession of their claims an absolute condition. Canning, on his return to the House, replied to these unjustifiable attacks, and asserted that, both in and out of office, he had done everything in his power to promote the success of this great cause. Mr. Grey Bennet declared that 'he now thought the affair was a perfect trick, or what in familiar language was called a humbug.' He was followed by Brougham in a most violent and insulting speech, in which, after highly complimenting 'the single-hearted, plain, manly, and upright conduct' of Peel, who had never swerved from his opinions, he poured out a torrent of virulent abuse on Canning, who had, he said, 'exhibited a specimen, the most incredible specimen, of monstrous truckling for the purpose of obtaining office, that the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish.' This was more than Canning, who was remarkably sensitive and not in robust health, could bear; and, looking steadily at his accuser, he said calmly, with suppressed emotion, 'I rise to say that that is false.' After a profound silence in the House for some seconds, the Speaker, in a low tone, expressed a hope that the secretary would withdraw the words he had used. Canning declared that 'no consideration on earth should induce him to retract the sentiment.' A very unsatisfactory discussion ensued, and at one time it appeared that the only solution of the difficulty was to commit both Canning and Brougham to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. In the end Sir Robert Wilson suggested that Brougham's invective should be understood as referring only to Canning's official and parliamentary conduct, and that Canning's rejoinder had been made under the impression that the

words were intended to apply to his personal character; that the secretary might consistently with his honour and feelings adopt this explanation, and that Brougham, on his part, should then declare that his accusation was intended to apply exclusively to Mr. Canning's political conduct. This dexterous, but certainly very ridiculous explanation, which virtually implied that a man might be a knave in his public character, and yet of unblemished personal honour, was adopted by both parties; and this unpleasant and indecorous altercation was brought to a peaceful, though not a creditable issue.

After this personal affair had been settled, Mr. Plunket brought on his motion that the House should go into committee on the Roman Catholic claims. As he rose, Burdett, Hume, and other Radical members, left the House in a body. In these disheartening circumstances Plunket's speech was brief, and a few remarks from Mr. Banks and Mr. Becher constituted the whole of the debate. Its adjournment till the following day was negatived by 292 votes to 184, as was the proposal, without a division, that it should be adjourned till Monday next, and a motion for the adjournment of the House was carried by a majority of 313 to 111. It was evident that the cause of Roman Catholic emancipation had been seriously injured by the intemperate conduct of its friends, and that the wisest policy for the present was to allow the question to rest. Even the proposal of Lord Nugent that the Roman Catholics of Britain should be admitted to the elective franchise like their brethren in Ireland, though supported by Peel and adopted by the Commons, was rejected by the House of Lords—the Chancellor, as usual, making a strong speech against the bill.

Meanwhile every branch of trade and commerce in England and Scotland continued to enjoy unexampled prosperity. Even the agriculturists ceased to complain of any grievances. 'The prosperity,' said Lord Dudley, 'extended to all orders, all

professions, and all districts.' 'Such is the prosperity at which the country has arrived,' said an eminent member of Parliament, 'that I feel in some measure at a loss how to proceed, whether to give precedence to our agriculture, which is the main support of our country; to our manufactures, which have increased, and are increasing to a most unexampled extent; or to our commerce, which distributes them to the ends of the earth, and finds daily new outlets for the distribution and new sources of national wealth and prosperity.' But unfortunately the prospect of increasing wealth to the masters, and of comfort to the men, was at this period seriously injured by violent disputes between the manufacturers and their workmen. For centuries the legislature had made vigorous attempts to regulate the price of labour, under the mistaken notion that the interests, both of masters and men, would be more efficiently protected by statute than by private contract; and though these enactments had totally failed to attain the object for which they were framed, some of the most severe of them still encumbered the statute-book. A law passed about the beginning of the present century declared all combinations to obtain an advance of wages illegal. Even a peaceful meeting to discuss the rate of wages rendered workmen liable to the penalty of three months' imprisonment, which might be inflicted by two justices of the peace. In order to secure for the country a monopoly of skilled workmanship, it was made penal for an artisan to leave the kingdom, and the exportation of machinery was also forbidden. These unjust and oppressive laws naturally created a great deal of irritation among the working classes; for though they nominally applied to both masters and men, they had entirely failed to reach the former when they combined to reduce wages, while the latter had frequently suffered imprisonment for their combinations to raise wages. The men naturally felt that they were not protected

against the injustice of their masters, while the masters were protected from the combination of the men. The combination laws had besides completely failed to attain the object for which they were passed. They, indeed, prevented open and avowed combinations; but they could not reach those that were secret, and consequently of a dangerous character. The practice of combining to protect their interests became all but universal among the mechanics and artisans. Strikes were of frequent occurrence, and led to acts of an atrocious description. At such times unpopular manufacturers, and especially their managers, lived in continual dread of personal injury; and workmen who refused to join the strike had their tools destroyed and their persons shockingly maimed or burned with vitriol, and were sometimes even brutally murdered. In consequence a strong feeling began to grow up, not only among the workpeople, but among the masters also, that the combination laws did more harm than good. In unison with this feeling a select committee was appointed at the commencement of 1824, on the motion of Mr. Hume, to inquire into the state of the law respecting the emigration of artisans, the exportation of machinery, and the combinations of workmen to raise wages, or to regulate their hours of labour. The committee left the question as to the propriety of permitting the importation of machinery to stand over for future consideration; but they recommended the entire repeal of the laws which prohibited the emigration of workmen, who could not but be irritated at being forbidden to carry their labour to the best market, 'while all other classes of the community are permitted to go abroad and to take their capital with them wherever they think proper.' There was reason to believe, too, that many skilled workmen, who wished to return home, remained abroad from an apprehension that they might be punished on their return. It was also recommended that the combination laws should be abo-

lished, as they had been nothing but instruments of oppression in the hands of employers, and that masters and men should be left free to manage their affairs in their own way. At the same time, it was thought necessary that a new law should be passed for the summary punishment of either employers or workmen 'who, by threats, intimidation, or acts of violence, should interfere with that act of freedom which ought to be allowed to each party of employing his labour or capital in the manner he may deem most advantageous.' Bills founded on this report were some short time after brought into the House of Commons, and passing through all stages without encountering opposition, became law.

It very soon became apparent, however, that the repeal of the combination statutes had been too sweeping and unrestricted. It took away at the same time all the security which had been afforded by the common law against violent measures to regulate wages, and in consequence, combinations and strikes increased to a most unusual and alarming extent. The operatives seem to have imagined that as the legislature had removed all restrictions on their combinations to raise wages, it had encouraged them to combine, and that by means of their trades' unions they could compel the masters to pay them whatever wages they chose to demand. As their demands at this period were in most cases unreasonable, and the remuneration for labour had already reached its proper level, the masters refused to raise their wages, and strikes took place in nearly all the manufacturing districts. In Glasgow scarcely any work was done from August to January, and in the northern and midland counties of England a similar state of matters existed. Industry was in consequence paralysed, and the trade and commerce of the country were seriously injured. As

these strikes failed to gain the end which the workmen had in view they were followed by violent outrages, both against the masters who declined to raise the rate of wages and the workmen who refused to join the combination. 'The chastisement of nobs'—as the workmen were termed—'the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, and the demolition of shops,' were specified as among the tasks which the members of the trades' unions bound themselves by a solemn oath to execute when enjoined to do so by the committee of management; and these tasks, as they admitted, were performed with 'zeal and alacrity.' Workmen who refused to join the unions, or to take part in a strike, were shamefully abused, and in several instances were assassinated, and the masters and mill-managers lived in continual fear of their lives. These disgraceful outrages made it necessary for the legislature to adopt prompt and vigorous measures for the protection of life and property. In 1825 the provisions of the Act of the previous session were repealed, and another Act was substituted for it, which legalized combinations both of masters and men for regulating the rate of wages and the hours of working, but made illegal any other combinations on the part either of masters or operatives. All attempts, whether by threats or violence, to prevent workmen not belonging to the union from working on such terms as they might think proper, or to compel them to join the union or any association for dictating to the masters, incurred a penalty of three months' imprisonment. By a subsequent statute assaults arising out of a combination to raise wages were to be punished by hard labour as well as imprisonment. These laws, which continued to regulate the relations of capital and labour for more than fifty years, probably effected as much for the freedom and security both of masters and men as can be done by legislation.

CHAPTER XVII.

Liberal Commercial Policy of the Government, and its beneficial results—Wild Commercial Speculation—Its ruinous issues—Failure of numerous Banks in London and the Country—General Panic—Efforts of the Bank of England to stay it—Government Measures for restoring Commercial Confidence—Discontent and Rioting in the Manufacturing Districts—The Corn Laws assailed—Restoration of forfeited Scottish Peerages—Independence of Brazil—Threatened Invasion of Portugal from Spain prevented by British interference—Burmese War—War with the Ashantees on the Gold Coast—British reverses—Governor M'Carthy killed—Complete overthrow of the Ashantees—Parliament Prorogued—New Election—Disastrous effect of long-continued drought—Duke of York's opposition to the Roman Catholic Claims—His Illness, Death, and Character—Succeeded as Commander-in-chief by the Duke of Wellington—Illness of Lord Liverpool, and its effect upon the Government—Result of Discussions in Parliament on the Corn Laws and the Roman Catholic Claims—Canning made Prime Minister—His difficulties in forming an Administration—Supported by the Whigs—Virulently opposed and maligned by the Tories—His Illness and Death—Feeling of the Country—His Character.

NOTWITHSTANDING the uneasy feeling that had been excited by the manner in which the workmen had abused the repeal of the labour laws, the Government persevered in their liberal commercial policy. They abolished the useless bounties on the whale and herring fisheries; they made a large reduction of the duties on silk, wool, and iron; on coffee, sugar, spirits, and wines; on foreign cotton and linen goods; on paper and books; on foreign earthenware and glass; on copper, zinc, and lead; and, indeed, on almost every article of consumption in the country. And though these changes were regarded with great apprehension by the persons engaged in the various branches of trade and commerce, whose interests were affected by the reduction of duties, the results fully vindicated the wisdom of the ministerial policy. Instead of our manufactures being ruined by the removal of restrictive and prohibitory duties, as had been confidently predicted, they were vastly increased in extent and value. All old industries were enlarged, and new and extensive commercial enterprises were undertaken, adding largely to the wealth of the capitalist and the comforts of the workmen. 'Nearly all property,' wrote the annual chronicler, 'had risen greatly in pecuniary value, and every branch of internal industry was thriving. Agricultural distress had disappeared; the per-

sons employed in the cotton and woollen manufactures were still in full employment; the various departments of the iron trade were flourishing; on all sides new buildings were in the course of erection; and money was so abundant that men of enterprise, though without capital, found no difficulty in commanding funds for any plausible undertaking.'

The revenue, of course, shared largely in the general prosperity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had calculated that, after his large remissions of taxation in 1824, he would have a surplus of only £420,000; it actually amounted to £1,437,744. He estimated that this sum would be nearly doubled in 1826, and that in 1827 it would amount to £1,254,000. He resolved to alter the absurd system of import duties on sugar, and the drawback allowed for re-exportation, by which the public lost 3s. on each cwt., that went into the pocket of the merchant. By reducing the duty to 27s. per cwt., and the drawback to the same amount, Robinson saved the country the sum of £300,000 a year. The conversion of the four per cent. stock into three-and-a-half per cent. had procured an annual saving to the country of £375,000.

All these savings enabled the chancellor not only to persevere in reversing the narrow and short-sighted policy of his predecessor, but to promote the moral

welfare as well as the fiscal prosperity and social comfort of the people. The illicit traffic in wine, and especially in spirits, created by the high duties on these articles, had been productive of immense mischief, and had demoralized large numbers both in Great Britain and Ireland, who carried on smuggling as their regular employment. The legislature in vain endeavoured, as Robinson admitted, to check the mischief by the most rigorous measures. They surrounded, as he said, the coast with ships and guards as with a wall of brass; they imposed penalty upon penalty, and inflicted punishment upon punishment, but all to no purpose. In spite of this vigilant and costly preventive system, smuggling, he admitted, flourished in every quarter of the three kingdoms. Its active agents hovered around our coasts, penetrated our harbours, traversed the interior, invaded the splendid palace of the noble and the humble cottage of the poor, offering their temptations in every quarter, and all classes of society yielded to the seduction. In the previous session Robinson, by the reduction of the duties on Irish and Scottish whisky from 5s. 6d. to 2s. the gallon, had dealt illicit distillation a blow from which it never recovered. Following out this judicious and effective policy, he reduced one-half the duties on British spirits, French wines, and cider, and thus, at one stroke, did more to suppress the smuggling traffic than all the costly efforts of the excise had ever been able to accomplish, while the revenue itself, in the long run, suffered no material loss.

The sudden and unexampled prosperity of the country was, however, destined to meet with an equally sudden and most disastrous reverse. The abundance of money and the low rate of interest led to an almost incredible burst of commercial speculation. The banks increased their issue of notes until there was, in 1825, from thirty to forty per cent. more paper out than in 1822. Money became a drug in the market, and its owners did not seem to know what to do with it. The rage for speculation seized all classes,

and became a perfect mania. New joint stock companies sprung into existence almost daily, and no scheme was too wild or absurd not to receive extensive support. Companies were formed, not only for life insurance, steam navigation, the formation of canals and railroads, and other similar undertakings, but for baking, brewing, washing-baths, wool-growing, coal portage, and the like. There was one company formed to undertake the getting up of companies, and another was advertised, the precise nature and object of which was professedly a secret known only to the projectors. The prospectuses of no fewer than thirty-five new companies were advertised in the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle* of the 23rd and 24th January, 1825. The recognition of the American republics turned the stream of speculation largely in that direction. Companies were formed to fish for pearls on the coast of Columbia, where no pearls were ever found, and to dig for gold and silver on the tops of mountains and in clefts 'where there were no workmen or tools to do this work, no fuel for the fires, and no roads or carriages to bring away the produce.' So reckless and ignorant or dishonest were the promoters of some of these bubble companies that warming pans from Birmingham were among the articles which, for want of room in the warehouses, were exposed under the burning sun of Rio Janeiro; skates from Sheffield were offered for sale to a people who had never heard of ice; and china and cut-glass were exported for the use of savages whose dishes and drinking vessels were cocoa-nut shells and cow-horns.

The South American colonies seemed to afford an almost boundless field for British industry and the investment of British capital; and it was alleged that not less than £150,000,000 of British gold was sunk in Mexico and South America. The increased demand thus produced caused an enormous rise in the price of almost every article of manufacturing industry. The price of pig-iron, for example, rose from

£6 to £12 a ton, and cotton rose from $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $1s. 6\frac{1}{2}d.$ a lb. The rise in the market price of shares in speculative companies, most of which proved mere swindles, was still more extraordinary. A share in the Anglo-Mexican Mine, on which £10 was paid, was sold at £158; one in the United Mexican, of the same amount, brought £125; and a share in the Real del Monte, on which £70 was paid, realized £1350.

Thoughtful and foreseeing men clearly perceived that this speculative madness must, at no distant day, end in wide-spread ruin; but their warnings were unheeded. Not only did country bankers persist in their paper issues—even paying a large commission to persons who undertook to promote the circulation of their notes, till their net note issue amounted to not less than £6,000,000—but the directors of the Bank of England continued to increase their discounts and to diminish their reserves, until, at the end of August, 1825, the circulation of the bank amounted to about £19,400,000, while the bullion in its coffers had decreased to £3,600,000. Other alarming symptoms speedily appeared. The superabundant productions of the manufacturer could not find an outlet; the still more superabundant exportations of the merchant could not find a market. In consequence the prices of almost all commodities were lowered, and especially those of the joint-stock companies, which had been inflated to such an extravagant height. Holders were now eager to sell out, buyers were few in number, and reluctant to purchase. The speculations in the American colonies brought no returns; no gold or silver came from Mexico, or pearls from Columbia; merchants were hard pressed for money, and as they could not find a market for their goods, they had recourse to their bankers. But the bankers themselves were already feeling the pressure of the changed times. They had been induced by the abundance of money and the low rate of interest, to discount bills of unusually long

dates, or to lend money on securities which, in the present state of the market, could not be realized, while on the faith of these securities they had issued their notes in large quantities. They were consequently unable in this hour of need to give assistance to their customers, whose funds were locked up in unsaleable goods.

The vast quantities of cotton, wine, silk, and other productions which had been imported far beyond the immediate wants of the people, had the effect of turning the rate of exchange against the country. The Bank of England, in conformity with its habitual policy, immediately diminished its issues and discounts. The feeling of uneasiness which had previously existed now deepened into great and general alarm. Several important commercial failures took place, and led to a run upon the country bankers, and bank after bank were compelled to close their doors. Serious apprehensions began to be entertained respecting the stability of some of the London banking houses; and when at length, on the 5th of December, the failure of the great house of Sir Peter Pole & Co. was announced, a complete panic ensued, and Lombard Street was filled with men of business hastening to withdraw their money from their bankers, or, with anxious hearts, waiting to hear the tale of fresh disasters. It was known that the house in question kept accounts with no fewer than forty-four country banks, and their ruin was naturally expected to follow its stoppage. The funds immediately fell, and they went down still lower when, next day, other three equally important banking houses closed their doors. The scene which followed is thus described by Mr. Baring, the famous London merchant:—‘A panic seized the public. Men would not part with their money on any terms, nor for any security, and the consequence was general distress. Persons of undoubted wealth and real capital were seen walking about the streets of London not knowing whether they should be able to meet their engagements for next day.’

The insolvencies in the metropolis produced of course a great and disastrous effect upon the country banks. The notes, and especially the one-pound notes, which they had issued in such vast numbers, underwent an immediate and enormous depreciation, and could now be bought for five shillings apiece, sometimes for even less than that sum. In many districts, it was remarked, the country people looked at every kind of bank-note as if it would burn their fingers, and would not accept one on any terms. Banks continued to break at the rate of half a dozen a day, until no fewer than sixty-three country banks, and five or six London ones, had stopped payment. On the 17th of December, the coin in the Bank of England amounted to only about £1,000,000. The directors entreated the Ministry to follow the example of Mr. Pitt in the crisis of 1793, and to issue exchequer bills. Lord Liverpool, however, declined to accede to their request, on the ground that, in Mr. Pitt's time, the national distress was owing to a failure of the harvest and the outbreak of the war with France—causes over which the sufferers had no control; whereas, in the present case, it was due to foolish and extravagant speculations, and if the assistance of the Government were accorded under these circumstances, it would operate as a premium on rash and reckless trading. The Premier was equally firm in his refusal to suspend cash payments; but he recommended the directors of the Bank of England to avail themselves of the authority which had been granted some years before, but had hitherto been unused, of issuing one-pound notes. One of the directors fortunately remembered that there was somewhere in the bank a box full of these notes, which had never been issued. They were immediately put in circulation to the amount of £500,000, and proved highly serviceable in arresting the progress of the panic. The Gurneys, the celebrated

Norwich bankers, displayed piles of these notes upon their counters several feet thick, and the spectacle at once restored confidence throughout that part of the country. An order was also issued to the officers of the mint to expedite the coinage of sovereigns as fast as its machinery could produce them. For about a week 150,000 sovereigns were coined per day. The bank increased its discounts, and in the course of four or five days it had issued in gold and notes not less than £8,000,000. By these prompt and vigorous measures the panic was stayed before the end of the year, and some degree of mutual confidence restored. In the course of the first months of the new year trade began to return to its natural channels; at the end of February it was announced that the bullion in the bank amounted to £2,500,000, and that the danger was over. But it was long before the country fully recovered from the effects of this commercial crisis, and the distress which the collapse of trade and the consequent want of employment produced among the working classes was widely and very severely felt.*

The commercial disasters of 1825 had taught an important lesson both to the government and the legislature. Though some of the causes of the catastrophe lay beyond the direct reach of parliamentary interposition, and no security against their recurrence could be found, except in the experience of the sufferings which they had occasioned; to others, at least, corrections, if not effectual remedies, could be applied. The legislature could not prevent rash and reckless speculation, nor the establishment of bubble companies by knavish speculators; but it was possible to put restrictions on the facilities which had enabled them to set afloat schemes that had benefited only rogues, and had brought unexampled distress on all other classes of the community. The Ministry, therefore, lost no time in devising measures to protect both public and private interests against such sudden

* This crisis proved fatal to a good many publishing firms, among others to that of Constable & Co., and Ballantyne the printer, in whose ruin Sir Walter Scott was involved.

and violent fluctuations, by placing on a more firm foundation the currency and circulating medium of the country. In their opinion, one main cause of the crisis had been the rash policy of the country banks in issuing such a vast amount of paper, that had enabled them to advance large sums of money to speculators on securities which, when a time of adversity came, could not be realized. In order to check this excessive circulation of paper money, the Government resolved to propose that, after a certain period, the issue of notes under five pounds should be prohibited; and with 'a rigour beyond the law,' under the apprehension that an immense number of small notes might be stamped before their bill became law, they gave immediate orders that the stamping of such notes should cease. On the 10th of February, 1826, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, in a committee of the whole House, his plan for the regulation of the small note circulation. He proposed that no new notes should be issued under the value of five pounds, and that those which were already in circulation should be allowed to circulate only until the 5th of February, 1829. This proposal met with the most vehement opposition, not only from country bankers, who saw themselves thus about to be deprived of a most profitable business, but also from merchants and country gentlemen. It was, however, carried in the House of Commons by a large majority. But after the struggle was supposed to be over, it was renewed by Mr. Hudson Gurney, a partner in the great Norwich banking-house of Gurney & Co., whose influence was so great that he compelled the Government to yield, so far as to allow the Bank of England to continue the issue of small notes till the 10th of the following October.

The bill brought forward by the Government was limited in its application to England; but they made no secret of their intention to extend its operation to the other side of the Tweed. The Scottish people immediately took the

alarm. The banks of Scotland, unfettered by the restrictions which had interfered with the constitution and the working of the joint-stock banks in England, had contributed not a little to the progress of national improvement in agriculture, as well as in manufactures and commerce. They formed, in short, one of the national institutions of Scotland, and the attempt to interfere with their constitution and management was regarded as a national insult and wrong.

For many years the Scottish people had complained of the way in which their old national institutions had one by one fallen victims to the system of centralization, originated and carried out by statesmen rigidly conservative of the abuses as well as of the advantages of the English institutions, both municipal and imperial. The old state offices, and especially that of Secretary of State for Scotland, had either been abolished, or made to sink into mere names. The customs, the excise, the exchequer, and other similar establishments which could not be dispensed with, had one by one been removed to London; and the process of transferring to England 'the management of affairs entirely and exclusively proper to Scotland' had been persistently carried out by the Government, 'as if Scotland was incapable of managing its own affairs,' or as if the Scottish people were 'totally unworthy of having the management of their own concerns.' These intermeddlers, who knew nothing of the country or its wants and capabilities, seem to have been imbued with the notion that whatever is peculiar to Scotland—ecclesiastical, municipal, or legal—not being English, must be wrong. They either did not know, or contemptuously disregarded the fact, that Scotland had its own traditions and history, of which its people are justly proud, and that their national rights, and privileges, and institutions were solemnly secured to them by treaty, and were not to be altered 'except for the evident utility of the subjects within Scot-

land.' They had therefore never hesitated, in defiance of national obligations, to lay unhallowed hands on its most cherished institutions, and to subvert them at their pleasure—a mode of procedure which Scotsmen felt all the more keenly that, under the existing system of representation in Parliament, they were powerless to prevent it.

In these circumstances it was natural that the proposal to interfere with their banking system, which had weathered the storm that had proved fatal to so many of the English banks, should rouse the national spirit of the Scottish people to an extent that seems to have astonished as well as intimidated the Government. The resistance to 'Southron aggression' was headed by Sir Walter Scott, whose patriotic spirit was roused to burning indignation at the treatment which Scotland had received at the hands of the 'bureaucracy at Whitehall,' and who saw clearly that if this transferring process were allowed to go on unchecked, 'nothing of what makes Scotland Scotland would remain.' His celebrated letters of 'Malachi Malagrowther' roused and gave expression to the latent feeling of indignation in the breasts of the Scottish people at the officious intermeddling of the Ministry with the system which had proved so beneficial to the country, and had gained the confidence of all classes and parties. The tables of both Houses of Parliament were instantly loaded with petitions from Scotland against any interference with its paper currency, and men of all political parties and every rank in life united in denouncing the insidious attempt. In the end the Government were obliged to abandon their proposal, and the small-note currency of Scotland was left untouched.

The mode in which the Scottish banks had borne the shock of the commercial crisis threw important light on a weak part in the English banking system. In England it was illegal to establish a bank with more than six partners. The Scottish banks were under no restriction as to the number

of their partners, and banking was carried on in Scotland by large companies of capitalists, who had provided much more ample and satisfactory accommodation for their customers than was to be found in England. The result was very striking and very instructive. While not one Scottish bank had failed during the crisis, nearly one-tenth of the English banks had been overwhelmed by the storm. The Ministry, therefore, resolved to enlarge the basis of the English banking system, and to repeal the restrictions on the number of partners. This could not be effected, however, without infringing to some extent the chartered privileges of the Bank of England, and the consent of that body was therefore necessary to the introduction of the measure contemplated by the Government. The bank directors at first expressed their unwillingness to give up their exclusive privileges; but after some negotiation with the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they agreed to the proposal, on condition that banking firms consisting of more than six partners should not be allowed within sixty-five miles of London. A bill founded on this arrangement was soon after introduced into Parliament and became law. The Bank of England was at the same time authorized to establish branch banks throughout the country—a measure which proved highly useful to the manufacturing and commercial classes.

These measures, however, though they might assist in preventing the return of another commercial storm, were not calculated to relieve the existing distress. Public confidence was not yet fully restored; the pressure was still severe on the houses that had survived the recent hurricane; and the ministers were again urged to follow the example of Mr. Pitt, and to issue exchequer bills for the relief of the commercial interests. They firmly refused, however, to take this step for the valid reasons formerly given by the prime minister; but they recommended the directors of the Bank of England to 'take the whole

affair into their own hands, and to issue their notes on the security of goods instead of issuing them on exchequer bills, such bills being themselves issued on that security.' The directors were at first unwilling to enter into this arrangement; but they ultimately yielded to the recommendation of the Government, and agreed to make advances to the extent of £3,000,000 to private individuals upon the deposit of goods. Commissioners were immediately appointed by the bank to conduct the business in the chief provincial towns; but the applications for advances were much fewer than had been anticipated. The pressure had been caused by the want of confidence rather than by the want of money, and with the restoration of credit the alarm subsided, and prudent trade and commerce revived.

The measures which had been adopted by the Government and the Parliament had alleviated the distress of the merchants and manufacturers, but had done nothing to relieve the sufferings of the labouring classes. Many thousands of working men had been thrown out of employment, and were in consequence enduring severe privations. A spirit of disaffection began to pervade the manufacturing districts, which at length broke out in acts of violence directed mainly against the power-looms, which the ignorant populace believed to be the cause of their distress. In the last week of April a band of weavers, armed with staves and scythes, assembled near Blackburn, and in one day destroyed every power-loom in that town and its vicinity. Next day the Manchester operatives followed the example of Blackburn, and burned mills and destroyed machinery. The spirit of riot and mischief spread rapidly throughout the manufacturing districts, and led to serious outrages at Norwich, Carlisle, Dublin, Glasgow, and other places. A great deal of valuable property was destroyed, and in the end a number of lives were lost in the conflicts between the mob and the troops called out to disperse them.

At the commencement of the session the corn laws had been vehemently assailed as the main cause of the 'present unparalleled distress and famishing condition of the operatives.' Lord King described these laws as 'a job of the landed interest, the most gigantic job in the whole history of misrule,' and night after night presented petitions against them, making a renewed attack on each fresh petition. The same course was followed in the House of Commons, and on the 18th of April Mr. Whitmore moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee on the corn laws. The ministers acknowledged the necessity for a thorough revision of these laws, but deprecated the discussion of so extensive a topic during the last session of the Parliament, when a dissolution was close at hand; and the motion was defeated by a large majority. But though the general question was thus evaded, the great distress of the labouring classes, and the outrages to which it led, compelled the Government before the end of the session to introduce two bills to modify the stringent operation of these taxes on the food of the people. The first permitted wheat in bond to come into the market on payment of a duty of 10s. a quarter, and other kinds of grain at lower rates. The second intrusted ministers with a discretionary power of admitting foreign grain during the recess to the limited quantity of 500,000 quarters. These concessions to sound economical principles, though very slight, were wrung with the utmost difficulty from the landed interest. But on the other hand, a large portion of the manufacturing and mercantile classes showed themselves every whit as unreasonable and selfish as the land-owners. The silk trade was the first to complain, and petitions against the importation of foreign silks were poured in upon Parliament from every district where this branch of manufacture had been established. The ship-owners were the next to make their voice heard. But the Ministry firmly adhered to their liberal commercial policy and the

advantages which were resulting from the gradual emancipation of the industry of the country from the ill-judged trammels that had been imposed upon it, were too apparent to allow the legislature to give any encouragement to a retrograde movement.

There is one act of the Parliament which was now about to expire which deserves special notice, as manifesting the contrast between the past and the present—the restoration of the Scottish peerages forfeited by the part which their possessors took in the efforts made last century to reinstate the Stuart dynasty on the throne. The most ancient and famous of these dignities was the earldom of Mar, which was the oldest title in the three kingdoms, reaching back to the time of the Marmaors, who ruled with almost regal power the extensive district of the Garioch in Aberdeenshire. The earldom had been held in turn by the father-in-law and the brother-in-law of Robert Bruce; by three regents of Scotland; by the hero of Otterburn—the doughty Douglas, the ‘dead man who won a fight;’ by the victor at the battle of Harlaw; by the brothers of two of the Stuart kings; and by the greatest man of his race, the Regent Moray. It was forfeited in 1715 by ‘Bobbing John,’ the leader of the first Jacobite rebellion, a poor creature who was utterly unfit for the position which he assumed more through disappointment and jealousy than principle, and was now restored to John Erskine, grandson of the forfeited earl’s brother, and the representative of a house which had both in ancient and modern times produced a remarkable number of eminent men. The Galloway branch of the great family of the Gordons, long noted for their adherence to the cause of Popery and of arbitrary power; the Drummonds, whose chiefs, the Earl of Perth and his brother Lord Melfort, obtained an unenviable notoriety for their adherence to the cause of James VII. and their flight after him to France; the Ogilvies, whose head, the Earl of Airlie, traces his descent from a Celtic

origin, and whose exploits have for centuries been prominent in the history of Scotland; Lord Duff and Lord Elcho, both of whom traced their descent from the celebrated Macduff, thane of Fife; Lord Nairn, whose ancestor fell at the battle of Culloden; the Earl of Carnwath, the head of the old family of the Dalzells; and Sir Patrick Threipland, baronet of Fingask—were all reinstated by this Parliament in the hereditary honours of their respective families. This act of grace was highly appreciated by all parties in Scotland, and indeed throughout the United Kingdom, and tended not a little to strengthen the loyal attachment of the Scottish people to the house of Brunswick.

While these events were taking place in Great Britain, the Continent on the whole remained quiet. Spain was now in the grasp of France; its sovereign had resumed his absolute authority unquestioned, and the great body of the people had patiently submitted to his sway. But the Spanish Camarilla were dissatisfied with the state of affairs in Portugal, and showed a strong inclination to interfere with its constitution and government. John VI., the king of Portugal, who had taken refuge in Brazil on the invasion of the French in 1817, returned to his kingdom in 1820, leaving his eldest son, Don Pedro, regent of Brazil in his absence. Two years later the Brazilians declared themselves independent of Portugal, with the prince as their sovereign; and after a great deal of disputing and wrangling, the Portuguese court in 1825 formally recognized the independence of Brazil. On the death of John VI., a few months later, his son Don Pedro formally abdicated the crown of Portugal in favour of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria, a girl of seven years of age, with the arrangement, in order to prevent any opposition to her claims, that she should be betrothed to her uncle, the notorious Don Miguel, who in 1824 had violently seized the government, and had for some time made a puppet of his father. This turbu-

lent member of the house of Braganza was not inclined, however, to subordinate his own pretensions to those of his niece; and the Absolutists, who were his partizans, and the army which shared their extreme views, rose in arms against the Government. Regiment after regiment deserted, and, crossing the frontier, were cordially received by the Spanish Government, who both hated and feared the free constitution of Portugal. Remonstrances from Portugal, backed by the British cabinet, produced prodigal promises, but no amendment. Protection continued to be afforded to the Portuguese refugees and deserters till they augmented into a large body, and proclaiming Don Miguel their king, openly prepared for the invasion of Portugal. It was even reported and believed that they were furnished with Spanish money and with the assistance of Spanish officers in this enterprise; it is at least certain that they were armed, equipped, and trained in Spain for that purpose.

In this extremity the Princess Regent, the Infanta Isabella, aunt of the youthful queen, made an urgent application to the British Government for 'aid against a hostile aggression from Spain.' A close alliance had existed between Britain and Portugal for well-nigh two centuries. So early as 1642 a treaty for mutual assistance and defence had been agreed to by the sovereigns of the two countries, and it was stated in the treaty of 1661 that 'the king of Great Britain does profess and declare, with the consent and advice of his council, that he will take the interest of Portugal and all its dominions to heart, defending the same with his utmost power by sea and land, even as England itself.' When therefore an appeal was made by 'an ancient and faithful ally' for help against the aggressions of the Spanish Absolutists, countenanced and encouraged by a French faction, if not also by the French court, it met with an immediate and cordial response. On Friday night, the 8th of December, the Government received official and precise

intelligence of the facts of the case. Next day the Government came to the resolution to afford the required aid. On Monday their decision was communicated to Parliament, and by that time the troops were on their march for embarkation.

Mr. Canning, in stating these facts to the House on the 12th, delivered a speech of transcendent eloquence, which elicited enthusiastic applause. 'None of the alliances,' said the brilliant orator, 'by which this country has been connected with the other nations of Europe is so ancient in its origin, and so precise in obligation; none has continued so long and been observed so faithfully; of none is the memory so intimately interwoven with the most brilliant records of our triumphs, as that by which Great Britain is connected with Portugal. It dates back to distant centuries, it has survived an endless variety of fortunes. It has been maintained under difficulties by which the fidelity of other alliances was shaken, and has been vindicated in fields of blood and of glory.' After a rapid but lucid sketch of the various engagements which Great Britain had made with Portugal, and of the unjustifiable proceedings of the Spanish Government, which he showed to have been 'contrary to the law of nations and of good neighbourhood, of God and of man,' Mr. Canning declared that 'adherence to the national faith, and regard to the national honour,' left the Ministry no alternative. 'We go to Portugal,' he said, 'in discharge of a sacred obligation contracted under ancient and modern treaties. Internally let the Portuguese settle their own affairs; but with respect to external force, while Great Britain has an arm to raise it must be raised against the efforts of any power that should attempt forcibly to control and fetter the independence of Portugal. We go to Portugal not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe constitutions, but to defend and to 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.'

The activity of the public offices kept pace with the wishes of the Government and of the nation. On Christmas day the ship which carried the first detachment of the British troops cast anchor in the Tagus, but their assistance was not required. The Spanish Government, informed by the French court that no assistance need be expected from them, laid aside their dishonest excuses, and at last fulfilled their promises. The Portuguese authorities, encouraged by the open support of Great Britain, speedily succeeded in restoring order in their country. A sanguinary European war was thus happily averted, and the allied despots of the Continent received a mortifying rebuke which they could not resent.

While the cause of civil freedom and sound commercial policy was thus advancing at home, our Eastern empire was suffering annoyance from one of its barbarian neighbours. The Burmese empire, which includes the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, fills up the whole space between Bengal and China, and is about 1100 miles long by 600 broad. The sovereign of this extensive dominion, ignorant, proud, and ambitious, and elated by his victories over the petty tribes by whom his kingdom was surrounded, evidently wished to provoke a quarrel with his British neighbours, and had for some time meditated a hostile aggression on their territories. His officers were from time to time guilty of encroachments on our frontier, accompanied by deeds of theft or violence, which the Government were willing to regard as the unauthorized acts of subordinate officials, and therefore refrained from retaliation or making them a subject of formal complaint. This forbearance seems to have been regarded by the Burmese as the effect either of weakness or fear, and in 1823 their government, in a time of profound peace and without any warning, attacked under cover of night a small guard of British sol-

diers stationed on the island of Shapuree, to which they laid claim, and drove them from their post with the loss of several men. No answer was returned to the demand for explanation and redress; but the Burmese local authorities intimated that it was the intention of their sovereign to invade Bengal unless their claim to Shapuree should be unequivocally admitted. Subsequently to this attack, the commander and several of the crew of a British ship were seized and carried into the interior without any provocation whatever; and when sent back, no explanation or apology was offered for this outrage. The Burmese generals, moreover, made inroads on Cachar and Jyntia, petty states under British protection, and constructed stockades on the principal defiles and high road of Cachar, to show that they intended to maintain themselves in that country. War of course followed these unjustifiable acts of aggression and violence, which cost the British Government a good deal of blood and treasure, and ended disastrously for the barbarians who had provoked it.

On the 21st of February the Burmese succeeded in repulsing a small British force that had attacked their detachment posted in a strongly fortified stockade in Cachar, and this success seemed to have strengthened not a little their overweening confidence in their own resources. War was proclaimed by the governor-general on the 5th of March, and on the 11th of May Rangoon, the principal seaport of the Burmese, was attacked by an expedition under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell and Commodore Grant, and taken after a feeble resistance, without the loss of a single man. A considerable quantity of ammunition and artillery was captured, and nearly the whole inhabitants fled for refuge to the jungle before the British could take possession of the town. It soon became apparent, however, that a campaign in the interior of the country would be attended with great difficulties. A detachment of our troops posted at Ramoo were

driven back with the loss of their commander and most of the European officers; and the inundations, together with the necessity of collecting a large supply of provisions, made it necessary for General Campbell to remain at Rangoon till the end of the year. In the interval, however, subsidiary expeditions, detached against the most important maritime stations, subjected the whole of the Burmese coast to the British arms. The stationary position of General Campbell's small army seems to have inspired the Burmese with fresh courage, and in the beginning of December the commander-in-chief of their forces, Maha Bandoola, appeared before Rangoon at the head of from 50,000 to 60,000 men. General Campbell attacked and entirely routed their left wing on the 5th, and next day inflicted a signal defeat on their centre and right. The Burmese general, however, did not abandon the contest, and with 24,000 men he took up a new position, 'with a judgment,' says Sir Archibald Campbell, 'which would do credit to the best-instructed engineers of the most civilized and warlike nation.' These works were stormed, however, and the Burmese fled, leaving their camp standing with all their baggage and a large proportion of their arms and ammunition. The British troops continued their advance into the country, driving the enemy out of the jungle, and battering down with their cannon the stockades which the Burmese had thrown up before every advantageous spot where they made a stand. Though repeatedly foiled in their attacks, the British troops in the long run always succeeded in expelling the enemy and in capturing their strongholds. But it was weary work, and their progress was slow in such a country and under such a climate, where heavy rains, burning suns, jungles, and swamps were most trying to the health of the troops. The country through which their march lay was entirely depopulated, provisions were in consequence scarce, and there was considerable sickness and mor-

ality among the soldiers. In September overtures were made by the Burmese for the restoration of peace, and hostilities were suspended for five months. The Burmese, however, had no intention of coming to terms, but merely wished to obtain time to recruit their forces and to prepare additional means of defence. The terms of peace proposed by the British general were repudiated with great indignation by the Burmese potentate; and before the termination of the armistice Sir Archibald Campbell was haughtily told, 'If you wish for peace you may go away; but if you wish either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us.'

Hostilities were of course renewed, and the whole army of Ava—nearly 60,000 strong—advanced against Prome, which was occupied by 6000 British and native troops. The Burmese were divided into three bodies, which were successively defeated by Sir Archibald Campbell after a stubborn conflict, and their artillery, ammunition, and military stores fell into the hands of the victors. The road to the capital was now open; but the Burmese once more professed a desire for peace, and discussed at great length the terms to which they were prepared to agree. A treaty of peace was in the end duly signed, and was affirmed to have been sent to the capital to be ratified by the king, who was to return it within fifteen days along with the English prisoners still detained there. It became evident, however, that the Burmese chiefs had no intention of complying with the conditions of the treaty, and that they had availed themselves of the truce to strengthen their defences and to increase the number of their troops. Another battle ensued at a town called Melloone, in a strong position on the Irrawaddy, which terminated in another signal victory of the British forces—with only nine men killed and thirty-four wounded. When the victors took possession of the town, and of the ordnance and military stores of the Burmese army, they found in

the house of Prince Memiaboo, their general, 30,000 rupees (£3000), and the treaty, which had never been forwarded to Ava. Sir Archibald Campbell sent the document to the commissioner, with a note saying that he supposed it had been forgotten in the hurry of his departure. The commissioner replied with great coolness and good humour, 'that in the same hurry he had left behind him a large sum of money, which he was confident the British general only waited an opportunity of returning.'

The British army resumed their march towards the capital on the 25th of January, 1826, through a dreary wilderness of prickly jungle. The Burmese made another stand at a place called Pagham-Mew, where they were once more defeated with the loss of their stores, ordnance, arms, and ammunition. The king now, at last thoroughly humbled, sued in earnest for peace, which was concluded in February, on terms highly favourable to the British. He agreed to pay the expenses of the war, renounced all claims to Assam, Cachar, and Jyntia, and ceded to the company the four great divisions of Arracan and the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim. These conditions having been arranged and an instalment of the money paid, the British forces, on the 5th of March, began their march to Rangoon on their way back to Bengal.

While affairs were conducted thus prosperously in India, the British arms suffered a discreditable disaster in Africa at the hands of a tribe of blood-thirsty plundering savages. For more than a century and a half the African Company had possessed a settlement on the coast of Guinea, where there was a solitary fort named Cape Coast Castle. The Fantee tribes, by whom it was surrounded, had been conquered about the beginning of the nineteenth century by a powerful native tribe called the Ashantees, and were driven to seek the protection of the British governor. A collision in consequence took place between the British and this warlike race; but after a good deal of angry discussion Mr. Dupuis, the British

consul, arranged a treaty with the Ashantee chief on terms satisfactory to both parties. Unfortunately the treaty was repudiated by the governor (Smith), who had been gained over by the Fantees, and wished to form an alliance with them. At this juncture the settlements of the African Company were taken over by the British Government, and in 1822 Sir Charles M'Carthy was sent out as governor of the Gold Coast. He seems to have known little or nothing of the real state of affairs in that district of Africa, and unfortunately adopted the mistaken policy of his predecessor. He made preparations for war with the Ashantees, put the town into a state of defence, and formed alliances with all the neighbouring tribes, who ranged themselves under his standard. The king of the Ashantees, on his side, was well aware of the object of these arrangements, and he seized a negro serjeant in the English service, on pretext that he had made some injurious reflections on him, and after detaining him six weeks in prison, caused him to be beheaded. He then declared open war against the British, summoned all his vassals to his assistance, calling upon them 'to arm against Britain, even to the fishes of the sea,' and boasted that M'Carthy's skull should adorn his war-drum.

The British governor seems to have been totally ignorant of African warfare, and quite unprepared to encounter the formidable enemy whom he had so unwisely provoked. On the approach of the Ashantees, a reconnoitering party, under Captain Laing, defeated a body of the enemy, and this success seems to have engendered in the mind of Sir Charles a rash confidence, which led to a most fatal disaster. Having collected a body of men, who were described as 'a very undisciplined rabble,' and a few hundred regular troops, badly equipped, and without any means of transporting either provisions or ammunition, he set out on his march against the Ashantees, 'through the sloughs, the bush, and the rivers' which intersect that district of country, his men sinking knee deep in the mud at every step.

After a toilsome march they came in sight of the enemy, 10,000 strong, on the farther bank of the Adoomansoo river. The Ashantees made several vigorous efforts to cross the stream, but were repulsed by the British troops. After the contest had lasted two hours, the latter required a supply of ammunition, and it was then discovered to their consternation that only one small keg of powder and one small bag of ball remained. The consequent slackening of the British fire enabled the Ashantees to force the passage of the river, and to surround the small army of their assailants, who, after a desperate but hopeless resistance, were cut to pieces. The ill-fated commander was wounded in the breast by a musket shot, and was subsequently beheaded, along with the three officers who had carried him out of the action. Only fifty men, including two officers, made their escape from the fatal field and reached the fort in safety. All the rest, among whom were the chief civil functionaries, paid the penalty of their rash and mismanaged expedition.

The victorious Ashantees now marched upon Cape Coast, laying waste the country with fire and sword. This discreditable disaster to the British arms took place on the 21st of January, 1824. But it was not till the month of May that Colonel Chisholm and Captain Laing, who had united their detachments with the wreck of Governor M'Carthy's forces, found themselves strong enough to encounter the Ashantees in the field. Colonel Sutherland the new governor, who arrived at this critical moment, brought with him a detachment of sailors and marines who were stationed in the forts, and thus enabled the garrisons to turn out against the enemy. On the 21st of May, Colonel Chisholm inflicted a severe defeat on his savage assailants after five hours' hard fighting. But his native allies, as usual, deserted, and he was unable to follow up his advantage for want of resources. A good deal of desultory fighting followed; and on the 11th of July the Ashantees

suffered another signal defeat near Cape Coast Castle, and returned to their own territories, leaving the whole country on the Guinea coast a blackened desert, where the helpless natives were perishing for want of food.

The Ashantee king, though repulsed in his last attack, did not relinquish his cherished project of making himself master of all the territory which lay between the northern boundary of his own country and the sea. During the two years which succeeded the defeat of Sir Charles M'Carthy, the savage chief silently provided supplies and collected an army for the purpose of accomplishing his favourite object. The neighbouring chiefs, however, soon discovered the reason of his vast preparations, and in great alarm applied for protection to Colonel Purdon, the new governor of the Gold Coast. They offered to raise 12,000 men, and promised in the most solemn manner that, if he would take the command, they would not again run away. Though he well knew that no great reliance could be placed on their promises, Colonel Purdon promised to assist them, and immediately made arrangements to resist the impending attack of the invaders. The only British troops at his disposal were eighty men of the Royal African corps, with four field-pieces of six and three pounders. He formed the civilians of the colony, British, Dutch, and Danish, into a corps of militia 500 strong, and he had 10,000 of the natives under his command. With this force he took the field at the end of July, 1826, and marched to meet the Ashantee chief, who was advancing towards Cape Coast Castle at the head of 25,000 men. On the 7th of August they met on an extensive plain, twenty-four miles from Accra. The Ashantees began the attack in a very imposing and determined manner. After the engagement had lasted about an hour, nearly the whole of the right wing of the British army, consisting of the native allies, gave way. At this critical moment Colonel Purdon poured a destructive fire of grape

and canister, with some rockets, on the Ashantees, who were terror-stricken at the effect of these unknown weapons. Perceiving that they were thrown into confusion, he made a vigorous attack on their centre, and at the same moment the chief of Aquimbo, who stood firm when the other native tribes fled the field, assailed them on their left flank. This combined movement decided the fate of the battle. The Ashantees were completely overthrown, with the loss of 5000 men killed and wounded. The whole of their camp equipage was taken, including the golden umbrella of state, the golden stool of state, and a large amount of gold dust, ivory, and other valuables. The great fetish of the Ashantees also fell into the hands of one of the chiefs of the allies. It was found to consist of the head of Sir Charles M'Carthy, enveloped in two folds of paper covered with Arabic characters, tied up in a silk handkerchief with an external covering of leopard's skin. The captor refused to give up this highly prized talisman. The Ashantee king was obliged to purchase peace at the price of 6000 ounces of gold, and to send his son as a hostage to Cape Coast Castle. The power of his tribe was thus completely broken, and the colony has never again been disturbed by their attacks.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of June, 1826, and writs were ordered to be issued for a new election, to be returnable on the 25th of July. Although there were a considerable number of keen and expensive contests throughout England, they partook more of the nature of a struggle for superiority between rival families than an issue which was to decide the fate of contending parties. The only two questions which excited much attention were Roman Catholic emancipation and the alteration of the corn laws. Mr. Stephen, a relative of Mr. Wilberforce, attempted to make West Indian slavery a testing question, but his advice was not generally followed. The concessions made to the

spirit of the age by Canning's foreign policy, and the partial removal of commercial restrictions by Huskisson and Robinson, had contributed not a little to strengthen the Ministry in the manufacturing districts of the country, so that they fully maintained their ground in England. An ill-judged and ill-natured attempt was indeed made to organize an opposition to Mr. Huskisson in Liverpool, but it completely failed. On the other hand the ultra-Tory party, assisted by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Bathurst, selected Goulbourn the Irish Secretary, and Copley the Attorney-General, as candidates for the University of Cambridge, in opposition to Mr. Bankes and particularly to Lord Palmerston, who had represented that constituency since 1811, but who was obnoxious to the extreme Tory party on account of his advocacy of the Roman Catholic claims. He retained his seat, however, in spite of their most strenuous and protracted efforts, though his colleague Bankes was ousted by Copley. On the other hand, Brougham met with a signal defeat in his attempt to wrest their stronghold of Westmoreland from the Lowther family. Mr. Beaumont, the Whig member for Northumberland, and Lord Howick, a new candidate, both failed in a contest for that county. Lord John Russell was rejected by the freeholders of Huntingdonshire. Hunt, the notorious demagogue, who had now become a blacking manufacturer, had the effrontery to offer himself a candidate for Somersetshire in opposition to Sir Thomas Lethbridge, and met with an overwhelming defeat, as might have been expected; and Cobbett, whose object, as he avowed, was to empty the purses of the candidates, Whig and Tory, offered himself for Preston—a town which at that time enjoyed almost universal suffrage. He polled a thousand votes, but was left at the bottom of the poll. In Scotland, which at that time had little more than a mock system of representation, there was, as a matter of course, a silent adherence to the old routine. The only contest was

in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which terminated in the election, by a majority of one, of Ferguson of Craigdarroch, who had returned to his native country after a voluntary exile of more than twenty years in India.

In Ireland the Roman Catholic Association exerted its utmost efforts to promote the election of candidates favourable to their cause. In defiance of the law this powerful Association kept its ground; and the priests for the first time openly took part in the political contest, and brought with irresistible force the thunders of the church to bear on the ignorant and superstitious forty-shilling freeholders. So overpowering was their influence, that Lord George Beresford, a member of the most influential family in Waterford, was obliged to retire from the contest, his own tenants being marched to the poll against him by O'Connell and the priests. The landlords now found themselves assailed and defeated by the freeholders whom they had themselves manufactured for political purposes, and in the end wherever an anti-Catholic candidate roused the opposition of the Romish church, his failure was inevitable. The ministerial phalanx, however, was in no degree weakened by the election; the 'No-Popery' spirit and cry were to some extent revived; and it was noticed that in proportion as the Roman Catholic cause advanced in Ireland, it seemed to grow weaker in England and Scotland.

Meanwhile, the extraordinary drought in the summer of 1826 had a most disastrous effect upon the productions of the earth. Wheat had proved an average crop; but the barley crop was far below the average. There was a great deficiency in pulse; oats in many districts, especially in Scotland, the staple article of food to the lower classes, and potatoes, the sole stay of the Irish, seemed likely to prove a total failure. The long-continued and violent heat had dried up the richest meadow lands in England, and made them appear as if they had been burned up with fire, so that it became

necessary to feed the cattle with dry fodder in summer, as if it were the depth of winter. The ponds and reservoirs had shrunk to mud deposits. It is said that in some noblemen's parks the deer died of drought; and it is certain that, in some high-lying districts, the people suffered dreadful privations from the scarcity of water. Several instances occurred in which labourers in the field and travellers on the road died from sunstroke. Cereals, of course, rose rapidly and steadily in price. The rise in the price of grain pressed with peculiar severity on the working classes, who were still suffering from the depression of trade, caused by the recent panic. By the 1st of September the importation price of oats had been passed; but by the corn law the ports could not be opened until the average price above the importation rate had been struck, and this could not be done until the 15th of November. It was quite possible, and by no means improbable, that during the interval the nation might be involved in all the horrors of famine. The Ministers consequently resolved to encounter the risk of violating the law, rather than incur the responsibility of allowing the people to perish for want of food. On the 1st of September they issued an order in council, authorizing the immediate importation of oats, oatmeal, rye, pease, and beans, upon the importers becoming bound to pay a small conditional duty if confirmed by the Parliament. In order to obtain an act of indemnity for this step, and to confirm these duties, it became necessary to assemble the Parliament much earlier in the season than usual. The new Parliament was opened by the king in person on the 21st of November. The indemnity which was sought by the Ministers for opening the ports during the recess was readily granted. The only other business of importance brought forward before Christmas was the interposition of the Government in behalf of Portugal, already described, and the enthusiastic approval of the Legislature was given to the proposal for sending

troops to that country. Parliament adjourned on the 13th of December. Before it was again assembled events had occurred which led to important changes in the policy of Great Britain.

The Duke of York, second and favourite son of George III., and commander-in-chief of the army, was termed by the high Tory party 'the breakwater behind the throne,' and in truth they had far more confidence in him than in the king. He was regarded as pre-eminently the Protestant champion. He had adopted his father's views respecting the coronation oath, which, in his opinion, made it impossible for the reigning sovereign to consent to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities without incurring the guilt of perjury. When the Relief Bill of 1825 passed the House of Commons by a majority of 248 votes to 227, it was expected, not only by the friends, but by the opponents of the measure, that the Lords would not again resist the express wish of the Commons; and Peel tendered his resignation to Lord Liverpool, and prepared to retire from the Government, in the belief that the bill would become law. But the interposition of the Duke of York arrested the threatened danger. In presenting to the Upper House a petition against the measure from the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, his Royal Highness took occasion to declare his determined hostility to the bill, and to make known the course he would follow in the event of his succeeding to the crown. After arguing strongly against the measure on general grounds, he concluded by saying, that 'he felt the subject most forcibly, and that it affected him yet more deeply when he remembered that to its agitation must be ascribed that severe illness which had clouded the existence of his illustrious and beloved father. He should, therefore, conclude with assuring their Lordships that he had uttered his honest and conscientious sentiments, founded upon principles which he had imbibed from his earliest youth; to the justice of which he had subscribed after

serious consideration when he attained more mature years; and that these were the principles to which he would adhere, and which he would maintain and act up to to the latest moment of his existence, whatever might be his situation of life. So help him God!' Cautious and prudent men disapproved of this speech as both injudicious and unbecoming. They thought it indecent in the duke thus to take it for granted that he would survive his elder brother and succeed him on the throne, and they considered it most unwise for the heir to the crown thus to announce beforehand his determination to resist the wishes and will of the people. But the ultra-Protestants were almost beside themselves with delight. They had the speech printed in letters of gold, and framed and hung up in their drawing-rooms, and placarded on the walls of the metropolis. The Lord Chancellor, in the ecstasy of his supreme satisfaction, wrote it out in his anecdote book before he slept. It produced a powerful impression on the opponents of the bill in the Upper House, encouraging the fainthearted, and rallying to the Protestant banner numbers who were inclined to go over to the enemy. The result was that the bill, which at one time seemed on the eve of success, was rejected in a full House by a majority of forty-eight. The staunch old chancellor, in the fulness of his joy at this victory, wrote to his daughter, 'We had a most sumptuous and splendid dinner at the Duke of York's on Saturday — twenty-four rejoicing Protestants around the table. We drank the forty-eight, the year 1688, and the glorious and immortal memory of William the Third.'

Now, however, it began to be whispered that this great bulwark of the Tory party was not in a good way. He was originally possessed of a constitution remarkably sound and strong; but he had from his early years been the reverse of a pattern of morality, and the life which he had led of fashionable dissipation and profligacy had made serious inroads upon his constitution. Though great pains were taken

to keep it secret, a dangerous malady had attacked his enfeebled frame; in spite of the utmost efforts of his physicians, it had made steady and rapid progress, and the end was visibly approaching and could not be far off. On January 2, 1827, the Lord Chancellor wrote to his grandson, 'The poor Duke of York still exists, contrary to what medical men said, as long ago as Sunday last, could be the case. My account last night from Arlington House [the duke's residence at that time] intimated that his constitution was still so strong that his existence might endure for some days. His death must affect every man's political situation, perhaps nobody's more than my own. It may shorten, it may prolong, my stay in office.'

The duke died on 5th January, and the chancellor, in commenting upon the event which he shrewdly foresaw would indeed seriously affect the position of his party as well as his own interest, says, 'I saw a great deal of his Royal Highness in some weeks preceding his death; and his anxiety upon the subject of the Catholic question occupied, and indeed engrossed, as far as I could judge, the whole of his thoughts. He particularly lamented that so many of the great nobility of this kingdom, naming some with whom he was very intimate, though possessed of such excellent dispositions and qualities, would not make themselves men of business; and he appeared to think that this circumstance was, with reference to the result of the Catholic question, or might be exceedingly detrimental to the great cause on which he thought the civil and religious liberties of this country so mainly depended. His death occasioned an irreparable loss to the nation. His own personal example as to great political questions would have done much for the country. He had, moreover, great influence with His Majesty; he showed me a correspondence he had had with His Majesty upon political questions, and the proper persons to be continued or to be appointed his ministers, in which, as well

as I could judge, his judgment was much governed by what had been, and what he thought would be, the conduct of each person as to the Catholic claims. This was shown to me shortly before his death, and very shortly before his death he predicted that change of Ministry which, soon after his death, took place. I firmly believe that that change would not have taken place if he had lived. We never shall look upon his like again.'

It was precisely the same reasons which made Lord Eldon lament the death of the Duke of York, that made the Liberal party, and especially the friends of Roman Catholic emancipation, regard that event as the removal of a formidable obstacle to their success. The duke had great influence on the mind of the king, whose indolence and weakness induced him readily to submit to the sway of his more resolute brother; and there is a strong probability that, as Lord Eldon believed, if his Royal Highness had survived a little longer he would have prevented the elevation of Canning to the rank of prime minister, and might have induced the king to try the perilous experiment of forming an administration on what was called purely Protestant principles, and composed exclusively of the opponents of the Roman Catholic claims.

The Duke of York was personally popular, and there was not a little in his character calculated to gain the affection of his friends. Charles Greville, who knew him intimately, and managed his racing establishment, thus speaks of his Royal Highness:— 'The Duke of York is not clever, but he has a justness of understanding which enables him to avoid the errors into which most of his brothers have fallen, and which have made them so contemptible and unpopular. Although his talents are not rated high, and in public life he has never been honourably distinguished, the Duke of York is loved and respected. He is the only one of the princes who has the feelings of an English gentleman; his amiable disposition and excellent temper

have conciliated for him the esteem and regard of men of all parties, and he has endeared himself to his friends by the warmth and steadiness of his attachments, and from the implicit confidence they all have in his truth, straightforwardness, and sincerity. He delights in the society of men of the world, and in a life of gaiety and pleasure. He is very easily amused, and particularly with jokes full of coarseness and indelicacy. The men with whom he lives most are *trés polissons*, and *la polissonerie* is the tone of his society.'

The results of the duke's reckless mismanagement and carelessness in money matters were not unfrequently degrading to himself, as well as annoying to his friends. 'Oatlands' (the country residence of the duke) says Greville, 'is the worst managed establishment in England; there are a great many servants, and nobody waits on you; a vast number of horses, and none to ride or drive. I am just returned from Oatlands; we had an immense party, the most numerous ever known there. The duchess wished it to have been prolonged, but there were no funds. The distress they are in is inconceivable. When the duchess came down there was no water in the house. She asked the reason, and was informed that the water came by pipes from St. George's Hill, which were stopped up with sand; and as the workmen were never paid, they would not clear them out. She ordered the pipes to be cleared, and the bills brought to her, which was done. On Thursday there was a great distress, as the steward had no money to pay the tradespeople, and the duke was prevailed on with great difficulty to produce a small sum for the purpose. The house is nearly in ruins.'

The profligacy in which his Royal Highness openly and recklessly indulged, his addiction to gambling, and his pecuniary extravagance, were most injurious to public morality, as well as to his own reputation. Not a few of the tradesmen who had

for years supplied necessities as well as luxuries for the duke's establishments in town and country, found that, in trusting to his honesty and honour for payment of their accounts, they had leant on a broken reed, and were in consequence reduced to beggary. For a good many years statements appeared from time to time in the public journals respecting their sufferings arising out of the non-payment of the duke's debts, and the imprisonment which some of them, as insolvent debtors, had to endure in consequence of his misconduct. But in the course of time these stories were forgotten, and the statue of his Royal Highness, standing conspicuous on its pillar within sight of the Horse Guards, commemorates the services which, as commander-in-chief, he undoubtedly rendered to the country in promoting the welfare and efficiency of the British forces.

It was the universal opinion that the claims of the Duke of Wellington to the vacant office of Commander-in-chief of the British army were paramount. But the royal family had always regarded this position as one of their hereditary prerogatives, and as there was at this time no prince of the blood who was qualified to fill that important office, George IV. actually fancied that he should retain the command of the army in his own hands, and mentioned his intention to do so to some of the officers. 'The preposterous idea,' however, as it was termed by the Premier, was at once scouted by the Ministry, and the Duke of Wellington was immediately appointed Commander-in-chief.

In consequence of the decease of the Duke of York, his brother, the Duke of Clarence, became heir presumptive to the throne. As was the custom of the family, this change in the duke's position was made the ground of a claim for an increase in his income. The income of the Duke and Duchess of Clarence had, up to this time, been £26,500. As the amount of £60,000 a year, originally settled on the younger sons of George III., was with benefit of

survivorship, an addition of £3000 a-year now accrued to the duke on the death of his elder brother. The Ministry proposed that the Parliament should settle upon him a further sum of £3000, and £6000 on the duchess, thus raising their joint incomes to £38,500. The proposal was strenuously resisted, not only by the Radical members of the House of Commons, but by Lord Althorp, Lord Howick, Lord Morpeth, and the Marquis of Tavistock, who argued that an income of £30,000 a-year was amply sufficient to maintain the position of the duke, that the death of his brother did not alter that position or increase the expense of his establishment, and that the distressed state of the country rendered such an application to Parliament peculiarly inexpedient. The people sympathized with these sentiments; but the great body of the members of Parliament were unwilling to run the risk of incurring the resentment of the presumptive heir to the throne, and the additional grant was carried by a large majority.

Long before this unpopular and injudicious arrangement was made, the Duke of York had been buried in the royal sepulchre at Windsor. The king, who was always lavish of expense when others were to bear the burden, 'ordered,' says Greville, 'that the funeral should be public and magnificent.' All the details of the ceremonial were arranged by himself. As usually happened with matters which the king personally arranged, the ceremony was most miserably performed. 'Nothing could be worse than it was,' says Greville; 'the cold was intense, and it is only marvellous that more persons did not suffer from it.' The funeral was, of course, largely attended, but the king was not present; and though the Premier, fortunately for himself, was absent at Bath, the cabinet was represented by the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon, Melville, and Westmoreland, and by Canning, Peel, Huskisson, and Wynn. The intense damp of St. George's chapel, even more than the bitter cold, proved fatal to some of the most distinguished attendants;

but Lord Eldon, says his biographer, 'recollecting his own tendency to gout, protected his feet by laying down his hat on the flagstones and standing upon it, and his precaution was completely successful.' Others, however, were not so cautious and careful. Pelham, bishop of Lincoln, caught a severe cold, and died of the effects of it in three weeks. The Dukes of Wellington and Montrose were both very seriously unwell for some days after; and Canning, on whom repeated attacks of the gout, and the labour and worry of the previous session, had told heavily, was seized with a dangerous illness, which for some weeks made him unable either to write or even to read his own letters, or to hold any lengthened conversation on public business: indeed, there is reason to believe that he never recovered from its effects.

The illness of another eminent individual, which speedily followed the death of the Duke of York, exercised a still more important influence on the state of public affairs. The health of Lord Liverpool had for some time been in an unsatisfactory state. His incessant labours and anxieties, and latterly the differences in the Cabinet respecting their commercial policy and the Roman Catholic disabilities, had worn him out; and though he was in his place in the House of Lords when Parliament met in February, and took part in the discussion on the Duke of Clarence's grant, his friends remarked upon the unusual inefficiency in his manner in opening this proposition. Next morning (February 18th) he rose as usual, and after breakfast went into his library. His servant, surprised that he did not ring his bell, as he was in the habit of doing, went into his room, and found him on the floor in a fit of apoplexy, apparently combined with paralysis. It was doubtful at first whether his life would be prolonged, but quite certain that his official career was at an end. He lingered on for two years, but could not be said to have ever recovered his full consciousness.

Lord Liverpool, who had filled the office of first minister of the crown for fifteen years, was not possessed either of great abilities or attainments. His disposition was not energetic or warm; he did not cultivate the friendship even of his colleagues; and, as might have been expected, when he was suddenly struck down, it was remarked how little any body appeared to care about the *man*. But his abilities were at the time considerably underrated, overshadowed as he was by Canning, Eldon, and Wellington. He was diligent and upright, had a sound judgment, a good deal of facility in debate, and a talent, as rare as it is useful, of harmonizing the discordant elements of which his Cabinet was composed, and inducing them to work in unison. He so managed matters as to keep all points of difference in the back-ground and all points of agreement in the fore-ground. His knowledge of financial affairs was extensive and accurate; he was at one with Huskisson, Robinson, and Canning in regard to their commercial policy, and at the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a plan for the modification of the corn laws. But he was nervously apprehensive of a violent opposition from the obstructionists in his own Cabinet and in Parliament, and shrunk from innovations which would provoke their hostility. Though he acted with the Lord Chancellor and the other bigoted anti-Catholic members of the Government, he was personally quite free from bigotry; and his opposition to the claims of the Roman Catholics was based, not on religious, but on purely political grounds. He looked on the question as one to be decided by expediency. He foresaw that its settlement could not be much longer postponed, and he had made up his mind to retire from office in order that it might be settled by statesmen who had throughout consistently advocated the repeal of Roman Catholic disabilities on grounds both of justice and sound policy. The termination of his Ministry brought about a crisis which had long been impend-

ing, and could not in any case have been much longer delayed. It broke up the old Tory party and prepared the way for the vast changes which in no long time took place, both in the domestic and foreign policy of our country.

The illness of Lord Liverpool produced great anxiety among the extreme Tory party. They had of late complained bitterly that they had been committed to a policy of which they entirely disapproved, and the disunion between them and the section headed by Canning continued to increase after the removal of their connecting link. Their supporters in the House of Commons fully coincided with their views, and they went so far in their dislike to what they termed a 'see-saw' government as to hint that a purely Protestant cabinet should now be formed, and that Peel should replace Canning as leader of the Commons. This proposal was, of course, utterly preposterous; but that it should ever have been entertained shows how blind the party were to the signs of the times. Canning, whom they both feared and distrusted, was at this time lying seriously ill at Brighton; and it was properly resolved by the Cabinet that no immediate steps should be taken to supply Lord Liverpool's place. The only pressing measure of the Government was the alteration of the corn laws, which the Premier had been preparing at the time of his seizure; and it had been resolved to propose the adoption of a sliding scale instead of a hard and fast line of prohibition. The duty on imported corn was to vary with its price in the home market. When grain was cheap, the duties were to rise; when it was dear, the duties were to fall. But 'the great landowners were determined on prohibition; no compromise would appease them,' and it was expected that they would offer a violent opposition to the ministerial scheme. They discovered, however, when the measure was introduced into Parliament, that the great body of the people regarded it as a fair compromise; and though several amendments were pro-

posed on both sides of the House, the bill passed the Commons without any material alteration.

The Roman Catholic question, which was once more brought forward at this time, was the object of greater interest than the new corn law, as it afforded the two parties an opportunity of testing their strength, and thus indicating indirectly their opinion respecting Lord Liverpool's successor. The usual motion was proposed by Sir Francis Burdett on the 5th of March, and the debate continued two days. Early in the evening of the second day of the discussion, Sir John Copley, Master of the Rolls (afterwards Lord Lyndhurst), delivered a powerful speech against the motion, in which he attempted by an elaborate historical argument to show that the penal laws were justifiable, and that the great statesmen who had previously supported emancipation had combined with it some securities which the present measure did not contain. Both the point and the arguments in support of it had obviously been borrowed from a pamphlet recently published by Dr. Phillpotts, rector of the rich living of Stanhope, afterwards bishop of Exeter. Before Copley had concluded, the source of his inspiration was noticed, and a stanza from a well-known song was whispered through the House—

'Dear Tom, this brown jug which now foams with
mild ale,
Out of which I now drink to sweet Nan of the Vale,
Was once Toby Phillpotts.'

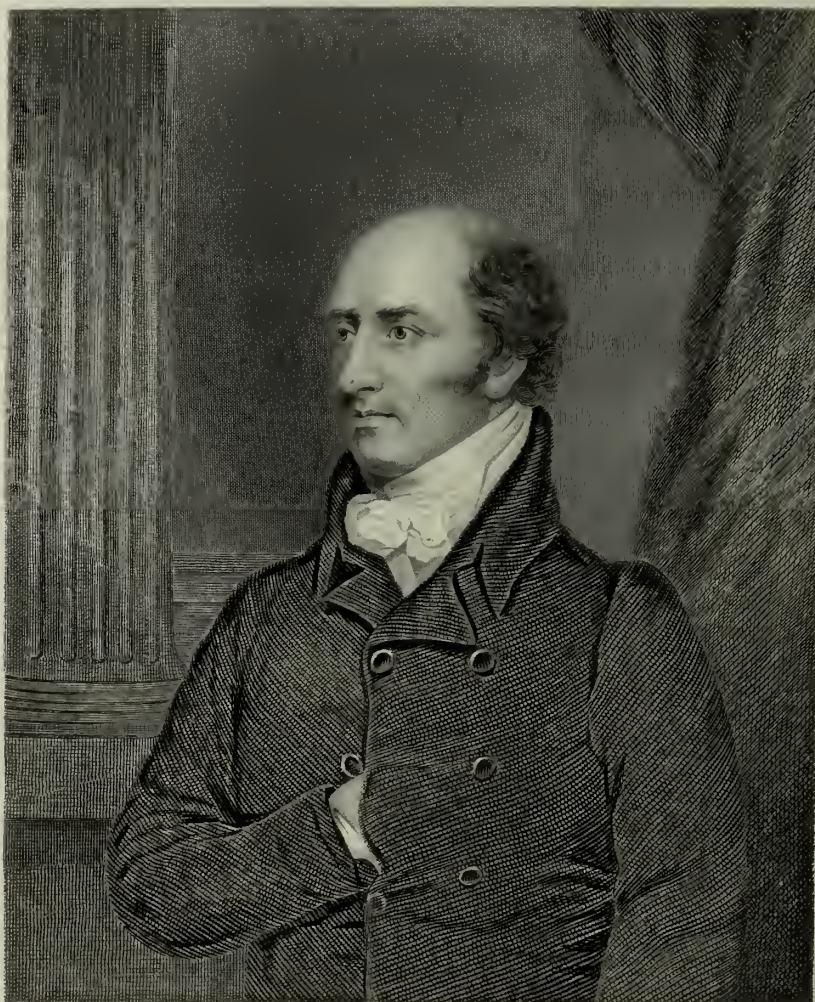
The Master of the Rolls was followed by Plunket, Brougham, Peel, and Canning. 'It was a brilliant and memorable night,' says an eye-witness, 'but neither Canning nor Copley appeared to the greatest advantage.' Canning, who considered—quite erroneously—that the pamphlet had been written at Copley's dictation, showed a good deal of irritation, and devoted his speech to a severe attack on the Master of the Rolls, which was greatly relished by both sides of the House. The conclusion of his speech was deeply impressive, and

would have been more so if it could have been known that it contained his last appeal to Parliament on this question. 'I conjure the House,' he said, 'to reflect that the motion is merely a declaration on the part of the House, that the state of Ireland and of the Roman Catholic population is such as to demand the consideration of the House. To this proposition it is intended to oppose a direct negative, importing that the House does not think that the state of Ireland or the laws affecting the Roman Catholics deserve consideration. That is the issue on which the House is now going to decide. The resolution goes no farther than that the House should adopt the opinions of its predecessors, who sent three bills up to the House of Lords of relief to the Roman Catholics. On the other hand, if this resolution should be negatived, if the House of Commons should decide that the consideration of the state of Ireland is not worthy to be entered upon, then is the House of Commons changed indeed; and it would be more easy to imagine than it would be safe for me to express the consequence that may ensue from such a change.'

Notwithstanding this appeal, the supporters of Roman Catholic emancipation were unexpectedly defeated, at five o'clock on the morning of the 7th of March, by a majority of four in a House of 584 members. Greville says, 'The question was lost by accident; several Catholics were suddenly taken ill, or arrived too late for the division.' But there can be no doubt that the ranks of their opponents had been augmented by the recent general election.

The result of this debate gave increased confidence to the Protestant party in Parliament, and strengthened their expectation that an administration would now be formed entirely in accordance with their views. But the more sagacious members of the party saw that this was impracticable. Peel explicitly informed the king that he would take no part in such an attempt. His wish was that a Protestant peer of sufficient weight and influence, whose general

David M. M.



T. Stewardson

E. Stodart

GEORGE CANNING.

principles were in accordance with those of Lord Liverpool, should be placed at the head of the Government, and that in other respects the Cabinet should remain as then constituted. But no such peer could be found, and the Duke of Wellington declared that he would 'have been worse than mad' if he had acceded to the proposal that he should be appointed prime minister. Canning, on the other hand, explicitly stated that if those whose sentiments were favourable to the Roman Catholic claims were to be excluded solely on account of their views from the highest offices of state, he could not 'consent to be the individual in whose person such a principle should be established.' He therefore felt himself bound honestly to state that 'the substantive power of first minister he must have, and what was more, must be known to have,' or he must beg leave to retire from a situation which 'he could no longer fill with satisfaction to himself or with benefit to the king's service.'

The king was in a state of great perplexity. He had brought himself (but no one else) to believe that he entertained his father's conscientious opinions respecting the coronation oath, and that his opposition to the Roman Catholic claims was based on the highest principles. He had a personal dislike to Canning, and great reluctance to place him at the head of the Government; and yet he had an uneasy consciousness that the services of that minister could not be dispensed with. In his agitation and distress of mind 'he sent for Peel,' says Greville, 'and told him he must see the Duke of Wellington.' Peel endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain. The duke was sent for, but he refused to go. He sent the king word that he had nothing to say to him, and that it would not be fair to his colleagues that he should see the king at such a moment. Consequently he saw none of his ministers till he saw Canning, who was taken to the Pavilion in a chair' (owing to his illness). He found the king professedly as hostile as

ever to any concession to the Roman Catholics, and accordingly advised him to form an administration 'conformable' to his own opinions. Canning was well aware, however, and so was His Majesty, that this was impracticable; but, in keeping with his weak and unvarnished character, he pretended that his determination not to yield was immovable. He left Brighton for Windsor about the beginning of April. 'From the moment of his arrival,' says Greville, 'every hour produced a fresh report about the administration; every day the new appointment was expected to be declared; and the ministers, Peel, Lord Bathurst, the Duke of Wellington, and Canning, were successively designated as the persons chosen to form a government. He had no sooner arrived than he saw his ministers *seriatim*, but nothing could induce him to come to any determination. He wavered and doubted, and to his confidants, with whom he could bluster and talk, he expressed in no measured terms his detestation of Liberal principles, and especially of Catholic emancipation. He begged his ministers to stand by him, and day after day elapsed and nothing was settled.'

At this critical moment a movement of the ultra-Protestant party is believed to have contributed somewhat to bring His Majesty to a determination on the subject. A number of influential Tory noblemen held a meeting to agree upon a common course of action, and the Duke of Newcastle requested an audience of the king and informed His Majesty that he came, as the representative of these territorial magnates and borough-mongers, to declare that if Mr. Canning was appointed prime minister they would withdraw their support from the Government. This attempt at intimidation touched the king's pride, and made him more disposed to acquiesce in the inevitable result. At length, on the 10th of April, Canning was formally intrusted with the duty of forming an administration. He lost no time in making this known to his colleagues and requesting their support.

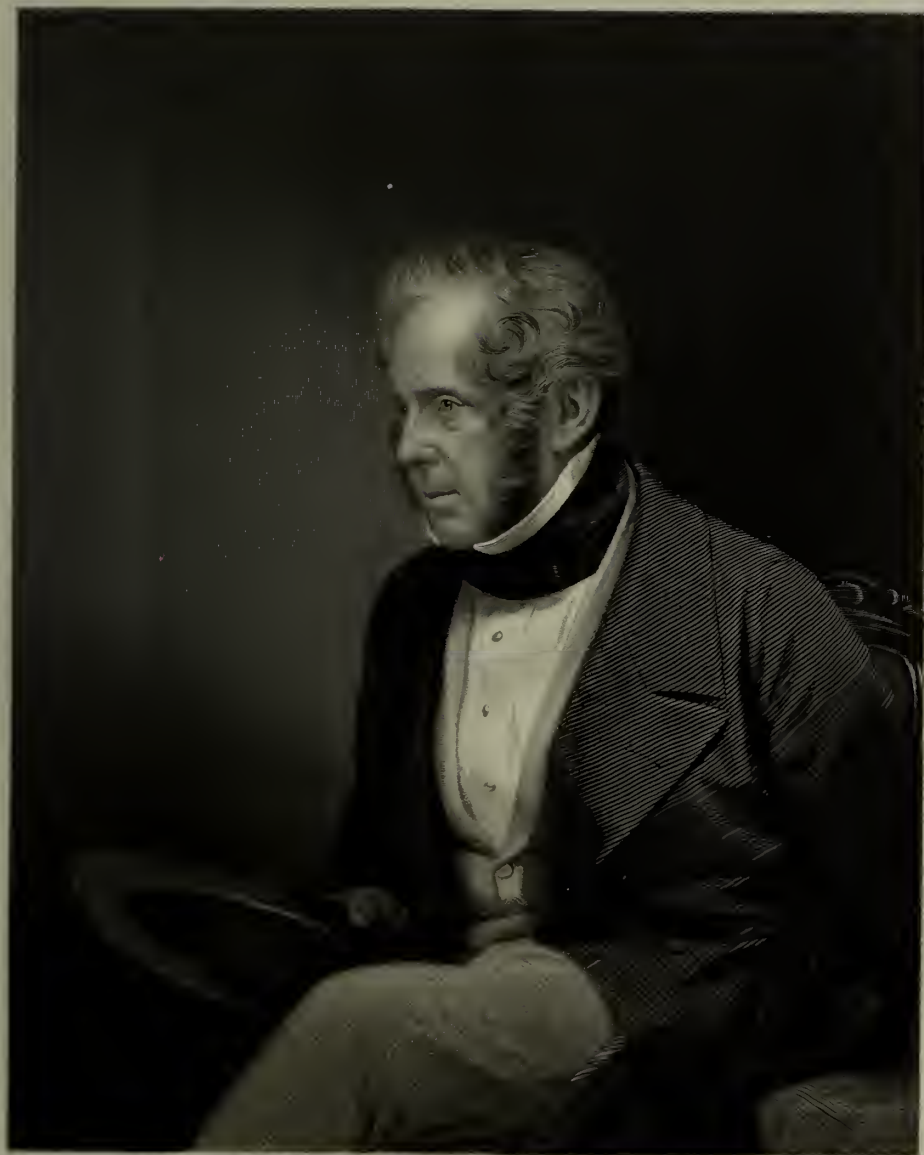
Peel had made him aware, a fortnight before, that he could not serve under a prime minister who advocated a policy opposed to his own in regard to the Roman Catholic claims. In a letter to Lord Eldon he affirmed that his difficulty arose out of the Catholic question, and that alone. 'My own position,' he said, 'with respect to the Catholic question, and with respect also to the particular duties which my office devolves upon me, is a peculiar one. I have for many years taken a leading part in the House of Commons in opposition to the Roman Catholic claims, and for the last five years I have filled that office which is mainly responsible for the administration of affairs in Ireland. Can I see the influence of the office of prime minister transferred from Lord Liverpool to Canning, and added to that of leader of the House of Commons, without subjecting myself to misconstruction with respect to my views on the Catholic question? Can it be so transferred without affecting my particular situation as Secretary for the Home Department, and my weight and efficiency in the administration of Irish affairs? It is with deep and unaffected regret that I answer these questions in the negative.'

The Duke of Wellington, before replying to Mr. Canning's 'obliging proposition,' requested to know who was to be prime minister. Mr. Canning's answer, of course, was that 'the king usually intrusted the formation of an administration to the individual whom it was His Majesty's gracious intention to put at the head of it.' The duke rejoined by requesting Mr. Canning to desire His Majesty 'to excuse him from belonging to his councils.' On the 11th of April the Earl of Westmoreland sent in his resignation, on the ground that 'the chief office was in the hands of a person of different principles from Lord Liverpool's.' Lord Bathurst resigned because the Duke of Wellington had retired; Lord Melville because Lord Bathurst had declined, and because he doubted 'the stability' of Mr. Canning's administration. Lord Bexley

resigned under a mistaken notion as to the principles of the Government, but afterwards withdrew his resignation. Strange to say, both the king and the new prime minister were under the impression that the staunch old Tory and anti-Catholic, Lord Eldon, would give his support to the new government. But the Chancellor was now far advanced in life; 'he had long felt anxious to resign,' he said, and finding that the colleagues with whose policy he most cordially coincided were determined to resign, he at last vacated the woolsack, which he had occupied nearly a quarter of a century—a longer period than any individual since the time of the Norman Conquest.

In these trying circumstances Mr. Canning again waited upon the king on the 12th, and laying these resignations before His Majesty, said, 'Here, sire, is that which disables me from executing the orders which I have received from you respecting the formation of a new administration. It is now open to your Majesty to adopt a new course, for no step has yet been taken in the execution of these orders that is yet irrecoverable. But it becomes my duty fairly to state to your Majesty that if I am to go on in the position where you have been pleased to place me, my writ must be moved for to-day' (the last day before the Easter recess); 'for if we wait till the holidays without adopting any definite steps, I see it is quite hopeless for me to attempt to persevere in the objects I have undertaken.' The king assented to this arrangement, and in two hours after this interview Mr. Wynn, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the House, moved that 'a new writ be issued for the borough of Newport in consequence of the right hon. George Canning having accepted the office of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury.'

Deserted by all his colleagues except four, Canning found it no easy task to fill up the vacancies thus created in the administration. His difficulty was still further increased by the resignations of Mr. Wallace, the Master of the Mint; Sir



LORD PALMERSTON

Charles Wetherell, the Attorney-general; and Sir John Beckett, the Judge-advocate, which speedily followed. But before the conclusion of the Easter recess his arrangements regarding the chief offices in the Cabinet were completed. The ministers who adhered to Canning were Lord Harrowby, the President of the Council; Mr. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Bexley (Vansittart), the Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and Mr. Wynne, the President of the India Board. Robinson was created a peer, with the title of Lord Goderich, and made Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the lead of the House of Lords. Canning succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Sturges Bourne, who had filled several offices, and was an intimate friend of the Premier, accepted the seals of the Home Office. The Duke of Portland, Canning's brother-in-law, became Privy Seal in the room of Lord Westmoreland. Lord Dudley and Ward, a nobleman of rare abilities and accomplishments, though of somewhat eccentric habits, succeeded Canning at the Foreign Office. Lord Anglesey, a brilliant cavalry officer who lost a leg at Waterloo, became Master-general of the Ordnance in the room of the Duke of Wellington. Sir John Copley, Master of the Rolls, notwithstanding his skirmish with the new premier on the Relief Bill (*'Phillpotto non obstante,'* as Canning said in his letter offering Copley the great seal) succeeded Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor, and was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lyndhurst. Scarlett, the most successful advocate of his day, replaced Wetherell as Attorney-general. The Duke of Wellington's feelings were so hostile to the new ministry that he not only resigned the Ordnance, but also threw up the command of the army, 'worked upon to do it,' Lord Palmerston alleges, 'by the old chancellor.' The king renewed his wish to become his own commander-in-chief, but Canning persuaded him to allow the office to remain vacant for the present. By a bold stroke of policy,

which gave great satisfaction to the service, the office of Lord High Admiral was revived and conferred upon the Duke of Clarence, the king's next brother. The office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was intended for Lord Palmerston, to whom it was offered but declined eighteen years before when he accepted the secretaryship at War. Now, however, after long experience in office he was willing to accept it along with a seat in the Cabinet, for the purpose of assisting Canning in the arduous task imposed upon him. A discreditable intrigue, however, on the part of the king, prevented the appointment from being carried into effect. Lord Palmerston himself tells the story. 'George IV.,' he says, 'who personally hated me, did not fancy me as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He wanted to have Herries in that office. There were questions coming on about palaces and crown lands which the king was very anxious about, and he wished either to have a creature of his own at the Exchequer, or to have the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer held by the First Lord, whose numerous occupations would compel him to leave details very much to George Harrison the secretary, and to Herries, auditor of the civil list.*

* The sons of Mr. Herries have recently published a memoir of their father, in which they indignantly protest against the epithet which Palmerston applies to him. But there can be no manner of doubt that it was George IV. who prevented Palmerston's appointment to the Exchequer, and that he was very desirous that Herries should be nominated to that office. There can be as little doubt that the king had his own ends to serve in pressing Herries on the prime minister. The repairs of Windsor Castle were still in progress. The original estimate was £300,000, but the expense had increased so largely that before the king's death it amounted to £900,000. Buckingham House was still unfinished. The original estimate was £252,690, but it was discovered in 1828 that the expense already incurred exceeded £400,000, and ultimately an additional sum of £213,000 was required to complete it. The cost of erecting this palace was to have been paid out of the surplus land revenues of the Crown. But these revenues were devoted to other uses, and the sum of £250,000, belonging to the French indemnity fund, was illegally appropriated to this purpose. Various other costly works, undertaken to please the king, were in progress, so that there were weighty reasons why George IV. was so eager to appoint Mr. Herries rather than Lord Palmerston.

Palmerston readily agreed, at Canning's request, to waive his claim to the chancellorship of the Exchequer, and to retain his present office. But this did not quite satisfy the king, who was evidently desirous to get rid of Palmerston altogether; and a few weeks later Canning sent again for the Secretary at War, and offered him the governorship of Jamaica. The king had said 'he knew and was sure that it was just the very thing he should like.' 'I laughed so heartily,' says Palmerston, 'that I observed Canning looked quite put out, and I was obliged to grow serious again.' Not long afterwards the prime minister sent for his colleague a third time, and offered him the governor-generalship of India. 'I thanked him very kindly for his offer,' wrote the secretary in his autobiography, 'assured him I was not insensible to the splendour of the post which he was now proposing, but my ambition was satisfied with my position at home. I had already, I said, declined the office when offered me by Lord Liverpool at a time when I was not in the Cabinet, and the same motives which influenced me then still operated now.'

A negotiation had been opened by Canning with the Whigs, through the medium of Lord Lansdowne. His lordship, whose influence with his party was very great, stipulated that the Irish government should be remodelled; and in spite of the declaration of the king that he was determined to have a chancellor, a lord-lieutenant, and a chief secretary all hostile to the Roman Catholic claims, the Marquis of Wellesley retained the office of viceroy, and Goulbourn, the Chief Secretary, was forced to retire to make room for William Lamb (afterwards Viscount Melbourne), who was favourable to the Roman Catholic claims. It was understood that Tierney was to be nominated Master of the Mint, Calcraft, chief commissioner of Woods and Forests, and Abercromby (subsequently speaker of the House of Commons), Judge-advocate, and these appointments were soon after

carried out. Brougham, who did not wish office, obtained the silk gown which had been so meanly withheld from him at the instance of the king. 'The Whigs,' said Palmerston, 'have joined us manfully and in earnest, and have boldly faced all charges of inconsistency, declaring that they knew it to be impossible that the Catholic question should be made a Cabinet measure, and do not join us upon any such expectation, but simply because they can see as well as Peel that the having Canning at the head of the Government must of itself necessarily give a great advantage to the question, and because they agree with him on almost all other great questions of foreign and domestic policy, and because if they did not support him he could not, by reason of the defection of his colleagues, maintain his position. Nothing can be more satisfactory to Canning than the footing on which their accession is placed.' In the Lower House the Whig leaders, without exception, gave their cordial support to the brilliant orator and adventurous minister who now guided the counsels of the nation. In the House of Peers the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had accepted a seat in the Cabinet without office, Lord Holland, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Earl of Carlisle, and other heads of the great Whig families, followed the same wise and generous policy. Earl Grey alone adopted a different course and joined the Tories, not only in expressing his disapproval of the coalition between the Ministry and his political friends, but in a bitter, unjust, and most ungenerous attack on Canning's consistency and public character.

The new Ministry was made the object of the most virulent and malignant attacks by the friends of the ultra-Tory portion of the late Cabinet, and even Lord Eldon admits that he and his associates were discredited by the violent abuse which the younger members of the party heaped upon the prime minister and his colleagues. The most unfounded charges were brought against them on every possible opportunity

by these 'lewd fellows of the baser sort,' and language most scurrilous and discreditable was employed to describe their personal character and conduct. 'They denounced Canning,' says a *Quarterly Reviewer*, 'as a political adventurer; as if they had then for the first time discovered that he was indebted for his elevation, not to birth and connections, not to rank and fortune, but to his great talents, his rich endowments, and his mounting spirit; and they insulted him with base and unmanly cruelty upon the circumstances of his family history—his aged mother, towards whom he ever manifested the most dutiful affection, being at that time living.' The Duke of Newcastle, smarting under the failure of his unconstitutional attempt to intimidate the king, went so far in his personal malevolence as to call Canning 'a profligate minister and an unprincipled man.'

In such a state of excitement it was impossible to legislate with satisfaction or effect upon any of the great questions of the day. Notices of motions on the Roman Catholic question, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and parliamentary reform, were withdrawn. A proposal to abolish the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery in bankruptcy affairs was rejected, as was the attempt of Mr. Hume to obtain the repeal of the stamp duty on cheap periodical publications. Two bills for reforming the game laws were thrown out by the House of Lords. The employment of spring-guns and man-traps was, however, prohibited, and some important improvements were effected by Mr. Peel in the criminal law. The corn-law bill, which had been prepared and brought in by the late Government, passed the House of Commons; but an amendment moved by the Duke of Wellington, that 'foreign corn in bond should not be taken out of bond until the average price of corn should have reached 66s. 3d.,' was carried by a majority of four votes, and proved fatal to the measure, which was then withdrawn by the Government. The duke was

blamed, not without good reason, for proposing such an important change in a bill that had been prepared by the Cabinet of which he was a member; but it appears that his Grace had misunderstood a letter of Huskisson's, who had expressed himself with culpable carelessness and ambiguity as to the effect of such an amendment on the acceptability of the measure. Canning was deeply indignant at the conduct of the duke; and in intimating to the Commons that he would, at the beginning of next session, reintroduce the bill which had been lost, he made an angry attack upon the hostile peers, whom he accused of making 'a subject touching the vital interests and involving the prosperity of the whole community a ground for exciting party feelings, or exasperating political animosities,' and wound up the debate by declaring that though he believed the Duke of Wellington meant no harm, he had been 'made the instrument of others for their own particular views.' This was the last speech which the great orator delivered in the House of Commons. Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of July, two days after it was made.

Canning had for some time been evidently in ill health; and the anxiety, irritation, and fatigue arising out of the difficulties he had met with in the formation of his government and in the debates of this stormy session, had greatly enfeebled his frame. A week after the close of the session, he brought on an attack of cold and rheumatism by sitting down under a tree while warm with walking. He became so unwell that he was unable to be present at the meeting of Council held shortly after for the purpose of committing the seals of the Home Office to the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Privy Seal to Lord Carlisle. On the 18th of July Mr. Huskisson, who was also in poor health, and had been ordered abroad by his physicians, called to take leave of his chief and found him in bed. He looked so ill that his colleague remarked that he seemed the most in need of change and rest, to which Mr. Canning replied,

'Oh, it is only the reflection of the yellow linings of the curtains. Two days later Canning accepted an invitation to go down to the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, where Fox spent the last days of his life, and somewhat strangely took possession of the very room in which the Whig statesman died. The pure air, quiet, and rest which he here enjoyed did not, as was hoped, recruit his enfeebled strength. On the 30th he waited upon the king and told His Majesty that 'he did not know what was the matter with him, but that he was ill all over.' The king was so alarmed at his appearance that he sent his own physician to attend him; but it was too late. The chill he had taken brought on internal inflammation, which he was too weak to resist, and he took to his bed on the 31st, which he never left again. His sufferings were very severe, but he bore them with great patience and fortitude, and quietly breathed his last on the 8th of August, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. There can be little doubt that the malignity with which he was assailed hastened his end; 'A wounded spirit who can bear?'

The tidings of Canning's death produced an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. The event was regarded not merely as a national loss, but as a great blow to the cause of freedom throughout the world, and a relief to the friends of arbitrary power and intolerance. All classes of the community and both political parties, even the very men who had maligned him, expressed their sorrow at his decease, and vied with each other in their efforts to do honour to his memory. His family wished his funeral to be private, but they found it impossible to exclude the vast concourse of men of all ranks—princes, peers, and private individuals—who voluntarily swelled the procession that followed the remains of the great statesman and orator to their last resting place in Westminster Abbey. The sovereign showed that he, too, shared the national sorrow by bestowing next day a peerage on Mr. Canning's widow.

The high position of prime minister of Great Britain had for long years been the object of Mr. Canning's ambition. He had toiled for it, and intrigued for it; had borne in long and patient expectation the repeated disappointment of his hopes, when they seemed on the eve of being realized; had at one time given up that expectation in despair, and been on the eve of his departure to assume the viceroyship of an Eastern empire, and might, as Lord Brougham said, have 'ended his life as governor of a country where men neither debate nor write;' and now when he had at last attained the summit of his ambition, it was only to afford another example of the vanity of human wishes. His premiership lasted only 120 days.

It is admitted on all hands that Canning's natural abilities were of a very high order; and they had been cultivated with great assiduity, so that he was universally recognized as an accomplished scholar and man of letters, as well as a great statesman, and the foremost orator of his day. He was possessed of a lively fancy rather than a brilliant imagination; a retentive and ready memory, remarkable powers of lucid statement, and a ready wit, which sometimes did him harm, for it not only excited the antipathy of dull men who were the butts of his biting satire, but occasionally wounded without cause the feelings of kind and honest, though, perhaps, weak and sensitive persons. The brilliancy of his rhetoric not unfrequently made superficial observers overlook the cogency of his reasoning; but his powers of argumentation were in reality of a very high order. Lord Holland, no mean or prejudiced judge, called him 'the first logician in Europe.' 'His argument went always directly to the point, and with so well-judged an aim, that, unlike some other great orators, he was never above his mark, rarely if ever below it or beside it.' Some of his competitors equalled him in acquirements, others surpassed him in political foresight and soundness of judgment; but there was no statesman of his day in

either House of Parliament whose talents were more suited to the deliberations and discussions of a legislative assembly, or more perfectly adapted to the position which he occupied. His speeches, full of information and cogent reasoning, set off with all the advantages of a fine voice, an elegant person, and a graceful delivery, and adorned by a ready wit, sometimes dazzling, at other times playful, and always with exquisite skill adapted to his audience, were listened to with equal delight by the Liverpool electors and by the House of Commons. With regard to his political opinions, Canning does not appear to have had any clear and distinct system of policy, or any accurate perception of great principles. His favourite maxim, 'to hold the balance between contending principles,' involves, indeed, an admission that his system was adapted to the exigencies of his position rather than to any higher standard. But he was willing to keep pace with the progress of public opinion and of society. It was he who made the first inroads upon the old restrictive and narrow-minded policy of his party, both in regard to popular rights abroad and to affairs at home. The ultra-Tories, who feared and disliked him, accused him of being shifty, and it must be admitted that he had no reluctance to follow a tortuous path in order to attain his end. His political career shows, indeed, that the love of intrigue was one of his besetting sins; it was also the cause of some of his severest disappointments. The Duke of Wellington, who did not like Canning or trust him, was yet constrained to eulogize his abilities and attainments in no measured terms. In a conversation which he had with Charles Greville, shortly after Canning's death, he said, 'his talents were astonishing, his compositions admirable—

he possessed the art of saying exactly what was necessary, and passing over those topics on which it was not advisable to touch; his fertility and resources inexhaustible. He thought him the finest speaker he ever heard; though he prided himself extremely upon his compositions, he would patiently endure any criticisms upon such papers as he submitted for the consideration of the Cabinet, and would allow them to be altered in any way that was suggested; he [the Duke], particularly, had often "cut and hacked" his papers, and Canning never made the least objection, but was always ready to adopt the suggestions of his colleagues. It was not so, however, in conversation or discussion. He said that Canning was usually very silent in the Cabinet, seldom spoke at all; but when he did, he maintained his opinions with extraordinary tenacity.'

It has been testified by all who enjoyed Mr. Canning's intimacy, that he was singularly amiable and attractive in society. In all the relations of private life he was most exemplary, 'was an excellent son to his humble mother,' who died, happily for herself, a few months before him, and was nowhere seen to so much advantage as in the bosom of his family. He was a warm and trusty friend; and though his temper was irritable and uneasy, he was a placable adversary, never showing or cherishing a grudge against even his fiercest assailants. 'He was affable in his manners, easy of access, playful in conversation, and delightful in society,' though, in his later years, he confined his social intercourse to an extremely small number of warmly attached friends. It need excite no surprise, that the untimely removal of such a man should have produced deep sorrow throughout the nation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrangement of the Cabinet after Canning's Death—Efforts of the Greeks to liberate themselves from the Turkish yoke—Invasion of Greece by the Turks—Heroic defence of Missolonghi—Treaty between Greece and Turkey signed in London—Mediation in the War with Greece—Massacre of the inhabitants of the Morea by Ibrahim Pasha—The Battle of Navarino—Fall of Lord Goderich's Administration—The Duke of Wellington becomes Prime Minister—Repeal of the Corporation and Tests Acts—Disfranchisement of East Retford and Penrhyn—Misunderstanding between Mr. Huskisson and the Duke of Wellington—Resignation of the Canningite members of the Cabinet.

THE death of Mr. Canning produced at first no change in the composition or the policy of his Cabinet. Lord Goderich was appointed First Lord of the Treasury. Huskisson, who was still on the Continent, and in very poor health, was to succeed him as Secretary for the Colonies, and was to lead the House of Commons; and Charles Grant was made President of the Board of Trade in the room of Huskisson. A great difficulty was felt in regard to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Huskisson, who was pre-eminently fitted for that office, is said to have been unwilling to accept it on account of his feeble health. Goderich proposed that Palmerston should take the Exchequer; but the king, as on the former occasion, was of opinion that Herries was the 'fittest man in England for the office,' and insisted on his appointment. The Whig members of the Cabinet, however, were strongly opposed to this arrangement, both because they thought that Herries, 'anti-Catholic and anti-Liberal, and a mere Tory clerk,' was not qualified to discharge its duties, and on account of his nomination by the king, which they regarded as an unwarrantable and unconstitutional interference with the privileges of the Ministry. 'The king wants Herries to be Chancellor of the Exchequer,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'and the Whigs object to *him* pointedly, and Goderich wishes me. Neither party will give way, and there is a great probability of a dissolution of the Government. The Whigs certainly have some cause to complain. The king refuses, for the moment

at least, to take in Lord Holland whom they proposed, and prefers Herries whom they reject.'

In this dilemma the Exchequer was offered in succession to Sturges Bourne, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and Tierney, Master of the Mint; but neither of them was willing to undertake the responsibilities of that office, and Herries was at last appointed, as the king had insisted from the first. Lord Lansdowne was so strongly dissatisfied with this procedure that he resigned the Seals of the Home Office; but was induced, at the earnest request of the king, to withdraw his resignation. Lord Harrowby made way for the Duke of Portland as President of the Council, Lord Carlisle became Privy Seal, and Lord Holland was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. After these arrangements were concluded, the Ministry resolved to invite the Duke of Wellington to resume his office of commander-in-chief of the army. Lord Palmerston, says Lord Anglesey, who was sent to make the offer, 'travelled without stopping, arrived at some country house in the west, where the duke was staying, about three in the morning, found the duke in full uniform, just come home from a fancy ball, obtained his immediate acceptance, and arrived with it at Windsor on the memorable day in August, when Lord William Bentinck also was present to be sworn in governor-general of India. Lord Anglesey said to us, "Well, gentlemen, I have done what you sent me to do; I have brought you the Duke of

Wellington's acceptance as commander-in-chief; and, mark my words, as sure as you are alive he will trip up all your heels before six months are over your heads." Before the six months were well over the duke was in, and our heels were up.'

The Duke of Wellington's resumption of his office as commander-in-chief was not regarded with satisfaction by Lord Eldon and other ultra-Tories, who clearly saw that the step was fitted to strengthen the administration. The duke himself admitted that their friends were justified in considering the arrangement 'a great gain' to the Government; but he pleaded that the office was not connected with politics, and that 'he took command of the army as of an army in the field, notwithstanding political differences of opinion.' But it was said, as Lord Eldon predicted, 'If it does not connect him with Ministers, why did he not keep it under Minister Canning?' and to this pertinent question no satisfactory answer could be returned. The entire state of affairs did not bode well for the permanence of this ill-assorted Government; but the recess was at hand, which afforded them time to settle in their places, and to set the administrative machine smoothly in motion.

The efforts of the Greeks to liberate themselves from the Turkish yoke were continued with varying success; but, on the whole, they maintained their ground, though their internal dissensions were more injurious to their cause than the attacks of the Turkish Government. 'The members of the executive,' says Mr. Gordon, 'with the exception of Zaimas, were no better than public robbers. Every corner of the Morea was torn to pieces by obscure civil contests, and hardly any revenue came into the Treasury.' The Greek cause, however, had from the first excited sympathy throughout Western Europe; and now that their struggle for independence was seen to be something more than a mere transient insurrection, subscriptions were raised in their behalf in Great Britain, France, Ger-

many, and Switzerland, which procured for them much-needed supplies of ammunition and military stores. A number of enthusiastic volunteers also went to the assistance of the patriots, and rendered them important service, for which they received little gratitude. The most eminent of these 'Philhellenes' was Lord Byron, whose health was severely injured by the mental anxiety caused by the intrigues and dissensions of the Greek leaders, and their turbulence and rapacity and fraud; and an attack of fever, which his reduced strength was not able to resist, carried him off on the 19th of April, 1824.

The failure of three campaigns having convinced the Sultan that his own fleets and armies were incapable of suppressing the rebellion of the Greeks, he delegated the task of subduing them to Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, promising that in the event of his success in recovering the country it should be added to his pashalate. The ambitious views of the Egyptian viceroy induced him readily to listen to the proposals of his nominal superior; and in the beginning of August he sent his step-son, Ibrahim, with a fleet of 400 sail, having on board 17,000 troops and a strong train of artillery, to crush the insurgent Greeks. The patriots succeeded, however, in maintaining their ground, even against this powerful armament; and Ibrahim at last thought himself fortunate in escaping to Crete, in the beginning of December, with the loss of two fine frigates and four brigs of war blown up by Greek fire-ships, fifty transports taken or sunk, and 4000 seamen killed or drowned, besides several thousands who died of disease.

The greatest difficulty which the Greeks had to encounter was the want of money. So long as their troops were ill-fed, ill-clothed, and not paid at all, it was impossible for them to keep the field. In order to assist them in this emergency certain gentlemen in London, styling themselves the Greek Committee, along with the Greek deputies, negotiated a loan for

them in February, 1824. The nominal amount was £800,000, of which only £280,000 found its way to Greece, the rest having been swallowed up in interest, commission, and other charges. A second loan, nominally of £2,000,000, was placed in the market, which was subscribed for at fifty-five per cent., and produced nearly £1,200,000, but was even more scandalously diverted and misapplied. It is humiliating that the names of a number of prominent Radical members of Parliament and their friends appear among those who contrived to realize large sums, under the plea of commissions, out of the money which ought to have been devoted to the cause of Greek independence.

The principal object for which the loan was required was to build and equip a squadron to be placed under the command of the celebrated naval hero, Lord Cochrane. But the funds had been so scandalously mismanaged that nine-tenths of the £2,000,000 never reached the Greek Government; and all that they received in return for this enormous expenditure was a sixty-gun frigate and a badly constructed steam-boat, both of which arrived too late to be of any material service.

In 1825 the Turkish troops invaded Greece from the north, while Ibrahim Pasha simultaneously landed a powerful army at Modon, on the south-west of the Morea, and laid siege to Navarino, which capitulated on the 18th of May. He then marched into the interior, burning the villages and laying waste the country. The Turkish army was meanwhile engaged in besieging the strong town of Missolonghi, at the northwest of Greece, near the entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto. The garrison made a gallant resistance, and the Turkish commander, Redschid Pasha, after the siege had lasted more than six months, was on the eve of abandoning the enterprise, when Ibrahim Pasha came to his assistance in the month of November. His most vigorous assaults, however, were constantly repulsed, and the siege would have ended in total

failure if he had not, at a great expense of life, succeeded at last in cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea, by which they received supplies of provisions. Starvation then accomplished what arms could not achieve. After everything eatable, wholesome or unwholesome, had been consumed, a portion of the garrison cut their way through the lines of the Turks and escaped. The greater part of the remainder fell in the conflict or were massacred in the streets; and 3000 or 4000 women and children, the survivors of the inhabitants, were taken prisoners and sold into slavery.

The heroic defence of Missolonghi roused a feeling of enthusiastic sympathy in Western Europe in favour of the Greek cause; and not less than £70,000 was subscribed in 1826 to assist the patriots in their struggle. The royal families of Sweden, Bavaria, and Prussia, and the king of France, were among the contributors. In 1827 Ibrahim invaded the country of the Mainotes; but having been baffled in every attempt to penetrate their mountain fastnesses, he had to limit his operations to ravaging the open country and burning the villages. The Greeks meanwhile were torn by internal dissensions; but a temporary reconciliation was effected between the adverse parties through the exertions of Lord Cochrane, Captain Hamilton of the *Cambrian*, and General Church, an Englishman who had served in the Greek corps which the British Government maintained in the Ionian islands, and who arrived by invitation at this time. Count Capo d'Istria, who enjoyed the confidence of Russia, was elected president of Greece for seven years. General Church was appointed commander of the land forces, and Lord Cochrane admiral of the fleet. A force of nearly 19,000 men was collected at Salamis and the Piræus, from the Morea, the Isles, and Western Greece; and it was resolved to make a desperate effort to relieve the citadel of Athens. But the troops were undisciplined and every way unreliable.

They engaged without orders in a fight in which Karaïskaki, their harvest leader, was killed, and his troops became utterly demoralized. A battle took place on the 6th of May on the plain of Athens, which ended in the entire defeat of the Greeks, who lost 2500 men killed or taken prisoners. Those who escaped took refuge in the mountains. Lord Cochrane had to throw himself into the sea and swim to his ship. The citadel capitulated; but through the mediation of the French admiral, De Ligny, the lives of the garrison were spared, and they were permitted to go where they pleased on laying down their arms. General Church held for some time his strong position at the Phalerus with 3000 men. But desertion and insubordination daily increased; and at last, finding that some of the Greek officers were selling to the enemy the provisions intended for their own troops, he quitted his fortified camp and retired to Ægina. The Greek army had thus ceased to exist, and the only fortified places remaining in their possession were Nauplia and the Acrocorinthus.

But at the moment when the cause of the patriots was at the lowest ebb and seemed utterly hopeless, relief came from an unexpected quarter. The British Government, though maintaining a strict neutrality in the contest, had throughout heartily sympathized with the efforts of the Greeks to regain their independence; and in February, 1826, the Duke of Wellington was despatched on a mission to St. Petersburg, to mediate between the Czar and the Porte, and to endeavour to effect a settlement of the Greek question. After some discussion a protocol was formally agreed upon, under which it was proposed that Greece should become a dependency of the Turkish empire, paying a fixed tribute, but governed by rulers of its own selection, and should enjoy complete liberty of conscience and freedom of trade. The protocol was converted into a treaty, to which France was a party. It was signed at London, July 6th, 1827, and bound the consenting parties to

put an end to the sanguinary contest between the Turks and the Greeks, and to employ force to secure that end if the Sultan should refuse to listen to the advice of the three contracting powers. The Greeks readily agreed to the proposed armistice; but no answer was returned by the Porte, within the stipulated time of fifteen days, to the formal note of the ambassadors of the signatories to the treaty. It was then asked for and given verbally to the effect, that the Sultan refused to recognize any right of interference between him and his rebellious subjects. Intimation was then given of the secret clause of the treaty, by which the high contracting powers engaged 'to exert all the means which circumstances may suggest to their prudence to obtain the immediate effect of the armistice.' The Porte, however, doggedly adhered to its determination to admit no interference in its contest with the insurgent Greeks; and by way of practical reply to the threat that a suspension of hostilities would be enforced by the allies, active preparations were made to repel force by force. Horses and provisions were brought into Constantinople from the country, the castles and batteries on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were furnished with additional cannon and with supplies of ammunition, arms, and stores. The training of troops under the eye of the Sultan himself, or his vizier, was carried on with unceasing activity, and the capital seemed about to be turned into a camp.

The British fleet in the Mediterranean was at this time under the command of Sir Edward Codrington, who had seen a good deal of service, and had been made a Knight Companion of the Bath for his bravery at the battle of Trafalgar, where he commanded the *Orion*. After the treaty of London was signed, he received instructions from the Government that if the Porte should refuse to grant an armistice he was, in concert with the French and Russian admirals, to intercept all supplies of arms or men sent by sea against Greece

either from Turkey or Egypt. Similar orders had been given to De Ligny, the French admiral, and to Admiral Heiden who commanded the Russian fleet.

At this juncture the Egyptian fleet, consisting of ninety-two sail, including forty-one transports, eleven of which were armed, arrived in the Morea. The time fixed for the answer of the Porte to the demand of the allies had not yet expired, consequently the British admiral had no right to intercept these auxiliaries; but he hailed Ibrahim, informed him of the negotiations going on at Constantinople, and offered him a safe-conduct if he thought fit to return to Egypt. If, however, he chose to enter the harbour of Navarino, where the Turkish fleet lay at anchor, he must distinctly understand that any of his ships attempting to leave it would be driven back. Ibrahim chose the latter alternative, and accordingly entered the harbour, one of the best and most capacious in Greece.

For some time the Egyptian commander occupied himself in landing the troops (5000 in number) on board his ships, and in making preparations to resume hostilities in the Morea; but on the 21st of September he resolved to ascertain whether the British admiral would carry his threats into execution, and sent out a division of the Turkish fleet under the command of the Capitan Bey. He was immediately warned back by Codrington, but replied that he would receive no orders except from Ibrahim, and seemed determined to hold on his course. At this critical moment, however, the French fleet appeared in the offing, and the Capitan Bey, perceiving the danger of resistance, returned to port.

Anxious to prevent any violation of the armistice without having recourse to force, the British and French admirals obtained an interview with Ibrahim on the 25th of September, explained to him the position of affairs, informed him that they had received instructions to stop the effusion of blood, and were prepared to compel by force of arms, if necessary, the belligerents to

abstain from hostilities. The Egyptian commander pleaded the peremptory orders of his sovereign to finish the war in the Morea, but agreed, in the altered circumstances, to send to Constantinople for fresh instructions; ample facilities having at the same time been allowed him for the victualling of his ships. Trusting to this engagement, the French and British admirals sailed, the former to Milo, the latter to Zante, to obtain fresh provisions for their fleet, and Codrington found it necessary to send some of his ships to Malta for that purpose—a French and an English frigate being left to watch the harbour and the movements of the Turks. Taking advantage of the absence of the allied fleet, Ibrahim on the 30th of September sent out a detachment of his vessels with orders to make for Patras, on which Lord Cochrane had made a descent. Intelligence of this violation of the agreement was brought to Codrington on the 2nd of October, while anchored in Zante Roads. He immediately put to sea with the four vessels which were at hand, and soon discovered the Turkish fleet, consisting of seven frigates, nine corvettes, and nineteen brigs, sailing along the coast of the Morea. A message was sent to the Turkish commander that he would not be allowed to proceed; and its effect having been accelerated by several shots fired across the bows of his vessels, they turned and, escorted by the British ships, set sail for the port they had quitted. In a short time a second division of the Turkish fleet appeared, and their united force consisted of forty-nine vessels, mounting 1270 guns. But notwithstanding this great superiority, they did not venture to dispute the orders of the British admiral, and the whole body returned to Navarino. So determined, however, was the Egyptian commander to escape from his confinement that, taking advantage of the dark and stormy night of October 3, he made another attempt to reach Patras with a portion of his fleet; but they were detained by headwinds off Cape Patras, and on the 5th were



J. Cooke

BATTLE OF NAVARINO

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW

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compelled for the third time to retrace their course. Ibrahim was so enraged at the failure of his reiterated attempts to relieve Patras, that he let loose his vengeance on the defenceless inhabitants of the Morea. Arranging his army in three divisions, he laid waste the whole district with fire and sword. Not only armed men, but women and children were mercilessly put to death, their houses were burned, and even the fruit trees torn up by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country. The miserable survivors of this horrible massacre fled for refuge and concealment to the caves in the mountains in a state of starvation, having only a little boiled grass for food.

Admiral Codrington, who had now been joined by the French and Russian squadrons, as well as by the whole of his own ships, on receiving notice of Ibrahim's conduct, resolved, in conjunction with his colleagues, to put a stop to these atrocities. The three admirals met on board the *Asia*, the British flag-ship, on the 18th of October, to consider what should be done. It was painfully evident that the presence of the allied fleet at Navarino would not protect the Greeks from the shocking barbarities of the Turkish troops. It was equally clear that the continuance of the blockade throughout the winter would be not only difficult and expensive, but probably impracticable, since stormy weather might compel the ships to withdraw, leaving Ibrahim at liberty to convey his devastating troops to different points, both of the mainland and of the islands. It was therefore resolved that the allied fleets should 'take a position in Navarino, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions which, entering into the spirit of the treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself.' There can be little doubt that it was their intention, if the Turkish commander refused to desist from his brutal warfare, not to content themselves with a mere demonstration, but to attack and destroy his fleet.

On the afternoon of the 20th of October,

the allied fleet stood into the harbour. The strictest orders had been given that not a shot should be fired, unless the other side should begin hostilities. But it was evident that the Turks believed that the allies came with hostile intentions. They had moored their fleet in the form of a crescent to receive the expected attack, and were supported by powerful batteries placed on the headlands of the bay. As Codrington wished to offer peaceful proposals in the first instance at least, he did not imitate the manœuvre of Nelson at Aboukir Bay, and attempt to sail round one of the flanks of the Turkish ships and assail them in the rear, but led the combined fleet, ranged in two columns, into the centre of the crescent. No attempt was made to hinder this movement; but after the vessels had cast anchor the Turks, probably under some mistaken impression, fired on a boat of the *Dartmouth*, and killed a lieutenant and several of the men. The *Dartmouth* opened a fire of musketry in return, to cover the retreat of her boat's crew. The French admiral joined in it; a cannon shot was fired at his flag-ship, and it replied with a broadside. The action soon became general, and was continued with great spirit for four hours. When it ended the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were completely destroyed, and the bay was covered with their wrecks. Thirty-seven of their disabled ships were set on fire and blown up by the Turks themselves; only a few of the smaller vessels escaped into the inner harbour. 'Out of a fleet composed of sixty men-of-war,' wrote Codrington, 'there remain only one frigate and fifteen smaller vessels in a state ever to be put again to sea.' The loss of the Turks and Egyptians was very heavy; in two of their ships alone two-thirds of their crews were killed or wounded. The allied loss amounted to 626. The severest casualties were sustained by the British, who had 70 killed, including Captain Bathurst who commanded the *Genoa*, and 189 wounded. The French had a loss of 43 killed, and 144 wounded.

Ibrahim, finding his communications with Egypt cut off, agreed to evacuate the Morea, leaving, according to stipulation, about 8000 troops in Patras, Modon, Coron, Navarino, and Castel Tornese. But in order to prevent a renewal of hostilities between the Greeks and Turks, it was found necessary to send a French army to the Morea, in the autumn, to take possession of these five fortresses.

The tidings of the battle of Navarino came like a thunder-clap on the divided and tottering administration of Lord Goderich. Composed, as it was, of three discordant elements—the ultra-Tories, liberal Tories, and the Whigs—which only the powerful hand of Canning kept in anything like harmony, it had nearly fallen to pieces on his death. Though patched up for a time, it had with difficulty been kept together even for a few months under the feeble and vacillating rule of Goderich; and any important question either of foreign or domestic policy was almost certain to separate its discordant materials. As might have been expected, the Cabinet could not agree upon the measures to be taken in consequence of the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino. Palmerston and the other friends of Canning were disposed to regard it as a fortunate event and to let matters take their course, preserving a neutral attitude while Russia still farther humiliated the Porte. Another section blamed Codrington for his rashness and precipitancy, and were disposed to support the Turks rather than the Greek rebels. While the Ministers were thus at a loss what course to pursue, the king and the Duke of Clarence, Lord High Admiral, cut the knot at once by rewarding Codrington and his officers for their gallantry in the action. Three days after the news of the victory reached England it was announced in the *Gazette* that the Grand Cross of the Bath had been bestowed upon the admiral, and that eleven of his officers had been made Companions of the Bath in recognition of their services at Navarino.

The Emperor of Russia and the King of France also bestowed thanks and high honours on the British admiral; and though there were great differences of opinion respecting the treaty of London itself, all parties united in their commendation of the energy and bravery of the officers who had been appointed to carry into effect the policy of the Cabinet.

The days of the Government, however, were numbered. The Premier was a person of considerable accomplishments, but his want of energy and firmness totally unfitted him for the position in which, unfortunately for himself as well as for the country, he had been placed by the king. His facile disposition allowed His Majesty to interfere with the patronage of the administration in a manner alike unconstitutional and unprecedented, and which both humiliated and weakened the Government. On the 8th of December he had personally recommended that the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Holland should be added to the Cabinet—an accession which would have added greatly to the debating power of the Government and to their political weight in the eyes of the country. The king, however, refused his consent. A few days later Goderich submitted the same proposal in a letter—which was seen by Huskisson and Lord Lansdowne—begging permission to retire unless it were adopted. But he added a postscript which they did not see, to the effect that domestic circumstances rendered him somewhat incapable of continuing to discharge the duties of his office. The king took no notice of the proposal respecting Lords Wellesley and Holland; but treating the postscript as the only thing of importance in the letter, expressed his regret that domestic circumstances, over which the king had no control, compelled Goderich to retire; and said he would think of the means of relieving him. He accordingly sent for Lord Harrowby, who, however, firmly declined the premiership on the plea of ill-health. Goderich was then induced to

withdraw his resignation in the hope that some satisfactory arrangement could be made as to Lords Wellesley and Holland.

Scarcely, however, was this rent patched up when another and a more serious one broke out, in consequence of a quarrel between Huskisson and Herries respecting the nomination of the chairman of the finance committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the revenue. Some negotiations had taken place with Earl Spencer to secure Lord Althorp for chairman; but by some oversight nothing had been said to Herries on the subject. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had a pretty lofty notion of his own merits, which no one shared except the king, was very indignant at the neglect with which he had been treated, and expressed his disapproval of Althorp's nomination. The matter remained in abeyance while the Government seemed about to fall to pieces, but was re-opened as soon as Goderich resumed the premiership. Herries intimated that he would retire from office if Althorp's appointment should be carried into effect; while on the other hand Huskisson, who was mainly responsible for it, assured the prime minister that he would resign if Althorp were not appointed chairman of the finance committee. Goderich was at his wit's end what to do in these circumstances; and the miserable dissension ended in the overthrow of his Government—thus fulfilling Lord Palmerston's remark in his *Autobiography*, that 'the king had thrown Herries like a live shell into the Cabinet to explode and blow us all up.' 'Instead of going to the king,' he continues, 'and saying, "Sire, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries have differed and cannot serve together, and therefore I propose to you to appoint A B instead of one or the other," Goderich stated the quarrel, the impossibility of the two going on as colleagues, and led the king to understand that he had no advice to give, and did not know what to do. But the king knew very well

what he had to do; he bid Goderich go home and take care of himself, and keep himself quiet; and he immediately sent for the Duke of Wellington to form a government.' Lord Palmerston, however, has omitted to mention that the king ordered Goderich to send the chancellor to him, and that he recommended His Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington—an advice which the king was nothing loath to follow. Thus, through the sheer incompetency of its chief, the Goderich administration came to an appropriate and ignominious end.

When the Duke of Wellington undertook to form a Government, he was informed by the king that he was free to apply to any public man except Earl Grey, against whom His Majesty entertained a bitter grudge; 'that the Roman Catholic question was not to be made a Cabinet question;' and 'that there was to be a Protestant lord chancellor, a Protestant lord-lieutenant, and a Protestant chancellor in Ireland,' meaning, of course, that the persons appointed to these offices should be hostile to the Roman Catholic claims. Peel agreed with Wellington in thinking that it was impossible to form an efficient Ministry from Tories of the Eldon school, and that it was therefore very important to secure the co-operation of the Canningite members of the late Government. A negotiation was accordingly opened with Huskisson, who, however, had great hesitation in accepting the offers made to him. In his first grief on the death of Canning he had declared, that 'no power on earth should ever induce him to unite in office with those whom he considered as the destroyer of his friend.' His 'wounds,' he said, 'were too green, and too fresh, to admit of his serving in the same Cabinet with those who had deserted the service of the country at the time his friend's administration was formed.' The Whigs were most anxious that Huskisson should refuse, and he was not without misgivings that his services were required as a matter of

necessity rather than of choice. But, on the other hand, the inducements held out to him were very tempting. He was assured that the Roman Catholic question should be, as before, an open question ; that the Greek treaty should be faithfully executed ; that his own principles of trade should be acted upon, and Charles Grant continued as President of the Board of Trade, as a pledge and security that this should be done ; that his friends Palmerston, Dudley, and Grant should, along with himself, have seats in the Cabinet ; that William Lamb should continue as Irish Secretary, as a guarantee that an impartial system should be pursued towards the Roman Catholics ; and finally, that Eldon and Westmoreland, as the representatives of the extreme section of the Tories, should be excluded from the Cabinet.

Huskisson was at this time very unwell, and Palmerston, Dudley, Lamb, Binning (afterwards Earl of Haddington), and Grant, met at his house to take these proposals into consideration. After a full and careful consideration, it was resolved that the offer should be accepted. 'We did accept it, therefore,' says Palmerston, 'not as individuals, but as a party representing the principles, and consisting of the friends of Mr. Canning.' They were greatly blamed at the time for this step, not only by the Whigs, whom, it was alleged, they rather shabbily abandoned, but also by Mr. Canning's relations ; and Lady Canning wrote a strong letter to Huskisson, reproaching him for joining her husband's murderers.' His acceptance of office, however, in the circumstances was approved by the oldest and most valued friends of Mr. Canning, though the result showed that it would have been better, both for his own reputation and the interests of his party, if he had declined all connection with the Wellington Cabinet.

The Government thus constructed contained five members of the late Cabinet—Lyndhurst, the Chancellor ; Dudley, Foreign Secretary ; Huskisson, Colonial Secretary ;

Charles Grant, President of the Board of Trade ; and Palmerston, Secretary-at-War. Of the anti-Catholic members of the old Liverpool administration, who now resumed their places, the duke himself took the Treasury, Peel returned to the Home Office, Lord Bathurst became President of the Council, and Goulbourn Chancellor of the Exchequer. Wellington did not share the opinion of the king, that Herries was 'the fittest man in England' for the latter office, and relegated him with little ceremony to the mastership of the Mint. Charles Wynn was replaced by Lord Melville at the India Board, the Earl of Aberdeen was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lord Ellenborough, son of the celebrated judge, became Lord Privy Seal. The Goderich Cabinet had agreed to recommend the Marquis of Anglesey to be successor of the Marquis of Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland ; and as the duke had a personal liking for his old companion in arms, who was also a favourite with the king and the army, the appointment was carried into effect. The composition of the Cabinet gave great dissatisfaction to the old Tory party, who had expected nothing short of a purely Protestant administration, from which not only the Whigs, but the friends of Canning should be excluded. Lord Eldon was mortified at not being offered the office of President of the Council, and did not conceal his soreness at the slight put upon him. 'The Ministry,' he said, 'was better than the last, but not what was wished or expected ;' and he told Wellington himself, in very plain and strong terms, that he thought it a very bad one. 'It grieves me to think,' wrote Lord Sidmouth, 'that an opportunity of forming an administration, which would have given entire satisfaction to the country, has been lost. The admissions and the omissions are deeply to be deplored.' 'Any Ministry,' wrote the Duke of Newcastle, 'which excludes Lord Eldon, and includes Mr. Huskisson, cannot gain my confidence.'

These fossilized specimens of the bygone school of politicians were utterly blind to the signs of the times, and failed to see, what was sufficiently plain to the Duke of Wellington, that it was now impossible to carry on the Government without making some concessions, both as regarded men and measures, to the spirit of the age. The administration, in reality, differed very little in its composition from that of which Lord Liverpool had been so long the head. If Eldon was absent on the one side, so was Canning on the other, and Lyndhurst, the new chancellor, professed to hold the same views on the Roman Catholic question as his predecessor. But as soon as the machine was set in motion, it became evident that, though the conductors were the same, another spirit had been put into them, and the new wine speedily burst the old bottles.

The nomination of the finance committee, which had caused so much mischief to the late Government, was amicably settled, and Sir Henry Parnell, who along with considerable knowledge of financial affairs held liberal views on general questions, was appointed chairman. Although the battle of Navarino was termed in the royal speech, at the opening of the session, an 'untoward event'—an expression which excited a good deal of angry criticism—no change of policy was made respecting Greece. 'The king's treaties,' the Premier said, 'must be observed.' The corn-law bill, which had been withdrawn last session in consequence of the amendment carried by the Duke of Wellington, caused so much discussion among the ministers that it had nearly broken up the Cabinet. In the end the principle of the former bill was adopted; but an increase was made on the duty when 200,000 quarters should have been imported in twelve weeks, the average being above 60s., and the measure thus altered, but not improved, was carried by large majorities. The proposal to repeal the Corporation and Tests Acts was a much more important and trying question, and

showed how far the Parliament and the country had advanced beyond the narrow-minded and restrictive principles on which the legislature and the Government had long acted.

The Corporation Act, passed in 1661, in glaring violation of the famous declaration which Charles II. made at Breda, enacted that 'no person shall ever hereafter be placed, elected, or chosen into any corporation that shall not, within one year next before such election, have taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England.' The Test Act dated from 1671, and was intended to incapacitate Roman Catholics from holding any public office or place of trust in the kingdom. It provided that any person who shall take any office, civil or military, or shall receive any salary, pay, fee, or wages by reason of any patent of His Majesty, or shall be admitted into the family of His Majesty, shall receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, after the manner of the Church of England, within three months after their admittance into the said office. Any person convicted of offending against this act was disabled from ever after suing in any court of law or equity; from becoming guardian to any child, or executor or administrator to any person; from profiting by any legacy or deed of gift, or from bearing any office within England or Wales; and in addition to these incapacities, was to forfeit £500. All Scotsmen settled in England and holding any offices there, whether members of the Established Church or Seceders, were subjected to the penalties of these laws. So were Dissenters who held any shares in the Bank of England, or in the East India, Russia, or South Sea Companies, or in any of the Insurance Companies. Dissenters could not be governors of hospitals assisted by Act of Parliament, or of work-houses, or poor-houses, or houses of industry. They were prohibited in most cases from acting as commissioners or trustees of any sort. They were excluded

from being vestrymen, or from holding the meanest offices in corporations, as well as from important offices in the public service. There was scarcely any public position too high or too low to escape the sweep of these obnoxious laws. All persons acting under royal charters were obliged by the Test Act to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the manner of the Church of England. All non-commissioned officers, and the commissioned officers in the army; all excisemen, custom-house officers, and tide-masters; even all proprietors of mail coaches, persons letting out post-horses, retailers of perfumery and vendors of quack medicines, as persons holding places of trust under His Majesty, or those deriving their authority from him, were by law bound to receive the communion. Even persons who had licenses to sell ale were at one time compelled to receive the sacrament according to the form mentioned. Apart from the injustice of these penal statutes, and the hardships they inflicted, their profanity and impiety merited the severest condemnation. Men of infidel sentiments, and leading grossly immoral lives, were compelled to profane the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in order to qualify themselves for admission to office; and this was done with a contempt of common decency fitted to shock every right-thinking person, whatever his religious principles might be. Dr. Somerville, of Jedburgh, when he was in London, commissioned by the General Assembly to endeavour to obtain the abolition of this profanation of a sacred ordinance, was informed on good authority that a disreputable curate, with a dirty surplice, used to be in waiting at stated hours in St. Martin's chapel, provided with communion elements to be administered to those persons who had occasion to receive the wages or pay due to them from the Government.

The Test Act—unjust and oppressive as it was in itself—was for many years perverted into an engine of even greater

injustice than its authors intended. It was quite customary to nominate Dissenters to corporate offices, because it was known that they could not qualify themselves to execute them; and bye-laws inflicting penalties on those who refused to serve were made for the express purpose of enriching corporations at their expense. The Mansion House of the city of London, the first stone of which was laid in 1739, was built from the produce of these unjust exactions. This system of fraudulent oppression was at length overthrown by the decision of a court of justice. An action was brought by the Chamberlain of London against Allan Evans, Esq., a Dissenter, for the penalty of £600 for refusing to serve the office of sheriff of the city of London; but the House of Lords, to whose tribunal it was carried in the last resort, decided unanimously in 1767 that Dissenters who could not conscientiously take the sacrament in obedience to the test laws were excused from serving corporate offices.

Since that period the Corporation and Test Acts ceased to be practically enforced. An annual bill of indemnity was passed, remitting the penalty incurred by a violation of these penal statutes, provided that the test was taken before a certain day; and then another indemnity act followed, protecting fresh offenders after the last-mentioned day. This mode of mitigating an intolerable grievance did not, however, satisfy either the actual sufferers or the friends of religious liberty; and vigorous but unsuccessful efforts were made from time to time for the repeal of the obnoxious acts. A motion for this purpose, made in the House of Commons in March, 1735-36, was lost by 251 to 123. In 1739 the numbers were 188 to 89. In 1787 the majority against the repeal was 78; in 1789 only 20. But the alarm which was caused by the French Revolution produced a strong aversion to all constitutional changes, and in 1790 the claims of the Nonconformists were rejected by a majority of 187. Even a petition praying that

Scottish Presbyterians should be exempted from the test, though supported by Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir William Pulteney, Sir Adam Ferguson (the 'oath-detesting, chaste Kilkerran' of Robert Burns), and Mr. Fox, was refused in 1791 by 120 votes to 62.

From this time forward the English Dissenters made no further attempts to obtain the abolition of these acts until the year 1827. When the annual indemnity bill was brought forward that year, Mr. William Smith, a well-known London banker and member for Norwich, complained of the 'hard, unjust, and unnecessary' law which prevented him from holding 'any office, however insignificant, under the Crown,' and 'from sitting as a magistrate in any corporation without violating his conscience.' His remarks led to a discussion, which induced Lord John Russell to state that he was prepared to bring forward a motion on the Test and Corporation Acts 'if the Protestant Dissenters should think it their interest that he should do so.'

On the 26th of February, 1828, Lord John Russell redeemed his promise by moving that there should be a committee of the whole House to consider these Acts. In his speech he advocated their abolition, on the ground that 'every man ought to be allowed to form his religious opinions by the impressions on his own mind, and that when so formed he should be at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, without being subjected to any penalty or disqualification whatever.' The Dissenters were loyal subjects and did not deserve to be excluded from civil office by the Corporation Act; and as for the Test Act, it was originally intended to protect the church against the encroachments of the king, who was a converted Roman Catholic. The circumstances in which the Act was passed had completely changed, and the restrictions it imposed had become antiquated. As for the Indemnity Act, it was simply an Act 'passed yearly to forgive good men for doing good service to their country.' Lord John's motion was

opposed by the Cabinet, represented by Peel and Huskisson, on the ground 'that there was no practical inconvenience, that the thing worked well, and that it was unwise to change the relative position of persons who went on so well together.' Huskisson and other friends of Roman Catholic emancipation argued also that the repeal of the Test Act would prejudice that question; for Protestant Dissenters, on being freed from their own disabilities, would become less zealous in their efforts to obtain the removal of the restrictions on the Roman Catholics. A defence of these Acts resting on such grounds was not likely to make much impression on thoughtful and unprejudiced persons. 'It was clear from the beginning of the evening,' wrote Lord Ellenborough in his Diary, 'that the Government would be in a minority; and even as it was, many of their friends voted very reluctantly with them.' In fact, 'many attached friends of the Established Church—such as Lord Sandon and Sir Thomas Acland—voted against them,' and Lord John Russell's motion was carried by a majority of forty-four—the numbers being 237 to 193.

There can be no doubt that, if the Government had persisted in their opposition to the measure for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, it would have been thrown out by the Lords. But Peel, much to his credit, deprecated a contest between the two Houses of Parliament on such a question, and expressed his conviction that the interests of the church were not bound up with restrictions on Dissenters. He therefore recommended that the Government should acquiesce in the decision of the Commons, and use their influence to induce the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries to adopt the same course. After the second reading of the bill, when the House was about to go into committee, Mr. Sturges Bourne proposed that a formal declaration should be substituted for the test, and that the members of every corporation, and the holder of every official

position in the public service—if the Crown should think fit—should declare that he would ‘never exert any power or any influence to injure or subvert the Protestant Established Church.’ The Dissenters, though they protested against the imposition of any pledge whatever, offered no opposition to this proposal; and the bill, with Sturges Bourne’s clause annexed to it, was sent up to the House of Lords.

The Government were well aware that the measure would meet with strenuous opposition in the Upper House from the extreme section of their party, and they had therefore taken the precaution to secure the support of a large portion of the bishops. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of Durham, Chester, and Lincoln spoke in favour of the bill. But the indomitable veteran ex-chancellor gave it his most vehement opposition. ‘We who oppose,’ he wrote to his daughter, ‘shall be in but a wretched minority, though the individuals who compose it will as to several, I think, be of the most respectable class of peers; but the administration have, to their shame be it said, got the archbishops and most of the bishops to support this revolutionary bill.’ Again, ‘All the Whig lords will be against us; as Government began in the Commons by opposition, and then ran away like a parcel of cowards, I suppose Government also will be against us; but what is most calamitous of all is that the archbishops and several bishops are also against us. What they can mean they best know, for nobody else can tell; and sooner or later, perhaps in this very year—almost certainly in the next—the concessions to the Dissenters must be followed by the like concessions to the Roman Catholics.’ A few days later Eldon again wrote, ‘We, as we think ourselves, sincere friends of the Church of England, mean to fight as well as we can on Thursday next against this most shameful bill in favour of Dissenters, which has been sent up to us from the Commons—a bill which Peel’s declaration in the House of Commons, as to the pro-

bability of its passing in the House of Lords, has made it impossible to resist with effect. . . . How the bishops can have overlooked its extensive and deplorable effects, is to me the most strange thing possible.’

His lordship laid down broadly the principle that ‘the Church of England, combined with the state, formed the constitution of Great Britain, and that the Test and Corporation Acts were necessary to the preservation of that constitution.’ ‘The constitution,’ he said, ‘required that the Church of England should be supported; and the best way of affording that support to her was to admit only her own members to offices of trust and emolument.’ He did not, however, venture to take any division on the principle of the bill, ‘the opponents of that principle composing too small a minority to allow with prudence a precise exhibition of their numbers.’ Lord Ellenborough says they would not have numbered ten, though Lord Redesdale, who was eighty years of age, drove up from Gloucestershire for the express purpose of opposing the bill, and the Duke of Cumberland exerted himself to the utmost to throw it out. All that Lord Eldon, who ‘fought hard and well,’ could do was to propose a series of amendments intended to limit its operation and to weaken its effect; but they were all rejected by large majorities. On one occasion he so ‘frightened the bishops,’ says Lord Ellenborough, ‘that they all retired except three,’ who continued to support the bill. The ex-chancellor was ‘hurt, distressed, and fatigued’ by the countenance which his old friends had given to this ‘bad, mischievous, revolutionary measure.’ He declared that, ‘if he stood alone, he would go below the bar and vote against the bill; and were he called that night to render his account before heaven, he would go with the consoling reflection that he had never advocated anything mischievous to his country.’ At the suggestion of Lord Harewood, the Bishop of Llandaff proposed, for ‘the credit of the Parliament,’ that the

words 'On the true faith of a Christian' should be added to the declaration. This amendment was adopted, and quite unintentionally had the effect of excluding the Jews from Parliament. Lord Holland entered his protest against it, because, he said, it 'implies an opinion in which I cannot conscientiously concur—namely, that a particular faith in matters of religion is necessary to the proper discharge of duties purely political or temporal.' The bill thus amended became law.

Ten days after the bill repealing the Corporation and Test Acts had passed the House of Lords, Sir Francis Burdett brought forward in the House of Commons a motion that the House should resolve into a committee for the purpose of taking into consideration the laws affecting the Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland. Three of the members of the Cabinet, Huskisson, Palmerston, and Grant, supported the motion; three other members, Peel, Goulbourn, and Herries, opposed it. On a division the motion was carried in a full House by a majority of six—272 members against 266 having voted for it. But when the resolution was brought before the House of Lords the decision was reversed by a majority of forty-four. The supporters of the Roman Catholic claims, however, consoled themselves under their defeat by the altered tone of the ministers who opposed the resolution. The Lord Chancellor, Lyndhurst, admitted that the question presented great difficulty, and the Duke of Wellington said he considered the question merely one of expediency, and concluded by intimating that it would be well to allow the public mind to rest, and in the end it might be possible to do something, for he was most desirous of seeing the subject brought to an amicable conclusion. The altered tone of the ministerial statements regarding this question excited hope in the one party and uneasiness in the other. 'The supposed or real ambiguity,' wrote Lord Eldon, 'which marked the Duke of Wellington's speech, has led to a very

general persuasion that the Ministry intend, or at least that the duke intends, next session to emancipate the Roman Catholics as he has the Dissenters, and the world is uneasy.' 'I look upon the Roman Catholic question to be ultimately and at no distant day carried.' The shrewd old Chancellor could discern the signs of the times, though he obstinately refused to be instructed or guided by them.

The disclosures made in the Autobiography of Lord Palmerston and the Diary of Lord Ellenborough, show that from the first the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet had been torn by internal dissensions, and that the members differed on almost every question they had to decide. Lord Palmerston, after giving a minute account of their proceedings during the six months of their existence, makes the following significant statement:—'The Cabinet has gone on for some time past, as it had done before, differing upon almost every question of any importance that has been brought under consideration; meeting to debate and dispute, and separating without deciding.' And Lord Ellenborough in his Diary fully confirms this statement. Their differences respecting the corn-law bill brought the Government to the brink of dissolution, and a quarrel arising out of the Reform question ended in an open rupture.

At the recent general election a great deal of bribery and corruption had, as usual, taken place; in the boroughs of Penryn and East Retford the proceedings had been peculiarly flagrant, and had been conducted in the most open and unblushing manner. Both boroughs had long been notorious offenders, and their conduct on this occasion had been so gross, that the House of Commons, though always averse to take cognizance of such practices, were compelled to notice it. In the session of 1827, bills for the disfranchisement of both boroughs were passed by the House of Commons, but did not reach the House of Lords. Both bills were again brought forward in the session of 1828. The members of the

Cabinet, as usual, differed in their opinions as to the mode in which the offending boroughs should be dealt with. The old Tory section proposed that they should be thrown into the adjoining hundreds. Huskisson and his friends urged that their right of representation should be transferred to some large towns. In the end, after long wrangling, a compromise was made; it was agreed that the franchise of Penrhyn should be transferred to a town, and that Retford be put into the hundred of Bassetlaw. Peel accordingly proposed this arrangement to the House, saying he had waited to see whether there were two places or one to dispose of; and finding there were two, he would give one to the manufacturing and the other to the agricultural interest. Huskisson went farther, and said that if there were but one place he would give it to a great town. On the faith of this arrangement, it was agreed in the committee that the Penrhyn bill should be sent to the House of Lords, and that the East Retford bill should 'lay to, to wait the result of Penrhyn.'

'The Cornishmen, however,' says Lord Palmerston, 'regained courage, and swore so stoutly at the bar of the Lords, that even Lord Carnarvon, who had charge of the disfranchisement bill, gave up the case, as far as sending the right to a town, and proposed the hundred instead.' In this state of affairs, Tennyson, who had introduced the bill for the disfranchisement of East Retford, gave notice that he would proceed with the measure, and Nicholson Calvert was to move in the committee an alteration, substituting the hundred for Birmingham. On the afternoon of the day on which the question was to come on, the Cabinet met, and among other things it was discussed what was to be done with East Retford. Peel said he considered himself free to vote as he liked on Calvert's motion; Huskisson stated that he had pledged himself that if there were but one place to be disfranchised, he would vote for sending that place to a town; Bathurst objected to conferring the representation in any case

upon a town, and proposed that it should be an open question; and Melville said that this was the course which had been followed in dealing with Grampound. Neither the duke nor Peel expressed any dissent, and the Cabinet broke up without coming to any decision on the subject. When the consideration of the East Retford bill was resumed, Peel supported the proposal to merge the borough in the hundred of Bassetlaw. Huskisson was in a state of great hesitation and uneasiness as to the course he should follow. It seemed to be admitted on all hands that he had pledged himself to vote for the transference of the franchise to Birmingham, and the fulfilment of this pledge was claimed from him in the most direct terms by Lord Sandon, amid the taunting cheers of the Opposition. In this dilemma he pressed an adjournment of the debate, but could not carry it. In the end he followed the advice of Palmerston, and along with him, and Grant, and Lamb, voted against the Government. Peel was evidently much annoyed, though, notwithstanding this defection, he carried his point by a majority of eighteen. 'After the manner,' says Palmerston, 'in which, at the Cabinet in the morning it had been proposed to leave the question open, it did not strike me that we were doing anything that was a material breach of official allegiance.'

Huskisson, however, exhausted with fatigue after sixteen hours' work, feeble in health, and troubled by the evident displeasure of his colleagues, instead of going to bed as Palmerston did, wrote a hasty and ill-considered letter to the Duke of Wellington. 'After the vote,' he said, 'which in regard to my own consistency and personal character, I have found myself in the course of this evening's debate compelled to give on the East Retford question, I owe it to you, as the head of the administration, and to Mr. Peel, the leader of the House of Commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands.' The duke received the letter before

ten the next morning, and showed it to Lord Bathurst, a Tory of the Eldon school, who advised him to take Huskisson at his word, and to accept his resignation at once. Wellington, nothing loath, followed this advice, and forwarded Huskisson's letter to the king. He at the same time informed his colleague of what he had done, in a dry and formal note, stating that his letter had surprised him and given him great concern. This prompt and decided action evidently took Huskisson much by surprise. He showed the duke's letter to Lord Dudley, who was with him when it arrived, and he at once offered to call on his Grace, and clear up the mistake that had taken place. He returned, however, with the intelligence that the duke insisted 'it is no mistake, it can be no mistake, and it shall be no mistake.' Palmerston, on learning what had occurred, called upon Wellington, and endeavoured to smooth matters, but without effect. The duke said 'he could not go on all fours to Mr. Huskisson to ask him to withdraw his resignation, and lay the Government at his feet by requesting him to stay in.' A lengthened correspondence then took place between Huskisson and Wellington—the one endeavouring to show that he had intended to tender his resignation only if the duke thought that his continuance in office would be inconvenient to the public service; the other insisting that the resignation was positive and unconditional, and could be regarded by him in no other light. This series of explanations

and negotiations showed very unpleasantly Huskisson's extreme unwillingness to quit office, and also the duke's determination to avail himself of the opportunity to get rid of a colleague with whom he now saw it was impossible for him cordially to co-operate.* 'The Canningites'—Lord Palmerston, Lord Dudley, William Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne), and Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg)—retired along with Huskisson. Sir Henry Hardinge became Secretary-at-War, Sir George Murray succeeded Huskisson at the Colonial Office, Lord Aberdeen was appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Francis Levison-Gower (afterwards Earl of Ellesmere), was made Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Vesey Fitzgerald, President of the Board of Trade, in the room of Charles Grant.

* Lord Palmerston says—'In the following year, 1829, when the Catholic Relief Bill was pending, Lord Lowther, then Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, Sir John Beckett, Judge Advocate General, Mr. George Bankes, Secretary to the Board of Control, and Mr. Holmes, Treasurer to the Ordnance, all sent in to the duke their resignations—that is to say, wrote word that they could not support the bill upon the fate of which the existence of the Government was staked; and that if their voting against it would be inconvenient to the Government, they were ready to resign their offices. Of these letters no notice was taken, and to them no reply was sent. The individuals in question voted against the Government in every stage of the proceeding, and remained undisturbed in their offices; a pretty good commentary upon the eagerness with which Huskisson's resignation was acted upon, in a case where the bill out of which it arose was not a Government measure, nor a proceeding upon the issue of which the existence of the Government in any degree depended.'

CHAPTER XIX.

Termination of the Struggle for Roman Catholic Emancipation—The Roman Catholic Association—Failure of the attempt to suppress it—Rejection of a Relief Bill by the Lords—O'Connell's Election for the County of Clare—Its effect—Feeling of the Cabinet on the question—Letter of Dr. Curtis—Recall of Lord Anglesey—Speech of Mr. Dawson—Change of opinion on the part of influential Orangemen—The Relief Bill—Mr. Peel's rejection by the University of Oxford—Vacillation of the King—Bill for the Suppression of the Roman Catholic Association—Introduction of Relief Bill into the House of Commons—Duel between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea—The Relief Bill in the House of Lords—It is passed and receives the Royal Assent—Disfranchisement of the Irish Forty-Shilling Freeholders—Dismissal of the Attorney-General—O'Connell's admission to the House of Commons refused—His re-election for Clare.

THE Tory party regarded the reconstruction of the Cabinet and the expulsion of the Canningites with unbounded delight. They had at last obtained a government after their own heart; and at the Pitt dinner, at the end of May, they manifested their joy by the heartiness with which, at the bidding of Lord Eldon, they gave 'one cheer more' for the Protestant ascendancy. The shrewd old chancellor, however, saw clearly that the new administration would have 'great difficulties to struggle with.' 'The Whigs, the Canningites, and the Huskissonites,' he said, 'will join and be very strong. With the exception of Lord Lonsdale, the great Tory parliamentary lords are not propitiated by the new arrangements, and many of them will be either neuter or adverse.' Their most formidable difficulty, however, arose from another quarter.

The Roman Catholic Association had now attained to a height of power which rendered it very dangerous to any government that opposed their claims. It was founded in 1823 by Daniel O'Connell, an eminent Roman Catholic barrister, who by his great abilities and eloquence had now become the head of the party in Ireland, and it speedily became a rallying centre for all the Irish supporters of Roman Catholic emancipation. Its members held regular sessions in Dublin, engaged in debates, which were reported in the newspapers, and constituted themselves the medium between Ireland and the Parliament. They organized the entire country, ordered

a census of the population to be taken, and appointed collectors in every parish for receiving the 'Catholic Rent,' which it expended at its own pleasure for the purposes of law, bribery, or election.

A Mr. Kinnan, one of the Duke of Wellington's correspondents, gives a striking and interesting account of the methods employed by the agents of the association in the collection of the 'Rent.' 'The priests,' he says, 'appointed collectors in every townland, each of whom was supplied with a book containing a particular form of schedule, in which was inserted the number of the houses in the townland, and the names of every individual in each house—even of new-born infants, and of Protestants as well as Roman Catholics—with notes as to their means and circumstances, and their various dispositions towards the cause. The book, being filled up, was returned to the priest, who referred to it for the purpose of discovering the defaulters; while no one entered in the book could have his children baptized into the Roman Catholic Church until he himself, the sponsors of his child, and the child, were enrolled as members of the association. The names of defaulters were published for the detestation of their neighbours.'

The Government regarded with great alarm the proceedings of this self-constituted legislature, which wielded such immense influence in every district of Ireland. They felt themselves powerless to stop its proceedings, but they made an attempt to

Donald Rose



Engraved by W. J. Bart

ROYAL REGIMENT

punish its founder and master-spirit for using words to the effect that 'if Parliament will not attend to the Roman Catholic claims, I hope some Bolivar will arise to vindicate their rights.' The grand jury, however, threw out the bill, and O'Connell's victory over the Government, of course, contributed not a little to strengthen the association.

In these circumstances the Government resolved to take measures for the suppression of this formidable association. When the Parliament met on the 3rd of February, 1825, they introduced into the king's speech an expression of regret that 'associations should exist in Ireland which have adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm and exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society and retard the course of national improvement.' 'His Majesty,' it was added, 'relies upon your wisdom to consider without delay the means of applying a remedy to this evil.' This reference to the Roman Catholic Association excited a good deal of keen discussion. Brougham denounced the insincerity that lurked under the plural 'associations.' 'It was merely a juggling attempt,' he said, 'to assume the appearance of dealing equal justice to the Orangemen and the members of the association. The Catholic Association will be strongly put down with one hand, while the Orange Association will only receive a gentle tap with the other.' In the Upper House the Marquis of Lansdowne cautioned ministers not to be hasty in repressing open complaint, and not to beguile themselves with the idea of curing a malady merely by removing a few of the outward symptoms.

Goulbourn, the Irish secretary, moved for leave to bring in the promised bill on the 10th of February, and described the association as composed mainly of priests, men of disappointed ambition, and the friends of Tone and Emmett, who levied an unauthorized tax by the agency of the priests, and employed their influence in endanger-

ing the peace and good order of the country. After a debate which lasted four nights, Goulbourn's motion was agreed to by 278 votes to 123, and the second and third readings of the bill (February 21st and 25th) also were carried by large majorities. Its progress through the House of Lords was still more rapid, and on the 7th of March it was read a third time and passed.

By this Act, which was to continue in force for three years, it was declared unlawful for all political associations to continue their sittings by adjournment or otherwise, or whether in full sittings, or by committee or officers, for more than fourteen days, or to levy contributions from His Majesty's subjects, or from any descriptions of them; or 'for any such societies to have different branches or to correspond with other societies, or to exclude members on the ground of religious faith, or to require oaths or declarations otherwise than as required by law. But the bill had scarcely become law when it was proved to be a mere dead letter. As soon as the session had closed, a new association was formed, 'which professed not to discuss the question of Catholic emancipation, but to be formed for the purposes of education and other charitable purposes.' It met once a week, and each meeting was regarded as a separate association, terminating on the day on which it had assembled. The collection of the rent went on, as before, in every parish; but it was professedly made for charitable purposes. These evasions of the Act were so effectual and so difficult to reach, that the Government made no attempt to enforce its provisions.

The only effect of this abortive attempt to suppress the Roman Catholic Association was to stimulate the friends of emancipation to increased efforts to remove the disabilities of the Romanists. On the 1st of March, 1825, Sir Francis Burdett brought the Roman Catholic question once more before the House of Commons, and carried his motion by a majority of thirteen. A bill

to give effect to his motion was introduced on the 23rd of March. Three of the Irish members, representing Ulster constituencies, who had hitherto resisted the Roman Catholic claims, expressed their determination to support the bill, and it passed the Commons by a majority of 268 to 241. It was accompanied by two subsidiary measures termed its 'wings'—a bill to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders and to raise the qualification of a freehold elector to £10 per annum; and another making provision of £250,000 a year from the Treasury for the support of the Roman Catholic clergy. But the outcry from opposite sides against both of these proposals rather hindered than helped the repeal of the disabilities. In the end the bill was rejected by the Lords, as we have seen, mainly in consequence of the strong declaration made against it by the heir presumptive to the Crown.

During Mr. Canning's short administration, the Roman Catholics were quiet and hopeful. The Premier was their steady and powerful friend. He had given his cordial support to every proposal brought before Parliament for the removal of their disabilities, and had brought in a scheme of his own for the admission of Roman Catholic peers to the Upper House, which after passing the Commons had, like other measures of a similar kind, been rejected by the Peers. On the death of Canning the supporters of Roman Catholic emancipation still remained quiescent, knowing that his successor and most of his colleagues were friendly to their claims. But on the accession of the Duke of Wellington to the office of Prime Minister, and especially after the expulsion of the Canningites from the Cabinet, they became violent and aggressive. The election of 1826 had taught them their strength, and the priests and other agents of the association had successfully exerted their influence to induce the forty-shilling freeholders to vote against their landlords. The candidates whom they supported, however, were all

Protestants, and therefore legally qualified to sit in Parliament; but, on the reconstruction of the Wellington Cabinet, it suddenly occurred to O'Connell and the other leaders of the association that they might show their electoral power in a still more striking way by returning a Roman Catholic candidate. The seat which they resolved to contest was that for the county of Clare.

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, one of the members representing that county, was appointed the successor of Mr. Charles Grant as President of the Board of Trade. He was a wealthy Irish landlord, popular among his tenantry, had gained great credit by the manner in which he had discharged at an earlier period of his political career the duty of Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, and had always supported the Roman Catholic claims; but he had now joined the Duke of Wellington's government, and was therefore deemed no longer worthy of the confidence of the association. The influence which he possessed in the county of Clare from property, station, and past services to his constituents, it was supposed, must insure his triumphant return. It was clearly seen if, with these signal advantages in his favour, Mr. Fitzgerald were rejected, no other Protestant candidate had any chance of success in an Irish county. Mr. O'Connell, who was started against him, was an entire stranger in Clare, and was incapacitated by law from sitting in Parliament, so that the electors were aware that in voting for him their suffrages were thrown away. But though the law would prevent him from taking his seat in the House of Commons, it did not forbid his being returned to serve, and his return in such circumstances would, it was supposed, afford the Government and the country a signal proof of the absolute sway which the association exercised over the tenantry of Ireland. Mr. O'Connell accordingly took the field, and was formally proposed as a candidate for the county of Clare in opposition to Mr. Fitzgerald. Emissaries of the association

were despatched to every parish and barony of the county. 'Every altar,' said Shiel, 'was a tribune.' The priests, with only one exception, supported O'Connell, and earnestly exhorted their congregations to vote for the advocate of their rights. So did many respectable Roman Catholics who never before interfered in the politics of the association. The contest, Fitzgerald said, was 'tremendous : ' 'the county is mad.' O'Connell, on his way to the scene of the struggle, was met at Nenagh after mass, and escorted thence to the borders of Clare by a numerous body of horsemen and all the traders of the city of Limerick. On the day of election the forty-shilling freeholders marched into Ennis, the county town, under the leadership of their parish priests, with the watchword, 'For God and O'Connell.' Mr. Fitzgerald, in a letter to Peel, said, 'I have polled all the gentry and all the fifty-pound freeholders—the gentry to a man. All the great interests broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had! Such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us!' After carrying on this unequal contest for five days, Mr. Fitzgerald retired from the field, and O'Connell was declared duly elected. The sheriff made a special return, calling attention to the facts that O'Connell had declared before him that he was a Roman Catholic, and intended to continue a Roman Catholic, and that a protest had been made by the electors against his return. The election, however, was quite valid, though O'Connell's assertion that he could sit in Parliament and vote without taking the oaths was, as he must have known, quite untrue.

It was impossible for any politician, however wedded to his own convictions, to close his eyes to the lesson which the Clare election was fitted to teach. The Irish Romanists had learned their power, and there was no reason to suppose that they would refrain from exercising it. The prospect was indeed tremendous, as Peel said, re-echoing the words of Vesey Fitzgerald. The Clare elec-

tion, he added, supplied 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 relations to each other—to weaken the force of local and personal 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 to the Government which administered it.' Even Lord Eldon, hostile as he was to the Roman Catholic claims, was too shrewd not to perceive the importance of this election. 'This business,' he wrote, 'must bring the Roman Catholic question, which has been so often discussed, to a crisis and a conclusion ; ' and he had for some time foreseen and predicted that the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts would be followed at no distant day by the abolition of the Roman Catholic disabilities.

The Act for the suppression of political or secret societies in Ireland had proved a failure ; but even the slight restraint which it imposed upon the Orange and Roman Catholic Associations was now removed. The law expired in the month of July, and 'the latter immediately reassembled in its original form, and resumed its former agitation.' Its organization was extended to the remotest districts of Ireland, and embraced persons of all classes of society. In order to improve the victory it had gained in Clare, it passed a resolution requiring of every person who should at any time come forward as a candidate for an Irish constituency, that he must pledge himself to oppose the Duke of Wellington's ministry on every question until emancipation was conceded—to support civil and religious liberty, and to vote for reform in Parliament. It was declared that every candidate refusing to take these pledges should be opposed by the members, the influence, and the funds of the Catholic Association. The association found the machinery required to carry out these resolutions ready

made to their hand. The Irish landlords had used the Act of 1793, which gave the franchise to the forty-shilling freeholders to promote their own short-sighted and selfish purposes, and had multiplied freeholds to the utmost of their ability, in order to increase their influence and obtain offices and other favours from the Government. The tenants of the petty farms into which these estates were subdivided had heretofore gone to the poll like a flock of sheep under the direction of their landlords; but now, under a far more powerful influence, they were driven to vote for the candidates supported by the priests.

A club was instituted in every parish, and the gentry, as well as the clergy and the farmers, were enrolled among its members. It was to hold monthly meetings, to keep a register of all electors within its bounds to be in readiness for future elections, and to promote good order, perfect obedience to the laws, political knowledge, and liberal feeling. These were no mere words, of course. Perhaps the most decisive proof of O'Connell's influence at this critical moment, when the members of the Roman Catholic Association and the Brunswick Clubs were ready to fly at each other's throats, was his suppression for the time of party feuds among the peasantry, and turning them from scenes of riot and bloodshed to the achievement of a great national privilege—and his suspension of the meetings of his party—thus showing that the peace of Ireland was at his bidding. Irish crime seemed suddenly and unaccountably to have disappeared. 'What has Government to dread from our resentment or peace?' said Shiel. 'An answer is supplied by what we behold. Does not a tremendous organization extend over the whole island? Have not all the natural bonds by which men are tied together been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society which exist elsewhere gone? Has not property lost its influence? Has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it?—and has not an inter-

nal government grown up which, gradually superseding the legitimate authority, has armed itself with a complete dominator? Is it nothing that the whole body of the clergy are alienated from the state, and that the Catholic gentry and peasantry and priesthood are all combined in one vast confederacy? So much for Catholic indignation while we are at peace; and when England shall be involved in war—I pause; it is not necessary that I should discuss that branch of the question, or point to the cloud which, charged with thunder, is hanging over our heads.'

It was not foreign, but civil war, that the Government had now to dread. The Orangemen, as well as the Roman Catholics, had been freed from restrictions on the expiry of the suppression law in July; and when the leaders of the Roman Catholic party resumed their open and ostentatious agitation, new Orange Associations were immediately formed under the name of Brunswick Clubs, which collected a Protestant rent, and in various other operations imitated the Roman Catholic organization. The great body of the Irish people were thus gathered into two hostile camps, and the war-cry of religious enmity rose louder and louder. In Munster and Connaught, where the Protestants were few in number, there was little danger of collision; but in the other districts of Ireland, where Protestants and Roman Catholics were more equally balanced, and especially in Ulster, the stronghold of the Orange party, a spark might easily have kindled a flame. 'Jack Lawless,' as he was called, one of the leaders of the Catholic Association, a rash, headstrong, foolish Irishman, declared his intention of visiting 'all the strongholds of the Orangemen,' evidently for the purpose of exciting a riot. Accompanied by many thousands of the lowest order of Roman Catholics, he set out on a tour of agitation in Ulster, visiting town after town, and addressing inflammatory harangues to applauding mobs. The Orangemen, nothing loath, accepted his challenge, and assembled in arms to

resist his attempt to enter Armagh. The military authorities, however, interposed, and induced Lawless to retire. O'Connell exerted all his influence to induce his followers to desist from their public demonstrations; and though, as the Lord-Lieutenant wrote, 'the Brunswickers were rivalling the association both in violence and in rant,' no actual outbreak took place. 'Two associations,' however, and 'two rents,' he added, 'were rather formidable.'

The agitation which the Roman Catholic leaders had set on foot in Ireland was not confined to that country. It does not appear that any anti-Catholic societies were formed in Scotland; but the great body of the people, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, were decidedly opposed to Catholic emancipation. In England the Protestants instituted Brunswick Clubs in various districts, to resist the demands of the Roman Catholics, and to support their brethren in Ireland. One of these clubs, of which Lord Eldon was a member, was formed in London, and the example was followed in Leeds, Liverpool, and other large towns. Meetings were held in different parts of the country to protest against any concessions to the Romanists. A great meeting was held on Pennenden Heath, in Kent, attended by 20,000 freeholders and yeomanry. The Earl of Winchelsea, Sir Edward Knatchbull, and other influential persons belonging to the county, took part in the proceedings. It was proposed that a petition should be presented to Parliament, praying that the Protestant constitution of the United Kingdom should be preserved entire and inviolate. No direct counter-motion was made in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, but it was moved that it ought to be left to Government to propose such measures as they might think proper for the pacification of Ireland. This motion was supported by the Earl of Camden, Earl Darnley, the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Teynham, but the petition was carried by a great majority. The example thus set by the 'men of Kent'

was followed in other parts of England; but the great body of the English opponents of the Roman Catholic claims seemed to think that agitation was unnecessary, and that the Protestant constitution was quite safe in the hands of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel.

The quiescence and apparent inactivity of the administration, while the country was in this state of uneasiness, excited a good deal of surprise, and gave plausibility to the taunts of Shiel. 'Meanwhile the Government,' he said, 'stands by, and the Minister folds his arms as if he were a mere indifferent observer, and the terrific contest only afforded him a spectacle for the amusement of his official leisure. He sits as if his gladiators were crossing their swords for his recreation. The Cabinet seems to be little better than a box in an amphitheatre, from whence His Majesty's ministers may survey the business of blood.'

The Government, however, were very far indeed from being indifferent observers of the events that were taking place in Ireland. The Clare election had brought matters to a crisis which must be promptly met, otherwise civil war was imminent. 'Such is the extraordinary power of the association,' wrote Lord Anglesey on the 2nd of July, 1828, 'or rather of the agitators, of whom there are many of high ability, of ardent mind, of great daring, that I am quite certain they could lead on the people to open rebellion at a moment's notice; and their organization is such that in the hands of desperate and intelligent leaders they would be extremely formidable.' 'I have little doubt,' wrote Lord F. Leveson Gower, the Chief Secretary, to Peel, on the 2nd of December, 'that the peasantry of the south at present look forward to the period of O'Connell's expulsion from the House of Commons as the time of 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.'

In these critical circumstances, with Ire-

laud almost in a state of anarchy, where 'there was no law but that of the priests, and no rule but that of O'Connell,' the Government were brought face to face with a problem which tasked to the utmost their ability to solve. The Premier was of opinion that only one of three alternatives remained to him—either to reconquer Ireland, to concede Roman Catholic emancipation, or to resign. Constituted as the army then was, its ranks filled with Irish Roman Catholics, the first was impossible, and would have been rejected at any rate on higher grounds; the choice then lay between the other two. It was evident that unless the Roman Catholic Association were suppressed, there would be no security in Ireland to life or property, nor any force in law. But it seemed difficult, if not impossible, to do this without conceding its demands. The duke proposed that O'Connell, Lawless, and some of the other leaders of the association, should be prosecuted; but the Crown lawyers assured him that it was more than doubtful whether they had committed any offence which the law could reach, and even if their criminality could be proved, no Irish jury would bring in against them a verdict of guilty. It seemed equally hopeless to apply for measures of security to a House of Commons containing a majority favourable to concession. It, therefore, only remained to the Government either to do nothing, or to introduce a measure removing the Roman Catholic disabilities. It was impossible for the Ministry to sit still and do nothing, while the state of Ireland was becoming week by week, and day by day, more alarming. Nothing remained, therefore, but the concession of the Roman Catholic claims, 'as the sole means of satisfying a people not otherwise governable, and bringing one-third of the empire into harmony with the rest.'

At the close of the session of Parliament, the Duke of Wellington promised to send Mr. Peel a full statement of his views on the state of Ireland and the Roman Catholic question. On the 9th of August his Grace

forwarded the promised documents, containing a plan for the settlement of the question, along with a letter from the king, to whom the memorandum on the state of Ireland had been sent. The duke strove to impress upon the Home Secretary three conclusions—first, that emancipation was absolutely necessary for the good of the country; secondly, that it could not be carried without Peel's assistance; and thirdly, that he might justly ascribe his change of opinion to change of circumstances. Mr. Peel returned the duke's papers on the 11th, with a letter and memorandum, containing a full and unreserved exposition of his views. 'I am ready,' he said, 'at the hazard of any sacrifice, to maintain the opinion which I now deliberately give, that there is, upon the whole, less of evil in making a decided effort to settle the Catholic question, than in leaving it, as it has been left, an open question; the Government being undecided with respect to it, and paralyzed in consequence of that indecision upon many occasions peculiarly requiring promptitude and energy of action.' Peel, however, goes on to say, 'I must express a very strong opinion, that it would not conduce to the satisfactory adjustment of the question, that the charge of it in the House of Commons should be committed to my hands.' 'My support,' he adds, 'will be more useful if I give it out of office.' He also promised to resign at whatever time should be found most convenient, and to co-operate cordially with the duke's government in supporting the measure to be introduced into Parliament. The duke communicated Mr. Peel's letter and memorandum to Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, and the matter rested here for the present.

During the recess an event occurred which, at a less exciting time, might have made a great noise, and done some mischief to the Government—the dismissal of the Duke of Clarence from the office of Lord High Admiral, which he had held for a year and a half. He had conducted himself in such an eccentric manner as to give rise to grave

doubts respecting his sanity. Not contented with personally inspecting every ship that went to sea before she sailed, he was in the habit of going down to Portsmouth and Plymouth to review regiments of soldiers, and to give them colours, though they wanted none. He not only lavished needlessly a great deal of public money, but subjected to a ruinous expense for entertainments the general officers whose regiments he thought fit to inspect. Sir James Lyon, at Portsmouth, was compelled to spend nearly his whole half-year's staff pay in this way. Lord Ellenborough says the Lord High Admiral dates an order from his yacht (he being at Bushey, and the order dated three days' hence) with the object of trying whether he cannot do acts without his council. He then posted off, sailed down the channel, and sent orders to the admiral at Cork to leave his station and come and join him in the chops of the channel. The board was astounded to hear that the Cork admiral was gone without their knowledge or concurrence. There was an understanding that his Royal Highness was to execute the office in London, and with the council, there being a counter signature to all his instruments, which the Lord Chancellor had declared to be necessary. The duke was very indignant at the opposition of the Cabinet to his claims. He sent an extremely violent letter to Sir George Cockburn, one of the lords of the Admiralty, who sent a very proper and respectful reply, which the duke chose to regard as 'impertinent,' and declared that if Sir George was not turned out he would resign. The other lords all made common cause with Cockburn, who was supported by the Cabinet; and the king wrote to his brother that he must either conform to the provisions of his patent or resign. 'The king,' said Lord Ellenborough, 'would be glad to oust him, thus removing from a prominent situation a brother of whom he is jealous, and creating ill-blood between the heir-presumptive and his ministers—a thing all kings like to do.' At last,

after a good deal of wrangling and quarrelling, his Royal Highness sent in his resignation, which was at once accepted.

The Admiralty reverted to its former position and was put under a commission; and the office of first lord was offered to Lord Melville, who declined it. The Board of Control, of which he was president, says Lord Dalling, was nearly as good in salary, less expensive in representation, easier in labour, and attended with Indian patronage and connection—agreeable to a Scotsman. He had been twelve years at the Admiralty and was tired of it, and knew himself unpopular in the Navy. The Duke of Wellington, however, wanted the Board of Control for Lord Ellenborough, and at length wrote to Melville to say that the public service required that he should go to the Admiralty, but that at all events he could not stay where he was. So Melville was furious, and all his friends indignant at the duke's usage of him; but nevertheless his prudence led him to acquiesce and march according to orders. The duke resolved to keep vacant the office of Privy Seal, which Ellenborough had vacated, in order that if necessary he might appoint to it any new ally whose services he might secure. 'I wish to keep it vacant,' he wrote to Peel, 'because I am under the necessity of looking forward to future misfortunes. I consider you not pledged to anything, but I cannot but look to the not impossible case of your finding yourself obliged to leave us to ourselves. In this case I must have the command of all the means possible to make an arrangement to carry on the king's service, and I would keep other offices vacant if I could.'

Meanwhile the leaders of the Roman Catholic Association continued their agitations in every district of Ireland. Their adherents in the south assembled in military array, clothed in uniform, and were eagerly waiting the signal to rise in arms. 'They had made peace among themselves as ordered, but surely that could only be to enable them all to join in making war on some-

body else. If they were not to fight each other, whom were they to fight? Of course the Orangemen and the Government; and *when were they to begin?* They were, however, kept quiet by the influence of O'Connell, who was well aware that any outbreak of his adherents at this juncture would be most injurious to their cause. This decisive proof of the power of the great agitator tended rather to increase than to diminish the uneasiness and anxiety of the anti-Catholic party, who, according to Vesey Fitzgerald, felt a 'universal sentiment of disgust, indignation, and alarm at the proceedings of the Government.' These feelings were greatly strengthened by a correspondence which took place between the duke and Dr. Curtis, titular Roman Catholic primate of Ireland, whom Wellington had known long before at Salamanca when this prelate was at the Irish college there, and had rendered important services to the British army. After his return to Ireland, Curtis had occasionally corresponded on Irish subjects with the duke, who had a high opinion of his integrity and ability. On the 1st of December, 1828, he wrote a long letter to the Premier on the state of the country and the importance of settling the Catholic question. The reply of the duke was quite in the strain of his speech when the question was last before the House of Lords. He was sincerely desirous, he said, to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question. 'But I confess,' he added, 'that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy.'

The ambiguous tone of this letter not unnaturally made both parties affect to

consider it to be in their favour. Dr. Curtis himself, however, interpreted it to mean that there was no hope of the speedy settlement of the question, and he wrote to the duke assuring him that there was no prospect of burying it in oblivion. He most improperly sent a copy of this confidential communication to O'Connell, who, though he believed it to be unfavourable, chose to profess that he regarded it as indicating that the prime minister was no longer hostile to the Roman Catholic claims, and read it publicly at a meeting of the association. Not satisfied with the mischief he had done by forwarding the correspondence to O'Connell, Dr. Curtis sent a copy of it to Lord Anglesey. The lord-lieutenant was a gallant soldier, but not a wise statesman, and he wrote in reply to the prelate that he did not before know the precise sentiments of the Duke of Wellington upon the present state of the Roman Catholic question. 'I differ,' he added, 'from the opinion of the duke that an attempt should be made to bury in oblivion the question for a short time. First, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming that if the Government at once and peremptorily decided against concession the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the past years of Ireland will have to be re-acted. What I do recommend is, that the measure should not for a moment be lost sight of—that anxiety should continue to be manifested—that all constitutional (in contradistinction to mere legal) means should be resorted to to forward the cause; but, at the same time, the most patient forbearance—the most submissive obedience to the laws should be inculcated—that no personal or offensive language should be held towards those who oppose the claims.' This letter, also, was read at a meeting of the association with the most enthusiastic applause.

The imprudence of Lord Anglesey, in connection with this affair, was aggravated by several previous acts of insubordination to the instructions of the Premier, and indefensible indiscretions. His sons attended meetings of the Roman Catholic Association. He, himself, taking the Irish lord chancellor with him, became the guest of Lord Cloncurry, one of the leaders of that association, and instead of holding the balance even between the hostile parties, he threw the whole weight of his office into the scale of the agitators. The king was furious at the conduct of his Irish viceroy, and at length the duke was compelled to remove him from office, and the Duke of Northumberland, a moderate partisan of resistance, was appointed his successor. There were no bounds to the indignation of the Roman Catholics, who regarded the recall of the Marquis of Anglesey as an indication that the opposition of the Government to their claims was as resolute as ever. The sagacious French statesman, Talleyrand, drew from it the exactly opposite inference.

The duke, like a skilful tactician in peace as in war, kept his own counsel. The only members of his Cabinet with whom he had discussed the question were Peel and Lyndhurst. But some of his subordinates, suspecting what was in the wind, began to speak and act as if the game were drawing to a close, and that the Roman Catholics were to win it. In a letter of September 9, 1828, to the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Grenville says, 'The measure of Catholic emancipation is fast approaching, and that irresistibly. I know from the most unquestionable authority that very many of the Orange Protestants in Ireland are now so entirely alarmed at their own position, that they express in the most unqualified terms their earnest desire for any settlement of the question at issue on any terms, and Dawson's recantation has been the signal for a more undisguised display of the same opinions. It must take place, as I believe, before many months shall pass.' Mr. Leslie Foster, a steady opponent of the Roman

Catholic claims, in a letter to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, of November 14, says:—'I have not a doubt that a majority even of the Brunswickers are friendly to a settlement upon proper terms.' But the most significant indication of the coming event was the speech delivered at Londonderry on the 12th of August by Mr. George Dawson, the brother-in-law of Peel, and one of the secretaries of the Treasury. He had hitherto been one of the most uncompromising opponents of the Roman Catholic claims; but now at a public dinner of staunch Orangemen he described in strong terms the condition of Ireland under the control of an irresponsible and self-constituted association, and plainly indicated that it was impossible to continue a policy of resistance. There was but one alternative, either to suppress the association, or to settle the question; the former was impossible, the latter inevitable. This speech, coming from such a quarter, naturally excited great alarm among the Orange and Protestant party throughout the country; and though Peel had no previous knowledge of Dawson's intention, it was inferred with great plausibility that the Home Secretary must, to some extent at least, share the sentiments of his relative. 'The duke will be annoyed,' wrote Ellenborough, 'but he cannot displace Dawson. His speech hastens the crisis, will hurry the duke, will alarm the Protestants, and raise hopes, perhaps too sanguine, in the Catholics.' Wellington was undoubtedly a good deal annoyed, and wrote to Peel, 'Dawson should recollect he is the servant of the Government; that he is supposed, as the Secretary of the Treasury, to be in my confidence, and as your brother-in-law to be in yours. He should be a little more cautious.' The dissatisfaction caused by Dawson's injudicious speech was so great that he found it necessary to resign his office.

Early in January, 1829, the Duke of Wellington had an interview with the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Durham, for the purpose

of laying before them the condition of Ireland, with the hope of convincing them that the public interests and the interests of the church demanded the adjustment of the Catholic question. These influential prelates, however, informed his Grace that they could not lend their sanction to the proposed course of proceeding, but must offer a decided opposition to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. The most serious difficulty, however, lay with the king. So far back as November, 1824, His Majesty had written to Peel that '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;' and he still professed his determination that he would not recede from his declared resolution to maintain inviolate the existing law. It seemed hopeless to carry a measure of relief against the united opposition of the King, the House of Lords, and the Church. But Peel was now convinced that it was not merely the removal of disabilities from a religious denomination, but the pacification of Ireland that was at issue, and he drew up an elaborate memorandum showing the necessity of taking the whole state of that country into consideration with a view to the settlement of this momentous question. He accompanied the memorandum with a letter, in which he stated that, though still retaining the opinion that the charge of any measure of relief should not be committed to him, yet, being resolved that no act of his should obstruct or retard the settlement of the question, he had determined not to insist upon his retirement from office if his retirement should, in the Premier's opinion, prove an 'insuperable obstacle' to the adoption of the course which he recommended. 'I tell you fairly,' said the duke in reply, 'that I do not see the smallest chance of getting the better of these difficulties if you should not continue in office.' It was accordingly arranged that the conduct of the contemplated measure through the House of Commons should be

intrusted to the Home Secretary. Peel's memorandum was submitted by the Duke of Wellington to the king, and the members of the Cabinet who had voted uniformly against the Roman Catholic claims had each a separate interview with His Majesty on the day after the receipt of the document, and supported the views there set forth. The king, after these interviews, intimated his consent that the Cabinet should consider the whole state of Ireland, and submit their views to His Majesty. The preparation of the measure was committed to Peel, who agreed with the prime minister 'that there should be no compromise, insufficiency, or hesitation about the act itself. As concession was to be made, it should be made fully and freely so as to satisfy all, and leave no rankling vestiges behind.' It was resolved, however, that the repeal of the disabilities should be preceded by measures for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association and the regulation of the elective franchise. A memorandum on each of these questions was prepared by the Home Secretary, and carefully considered and revised by the Cabinet.

The duke had wisely kept his designs a secret till the time came for action, in order that his opponents might have no opportunity of agitating beforehand against them. Indeed, his letter to Dr. Curtis, the recall of Lord Anglesey, and the acceptance of Mr. Dawson's resignation, had produced an impression in some quarters that the leaders of the Cabinet were still staunch to their old opinions, though there were vague rumours in circulation that their policy was to be changed. The secret was at length disclosed in the speech from the throne, which was read by commission on the 5th of February, 1829, at the opening of the session of Parliament. 'His Majesty recommends you,' it said, 'that you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland; and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. You

will consider whether the removal of these disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the Reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge.'

The excitement produced by this passage in the king's speech was quite unprecedented in parliamentary history. It was a great shock, as Lord Ellenborough said, even to those members of the Tory party who were most favourable to the Government. The Whigs were sulky, Lord Ellenborough alleged, and the Orangemen were indignant; but they refrained from pouring out the full vials of their wrath on the ministers who, as they asserted, had betrayed them, until the precise nature and extent of the promised measure was made known. The proceedings of Parliament commenced by a motion of Mr. Peel for the introduction of a bill to suppress the Roman Catholic Association, which met with no opposition, as it was quite understood to be a necessary prelude to the repeal of the disabilities; and 'a measure of temporary coercion' was regarded as not too high a price to pay for 'a measure of permanent conciliation.' The bill passed the House of Commons on the 17th of February, and on the 20th Mr. Peel accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and vacated his seat for the University of Oxford. As he owed his seat for that University to his pronounced anti-Catholic opinions, 'he considered himself bound in honour to take this step.' 'The Fellows of Oxford,' wrote Lord Ellenborough, 'were properly punished. They had just agreed to a silly address against the Catholics when Peel's letter was read to them. I should have liked to see the changes of countenance.' They were no doubt all startled, as they well might be; and a great number of them were very angry at the manner in which they had been thrown over by the Government. But a large

body of Peel's supporters rallied around him in this emergency, and proposed his re-election—some because they felt as he did that the question had now become, not a religious, but a national one, and must be settled on broad principles of public expediency; others from personal attachment to the statesman who had so long represented the University; while there was no doubt among his supporters a section of 'waiters on Providence,' who wished that the connection with the University of an influential minister should be continued for the sake of the loaves and the fishes. Peel had made arrangements to be returned at once for another seat, and declined to express any wish for his re-election by Oxford, or to take any part, direct or indirect, in the contest; but his friends, among whom were numbered by far the most influential members of the University, fought stoutly on his behalf. 'The violence of the parsons,' says Lord Ellenborough, 'was beyond belief and far beyond decency.' The contest terminated in Peel's defeat by a majority of 146; Sir Robert Inglis, the successful candidate, having polled 753 votes, while Peel received only 609. The latter, however, had twice as many first-class men, fourteen out of twenty professors, and twenty-four out of twenty-eight prizemen; he had also all the noblemen who voted, four deans out of five, and 333 clergymen among his supporters. In these circumstances he was well entitled to say, that he was proud of the support which he had received from so large a proportion of the eminent men of the University, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty and of peculiar excitement.

After Mr. Peel's rejection by the University, he became a candidate—a very unpopular one, he admits—for Westbury, a small pocket borough in Wiltshire; but the Protestant feeling was so much excited even in that little agricultural town, that notwithstanding all the support which Sir Manasseh Lopez, the patron of the borough, could render him, his return was not

effected without considerable difficulty. Sir Manasseh was himself struck with one of the many missiles with which the town hall was assailed during the ceremony of the election. 'It was fortunate for me,' said Peel, 'that the 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 was 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 had done at Oxford.'

The excitement throughout the country had, indeed, by this time risen to fever-height. A storm of invective burst upon the Ministry, and especially upon the Duke of Wellington and Peel, which for violence has seldom been equalled. 'Every Protestant newspaper in the three kingdoms covered them with abuse; every Protestant speaker, in town hall or tavern, vilified them; and the very pulpits were in many instances converted into tribunes from which to denounce them and their treason.' Pamphlets and broadsides were circulated by tens of thousands among the common people, to inflame them against Romanism and its adherents. The 'Book of Martyrs,' and other records of the cruelties which the Romish Church had inflicted on Protestants at the Reformation, were ransacked for tales of horror to rouse the passions of the multitude. 'No Popery' mobs paraded the streets of our large towns, and threatened to revive the violence of the Lord George Gordon riots against the friends of Catholic emancipation; and petitions signed by multitudes quite unprecedented were presented night after night to Parliament against any concession to Roman Catholic claims.

The Ministry, however, adhered resolutely to their purpose, and fixed Thursday, the 5th of March, for the introduction of the Relief Bill. But on the evening of the 3rd the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Peel were summoned to attend the

king at Windsor on the morrow. On the 28th of February the duke had had a very painful interview of upwards of five hours with the king, who was in a state of great agitation, and even spoke of abdicating and retiring to Hanover. The Premier was obliged to speak to His Majesty in very peremptory language; and, as always happened in such cases, the king ultimately yielded on all points, and declared himself more satisfied with the bill than with anything he had seen. He showed great unwillingness to write *himself* to the household, desiring their attendance in the House of Lords to support the Relief Bill; but he had no objection to the Duke of Wellington writing to them in his name. At this critical juncture, however, the Duke of Cumberland, who had shortly before come from Hanover, put pressure on the king to withdraw his consent to the Emancipation Bill, and even as a last resort to retire to Hanover; and his urgent recommendation was supported by the ultra-Tory peers, who seem to have flattered themselves that if His Majesty would only stand firm he might succeed, as his father did, in offering a successful resistance to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. Accordingly, when the three heads of the Government waited upon the king at Windsor on the 4th of March, he began by telling them that they were fully aware that it had caused him the greatest pain to give his assent to the proposition made to him by his Cabinet respecting the Catholic question, and expressed his wish to receive a more detailed explanation of the bill, which they were to lay before Parliament next day. Peel, who was most familiar with the details of the measure, mentioned that it was proposed to repeal the declaration against Transubstantiation, and to modify that part of the oath of supremacy which relates to the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Pope. The king professed to be much surprised, and said rapidly and earnestly, 'What is this? You surely do not mean to alter the ancient oath

of supremacy?' Peel informed him that if this were not done the proposed measure of relief would be unavailing, and that an effectual impediment to the enjoyment of civil privileges by the Roman Catholics would remain unremoved. The king on this declared that he could not possibly consent to any alteration of the oath of supremacy, and that his assent to the Relief Bill had been given under an erroneous impression. His Majesty then asked 'What course do you propose to take as my ministers?' and then turning to the Home Secretary, he said, 'Now, Mr. Peel, tell me what course you propose to take to-morrow?' Peel replied by recapitulating the steps the Government had taken in reliance on His Majesty's consent, and that he must now tender his resignation of his office and request permission to state on the morrow that unforeseen impediments prevented him from bringing forward the measure that had been announced, and consequently that he no longer held the seals of the Home Department. Wellington and Lyndhurst, on being appealed to by the king, returned the same answer as Peel. The interview, which had now lasted for five hours, was brought to a close by an expression of deep regret on the part of the king at the necessity which compelled them to retire from his service. He accepted their resignation of office and took leave of them with great composure, giving to each of them a salute on each cheek. The three ministers returned to London, Peel says, under the full persuasion that the Government was dissolved.

On two subsequent occasions Lord Eldon had an interview with the king, and received from him an account of what had passed between His Majesty and his three obdurate ministers, which unfortunately does not tally with the narrative of Peel. At the first meeting, which took place on the 28th of March, the king told Lord Eldon that 'he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast, that he had nothing to fall back upon, that his ministers

had twice threatened to resign if the measures were not proceeded with, 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—that the interview and talk had brought him into such a state that he hardly knew what he was about, and that he then said "Go on." At the second interview with Lord Eldon, on the 9th of April, the king 'produced two papers, which he represented as copies of what he had written to them' (his ministers), '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.' Mr. Peel quotes and emphatically contradicts these statements in his Memoirs. 'There was only one interview,' he says, 'and His Majesty did not give at the close of the interview permission to "go on." On the contrary, he accepted from each of the three ministers their tender of resignation.' It might have been said of George IV., as of Charles II., 'His word no man relies on.'

The three ministers on their return to London joined their colleagues, who were assembled at a Cabinet dinner at Lord Bathurst's, and informed them, much to their surprise, that they were no longer in office. Lord Ellenborough, who was present, says the duke declared he had never witnessed a more painful scene. The king 'had taken some brandy and water before he joined them, and sent for some more, which he continued to drink during the conference. During six hours they did not speak more than fifteen minutes. The king objected to every part of the bill. He would not hear it. The duke most earnestly entreated him to avoid all reference to his coronation oath. It seems that he really does not know what his coronation oath is. He has confused it with the oath of supremacy. The duke saw Knighton after he had left the king. Knighton said the king was in a deplorable state, and declared he had not a friend left in the

world.' Well might Ellenborough add, 'It is impossible not to feel the most perfect contempt for the king's conduct,' and the Duke of Wellington remark that 'between the king and his brothers it was next to impossible to govern this country.' The duke's idea was that he would be sent for on Tuesday (the 10th) on the ultra-Tories finding that they could not make a government; and he thought that this was the king's expectation, but that he wished to obtain popularity and to seem to be forced. The invitation to return, however, came that same evening. His Majesty on reflection, or consultation rather, discovered that the formation of an anti-Catholic administration was impracticable, and accordingly at a late hour in the evening he addressed a letter to the Duke of Wellington, authorizing his three ministers to withdraw their resignations and to proceed with the announced Relief Bill. Mr. Peel, however, judiciously suggested that, after what had passed in the morning, the mere permission by His Majesty to proceed with the measures in question was not sufficient authority, and that they ought to obtain a distinct written assurance that these measures were proposed with the entire consent and sanction of His Majesty, which was given without further hesitation.

The bill for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association received the royal assent on the 5th of March, and on the same day Mr. Peel moved that the House of Commons should resolve itself into a committee on the laws which imposed disabilities on the Roman Catholics. A call of the House had been ordered for that day, and there was in consequence an unusually large attendance of the members. Greville says the House was crammed to suffocation, and so was the lobby. Peel spoke for upwards of four hours. 'He spoke very well indeed,' wrote Lord Ellenborough, 'better than he ever did before. The House was with him, and cheered him enthusiastically.' Greville corroborates this statement, and says that Peel's speech was

'far the best he ever made—certainly very able, plain, clear, and statesmanlike, and the peroration very eloquent. The cheering was loud and frequent, and often burst upon the impatient listener without.' The first words of the Home Secretary's speech were intended to silence all cavil as to the question of the king's consent to the introduction of the measure. 'I rise,' he said, 'as a minister of the king, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the advice given to His Majesty by a united Cabinet.' He had a difficult task to perform, for he had not only to show that the Roman Catholic disabilities ought to be abolished, but also to vindicate his own conduct and that of his colleagues in now conceding claims which he and they had so long resisted. He pleaded the incurable anarchy of Ireland, the interminable division of cabinets, the evils of disunited imperial councils, and the utter impossibility of maintaining such a state of affairs, as the reasons why the ministers had at length resolved to yield to the clamorous demands of the Roman Catholics.

'According to my heart and conscience,' he said, 'I believe that the time is come when less danger is to be apprehended to the general interests of the empire, and to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Protestant establishment, in attempting to adjust the Catholic question, than in allowing it to remain any longer in its present state. . . . Looking back upon the past, surveying the present, and forejudging the prospects of the future, again I declare that the time has at length arrived when this question must be adjusted. I have for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament and the high offices of the state. I do not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. I resign it in consequence of the conviction that it can be no longer advantageously maintained, from believing that there are not adequate materials or sufficient instruments for its effectual and permanent

continuance. I yield, therefore, to a moral necessity which I cannot control, unwilling to push resistance to a point which might endanger the establishments that I wish to defend. The outline of my argument is this:—We are placed in a position in which we cannot remain. We cannot continue stationary. There is an evil in divided cabinets and distracted councils which can be no longer tolerated. Supposing this established, and supposing it conceded that a united government must be formed, in the next place I say that that government must choose one of two courses—they must advance, or they must recede; they must grant further political privileges to the Roman Catholics, or they must retract those already given; they must remove the barriers that obstruct the continued flow of relaxation and indulgence, or they must roll back to its source the mighty current which has been let in upon us year after year by the gradual withdrawal of restraint. I am asked what new light has broken in upon me? Why I see a necessity for concession now, which was not evident before? I detailed on a former occasion that a dreadful commotion had distracted the public mind in Ireland; that a feverish agitation and unnatural excitement prevailed to a degree scarcely credible throughout the entire country. I attempted to show that social intercourse was poisoned there in its very springs; that family was divided against family, and man against his neighbour; that, in a word, the bonds of social life were almost dissevered; that the fountains of public justice were corrupted; that the spirit of discord walked openly abroad; and that an array of physical force was marshalled in defiance of all law, and to the imminent danger of the public peace. I ask, could this state of things be suffered to exist, and what course were we to pursue? Perhaps I shall be told, as I was on a former occasion, in forcible though familiar language, that this is the old story; that all this has been so for the last twenty years, and that therefore there is no reason

for change. Why, this is the very reason for a change. It is because the evil is not casual and temporary, but permanent and inveterate; it is because the detail of misery and outrage is nothing but the “old story” that I am contented to run the hazards of a change. We cannot determine upon remaining idle spectators of the discord and disturbance of Ireland. The universal voice of the country declares that something must be done.’

Having made up their minds that this measure was necessary to the peace and welfare of the country, the Ministry wisely resolved that the Act should be thorough and complete. The Relief Bill was therefore, unlike previous proposals, fettered by no conditions or securities. The only offices from which Roman Catholics were excluded were that of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who exercised the delegated authority of the sovereign, and that of lord high chancellor either in Great Britain or in Ireland. They were also incapacitated from presenting to any benefice, or taking part in appointments to offices in the universities, colleges, or ecclesiastical schools. With these few exceptions the Roman Catholics were placed on an entire equality with their Protestant fellow subjects.

Sir Robert Inglis, the successful candidate for the representation of Oxford, took upon him the task of replying to Peel’s masterly speech, but performed it to such little purpose that Greville remarked that the University of Oxford should have been there in a body to hear the member whom they had rejected and him whom they had chosen in his place. The other speakers in opposition to the bill tried to enliven the dullness of their speeches by bitter sneers at their old friends who had now deserted their cause. The main argument on which they relied was the undoubted fact that the majority of the nation were opposed to concession, and ministers were repeatedly challenged to dissolve the Parliament and appeal to the sense of the country by a new election.

On the other hand it was argued, that even though England and Scotland should still wish to retain the Roman Catholic disabilities, Ireland had a right to appeal from their decision; Ireland was all but unanimous on the question; Ireland was the principal party interested; Ireland had assented to the union with Great Britain on the distinct understanding that Roman Catholic emancipation was to be conceded; Ireland therefore had a right, if it was persistently withheld, to demand the repeal of a union into which it had entered on the faith that the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities and an equality of civil rights would be among its earliest fruits. The debate was brought to a close at three o'clock on Saturday morning, March 7th, and Peel's motion was carried by a majority of 348 votes to 160. The majority of 188 was less than was expected by ministers, but it was decisive of the question in the Commons. No important variation in the relative numbers occurred during the remaining stages of the bill, the second reading of which was carried by 353 votes to 173—an addition of thirteen to the minority and of five to the majority. On that occasion a very powerful speech was delivered by Mr. Sadler, a new member, who was brought in for the express purpose as member for the Duke of Newcastle's borough of Newark. It produced a great impression both on the House and on the country, and undoubtedly gave expression to a deep national feeling on the question. It was justly remarked that no man at sixty-seven had ever been known before to begin a parliamentary career successfully. Sadler had the credit of adding some votes to the minority.

The bill passed the Commons by 320 votes to 142, and was carried up to the Lords and read a first time on the 31st of March.

The opponents of the Relief Bill had by no means yet relinquished their hopes of defeating the measure in the Upper House; and knowing well the weakness

and vacillation of the king, they redoubled their efforts to induce him even yet to withdraw his assent. Peers and prelates, clergymen and commoners, ceased to address their petitions to Parliament, and appealed direct to the throne. The Duke of Cumberland, of course, took the lead in these intrigues; and the ex-Chancellor Eldon, and Lords Winchelsea, Kenyon, Roden, and other ultra-Tory noblemen rallied round his Royal Highness 'for a last stand in the trenches of the betrayed citadel.' It was reported that fourteen Irish bishops were to come over in a body to petition the king against the bill, but only seven appeared when the time came. Lords Winchelsea and Bexley presented a numerous signed petition from the 'men of Kent,' and the former, in the exuberance of his zeal and folly, proposed to march down to Windsor at the head of 25,000 men. The Duke of Newcastle, repeating the experiment which had so signally failed when Canning was made Premier, obtained an audience of the king, and, after presenting the petitions intrusted to him by other great boroughmongers, read a long paper to His Majesty setting forth his objections to the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities; but was told by the king that if he had any other communications to make he must send them through the Duke of Wellington. The duke had pressed upon His Majesty the propriety of adopting this course in receiving the petitions of the hostile peers. Lord Eldon, who, after the Duke of Cumberland, had the greatest influence with the king, had two long interviews with His Majesty. The first, on the 28th of March, lasted four hours, and was chiefly taken up with the king's unvarnished account of the treatment which he said he had received from his ministers, and his own helpless, wretched condition. 'After a great deal of time spent,' says Lord Eldon, 'in which His Majesty was sometimes silent—apparently uneasy, occasionally stating his distress, the hard usage he had received, his wish to extricate him-

self, that he had not what to look to, what to fall back upon, that he was miserable beyond what he could express—I asked him whether His Majesty, so frequently thus expressing himself, meant either to enjoin me or to forbid me considering or trying whether anything could be found or arranged upon which he *could* fall back. He said, “I neither enjoin you to do so, nor forbid you to do so; but, for God’s sake, take care that I am not exposed to the humiliation of being again placed in such circumstances that I must submit to pray of my present ministers that they will remain with me.”

At the second interview, which took place on the 9th of April, the ex-Chancellor had to listen to a repetition of His Majesty’s complaints against his ministers, and to the same inaccurate account of his communications with them on this question, varied, however, by a good deal of plain speaking, on the part of the former keeper of His Majesty’s conscience, respecting the manner in which George III. treated any measure proposed to him that he did not mean should pass. ‘What can I do?’ exclaimed the poor weak monarch, ‘what can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched, my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my assent, I’ll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover. I’ll return no more to England. I’ll make no 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 Clareucc. The people will see that I did not wish this.’ ‘There were the strongest appearances certainly of misery,’ says Lord Eldon. ‘He more than once stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms around my neck, and expressed great misery.’

Meanwhile the torrents of abuse and mendacity poured out upon the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary flowed on without intermission. Accusations of premeditated dishonesty and treachery, and

of a gross violation of political rectitude and consistency, were poured on their devoted heads; and the most absurd lying stories were invented and circulated as to their motives and actions. At length the publication of a letter from Lord Winchelsea, one of the most prominent leaders of the anti-Catholic party, enabled the Duke of Wellington to call to account one of his most furious assailants. This young nobleman was a well-meaning, but weak, narrow-minded, and hot-headed bigot. Along with Sir Edward Knatchbull he was mainly instrumental in getting up the great meeting on Pennenden Heath; and he regarded the Relief Bill as the result of a long-meditated conspiracy against the Established Church and the Protestant religion. On the 16th of March, a letter from him to Mr. Henry Nelson Coleridge appeared in the *Standard* newspaper, announcing his intention of withdrawing his name from the list of subscribers to a fund for the endowment of King’s College, London. After stating the reasons which led to the erection of that college, and the object which he had in view in subscribing to its funds, he goes on to say:—‘I was one of those who at first thought 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 arrangement; and I confess that 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

upon the constitution of 1688," might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of the state.'

The duke had borne with extraordinary patience the vacillation and faithlessness of the king, the intrigues of the Duke of Cumberland and other 'friends of the king,' the rabid abuse of Tory newspapers and magazines who had compared him to Judas Iscariot, the lectures of the bishops, and worst of all, the desertion of friends. But he evidently thought that it was high time to put an end to the charges of deliberate bad faith and treachery to his party; and the absurd and scurrilous attack of Lord Winchelsea seemed to him to afford a good opportunity to take his libellers to task. Lord Winchelsea acknowledged the authorship of the letter, but refused to withdraw or to apologize for the charges it contained. The duke then demanded 'that satisfaction which a gentleman has a right to require, and which a gentleman never refuses to give.' The combatants met in Battersea Fields early on the morning of the 21st March; the duke was attended by Sir Henry Hardinge; Lord Falmouth acted as second to Lord Winchelsea. The duke fired first, but without effect,* and Lord Winchelsea fired in the air. He then produced a paper which he had prepared, withdrawing the charges he had made against the duke of premeditated treachery to the Protestant party and treason against the constitution; and thus the affair terminated.

The action of both parties was justly and generally condemned. The conduct of Lord Winchelsea was universally reprobated, and it was in no degree rendered less blame-

worthy by the apology made for him by his friends that, as his letter containing most improper and unfounded charges had been deliberately written and published, an ordinary apology was inadequate; and that, in consequence, he determined first to give the duke satisfaction, that his expression of regret might have more effect. As for the duke, apart altogether from the condemnation which on Christian principles must be pronounced on the system of duelling, it was the universal opinion that a person of his Grace's character and position could have well afforded to treat with contempt the diatribes of a young, a foolish, and fanatical nobleman, and that it was every way unworthy of him to have sought such satisfaction at his hands.

The defence which the Premier made for his behaviour in this affair is more ingenious than sound. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, on the 21st of April, he says: 'The truth is that the duel with Lord Winchelsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it and carry it to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did do to attain the object which I had in view. I was living here for some time in an atmosphere of calumny. I could do nothing that was not misrepresented as having some base purpose in view. If my physician called upon me, it was for treasonable purposes. If I said a word, whether in Parliament or elsewhere, it was misrepresented for the purpose of fixing upon me some gross delusion or falsehood. Even my conversations with the king were repeated, misrepresented, and commented upon; and all for the purpose of shaking the credit which the public were inclined to give to what I said. The courts of justice were shut, and not to open till May. I knew that the bill must pass or be lost before the 15th of April. In this state of things, Lord Winchelsea published his furious letter. I immediately perceived the advantage it gave me, and I determined to act

* The duke told Lord Ellenborough that 'he considered all the morning whether he should fire at Lord Winchelsea or no. He thought if he killed him he should be tried, and confined until he was tried, which he did not like. So he determined to fire at his legs. He did hit his coat.'

upon it in such a tone as would certainly put me in the right. Not only was I successful in the execution of my project, but the project itself produced the effect which I looked for and intended that it should produce. The atmosphere of calumny, in which I had been for some time living, cleared away. The system of calumny was discontinued. Men were ashamed of repeating what had been told to them; and I have reason to believe, moreover, that intentions not short of criminal were given up in consequence of remonstrances from some of the most prudent of the party who came forward in consequence of the duel. I am afraid that the event itself shocked many good men. But I am certain that the public interests at the moment required that I should do what I did.'

Ten days (31st March) after his duel with Lord Winchelsea, the Duke of Wellington introduced the Relief Bill into the House of Lords. The speech delivered by his Grace on this occasion contained the memorable and oft-quoted declaration which will probably be more remembered than anything else he ever uttered. 'I am one of those,' he said, '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.' Having made up his mind that this measure was necessary for the peace and welfare of the country, he was resolved to disregard all personal considerations and to carry it through with characteristic firmness and resolution. The debate on the second reading began on the 2nd of April, and extended over three nights. Lord Ellenborough gives in his Diary a brief and rather uncomplimentary sketch of most of the speeches delivered on the occasion. 'The duke,' he says, 'made a very bad speech. The archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) drivelled.

The Primate of Ireland (Beresford) made a strong speech, his manner admirable—both these against. The bishop of Oxford (Lloyd) had placed himself at our disposal to be used when wanted. We put him into the debate here, wanting him very much. The first part of his speech was very indifferent, the latter excellent. Lord Lansdowne spoke better than he has done for some time, indeed for two years. The bishop of London (Blomfield) against us; but he made a speech more useful than ten votes, in admirable taste, looking to the measure as one to be certainly accomplished, &c. The Duke of Richmond spoke very shortly, but better than he has ever done, in reply. A speech from the bishop of Durham (Van Mildert), full of fallacies and extravagant, but having its effect. The Chancellor (Lyndhurst) spoke admirably, endeavouring to bring up Eldon, but the old man would not move. He wanted more time to consider his answer, by which he will not improve it. A speech from Goderich, very animated in his way and very heavy. The House did not cheer him once. He pressed himself upon it with bad taste. Lord Mansfield spoke sleepily and ill-naturedly. . . . A long absurd speech from Lord Guildford. We had then Lord Lifford, who rested too much on his notes, but who has a good manner. Lord Tenterden was not powerful. Lord Grey spoke better than he has done since 1827. He made a speech too long, and indeed the last half hour was of no use. He beat the brains out of the coronation oath as an obstacle to Catholic concession, and read a curious letter of Lord Yester to Lord Tweeddale, dated April 1689, before William III. took the coronation oath, in which Lord Yester mentions that it was understood that the king had in council declared his understanding of the sense of the coronation oath that it bound him in his executive capacity, not in his legislative. Lord Westmoreland made an odd, entertaining, from its manner, and really very good speech. He supported the bill. Lord

Eldon, who followed Lord Grey, made a very weak, inefficient, powerless speech. He seemed beaten, and in some respects his memory had failed him. Lord Plunket drew with great power a picture of the state of society in Ireland as affected by the laws. The whole of his speech was powerful. . . . Lord Grey's speech, but still more Lord Plunket's, will have a greater effect upon the public mind than any which have yet been delivered.' Mr. Greville terms Lord Grey's speech 'splendid,' and Lord Plunket's 'a very good one;' and he concurs in the opinion expressed by Ellenborough respecting the appearance made by the ex-Chancellor. 'Old Eldon,' he says, 'was completely beat, and could make no fight at all; his speech was wretched they say, for I did not hear it.'

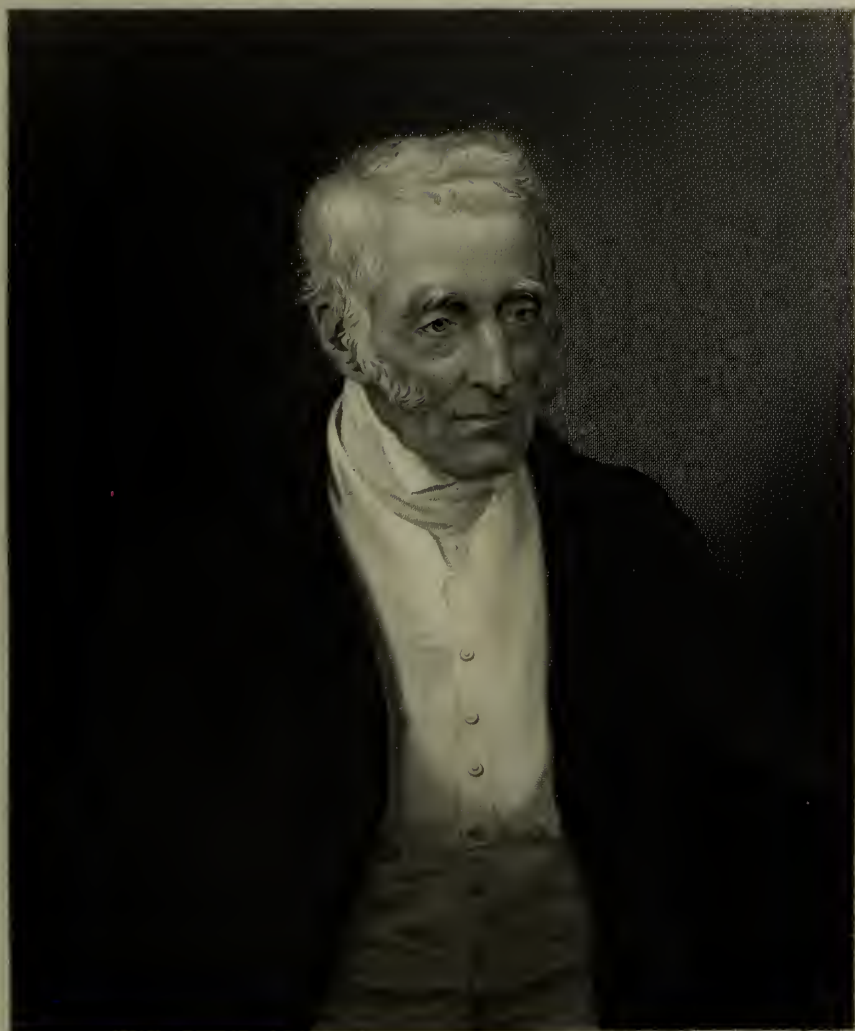
These references to the veteran lawyer and stubborn old Tory make it evident that he was regarded by the ministerial party as by far their most formidable opponent in the Upper House. It was expected that the Ministry would have a majority of not less than fifty. Ellenborough said he would be satisfied with thirty; but somewhat to their own surprise the majority was more than twice as large as was predicted. The second reading was carried by 217 votes to 112. Nineteen bishops voted with the minority; ten, including two of the Irish bishops, Derry and Kildare, supported the Government.

This tremendous defeat,' said Greville, 'will probably put an end to anything like serious opposition.' 'It will quiet Windsor,' wrote Ellenborough, 'must put an end to all agitation in England, and tranquillize Ireland.' The indomitable old Chancellor, however, maintained the contest to the end, and repaid with interest the attacks made upon him by the Ministry. His successor in the chancellorship, whom he did not like or respect, repeatedly assailed him, and on one occasion with so much acrimony, that his speech was generally regarded as 'in bad taste and offensive.' On another occasion Lord Eldon presented a petition

against the Relief Bill from the Company of Tailors in Glasgow. When he laid it on the table the Chancellor, still sitting on the woolsack, said in a stage whisper, loud enough to be heard in the galleries, 'What! do *tailors* trouble themselves with such *measures*?' 'My noble and learned friend,' replied Lord Eldon, 'might have been aware that *tailors* cannot like *turncoats*.'

The third reading of the bill, which took place on the 13th of April, was carried in the Lords by a majority of 213 votes to 109—the same House which, on the 11th of June, 1828, by a majority of 11 refused even to entertain the consideration of the Roman Catholic claims. Lord Eldon on that occasion made one last speech, of two hours' length, against a measure which he regarded as ruinous to the constitution of the country, and fraught with imminent danger to the church. 'I do declare,' he concluded, 'that I would rather hear at this moment that to-morrow my existence was to cease, than to awake to the reflection that I had consented to an act which had stamped me as a violator of my solemn oath, a traitor to my church, and a traitor to the constitution.' He seems to have cherished a hope that the king would refuse or, at least, delay his assent to the Relief Bill; and it was with great grief, almost horror, that he learned it had already been given at once as a matter of course. In a letter to his daughter on April 14, 1829, he says, 'The fatal bill received the royal assent yesterday afternoon. After all I had heard in my visits, not a day's delay. God bless us and this church.'

The bill for the disfranchisement of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders followed close in the wake of the measure for the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. It was to this measure for the regulation of the elective franchise in Ireland that the Government looked, as Peel declared, for 'real security' against any abuse of the Emancipation Act. 'It is in vain,' he said, 'to deny or to conceal the truth in respect to that franchise. It was until a late period



DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

the instrument through which the landed aristocracy—the resident and the absentee proprietors—maintained their local influence; through which property had its legitimate weight in the national representation. The landlord had been disarmed by the priest; the fear of spiritual denunciation had already severed in some cases, and will sever in others, 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 which he has heretofore wielded with such success, has broken short in his hand.' For these reasons Peel proposed, in the name of the Government, that the forty-shilling freeholders should be disfranchised, and that the qualification of an elector should be fixed at ten pounds instead of two pounds a year.

The case of the forty-shilling freeholders was stated in the most favourable point of view by Lord Anglesey. 'These freeholders,' he said, 'were first created for electioneering purposes. As long as they allowed themselves to be driven to the hustings like sheep to the shambles, without a will of their own, all was well; not a murmur was heard. But the moment these poor people found out the value of their tenure, the moment they exerted their power constitutionally, that instant they are swept out of political existence.' The lord-lieutenant, however, failed to see that electors who were alternately the slaves of the landlord and the priest were quite unfit to possess the franchise. It suited the purposes of the Opposition to talk of the political liberties of the 'forties'—to declare as O'Connell did, 'Sooner than give up the forty-shilling freeholders, I would rather go back to the penal code. They form part of the constitution, their right is as sacred as that of the king to his throne, and it would be treason against the people to attempt to disfranchise them. I would conceive it just to resent that attempt with force, and in such resistance I would be ready to perish in the field or on the

scaffold;' or to proclaim with Shiel, 'if the Duke of Wellington should pursue this course, I tell him we would rather submit for ever to the pressure of the parricidal code, which crushed our fathers to the grave, than assent to the robbery of a generous peasantry.' But when the bill disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders came before the House of Commons, these tribunes of the people were silent, and their solemn promises were forgotten. Mr. Brougham, indeed, said he regarded it as 'the almost extravagant price of the inestimable good' which would arise from the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities; and Sir James Mackintosh declared it 'a tough morsel, which he had found it hard to swallow.' But they did swallow it, and wisely too; for unless this price had been paid, the Relief Bill would not have been carried—though several of the leaders of the Opposition spoke and voted against it. The bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, by 139 votes to 17, on the 6th of April, and on the 17th it was read a third time and passed.

The Premier and his colleagues had been a good deal annoyed during their struggle to carry the Relief Bill through Parliament by the opposition of a number of the subordinate members of Government, such as Sir Charles Wetherell, the Attorney-General, Lord Lowther, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, Sir John Beckett, Judge-Advocate General, Mr. George Banks, Secretary to the Board of Control, and Mr. W. Holmes, Treasurer to the Ordnance, who all voted against the bill at every stage. Wetherell aggravated his offence by his furious speeches against the measure, and by 'a violent and vulgar' attack upon the Lord Chancellor. 'He had no speech to eat up,' he said; 'he had no apostacy to explain; he had no paltry subterfuge to resort to; he had not to say a thing was black one day and white another; he was not in one year a Protestant master of the Rolls, and in the next a Catholic lord

chancellor. He would rather remain where he was, the humble member for Plympton, than be guilty of such contradiction, such unexplainable conversion, such miserable, such contemptible apostacy.' 'The anti-Catholic papers and men,' says Greville, 'lavish the most extravagant encomiums on Wetherell's speech' (on the second reading of the bill), 'and call it "the finest oration ever delivered in the House of Commons;" "the best since the second Philippic." He was drunk they say. The Speaker said "the only lucid interval he had, was that between his waistcoat and his breeches."*' When he speaks he unbuttons his braces, and in his vehement action his breeches fall down and his waistcoat runs up, so that there is a great interregnum. He is half mad, eccentric, ingenious, with great and varied information, and a coarse, vulgar mind, delighting in ribaldry and abuse, besides being an enthusiast. Wetherell was, however, inflexibly honest, and with all his eccentricities he was highly honourable. As he doggedly refused to resign his office, wishing to compel the Government to turn him out, the duke wrote to him on the 22nd of March stating that, as his recent conduct had been inconsistent with his duty as an official servant of the Crown, he had received the king's command to inform him that His Majesty had no further occasion for his services. He was succeeded by Sir James Scarlett, who had been attorney-general in Canning's administration, but had been dismissed from office on the formation of the Wellington Ministry.

The other subordinate members of the Government who had voted against the Relief Bill tendered their resignation of their offices, but no notice was taken of their letters, and no reply was sent to them. This proceeding caused a good deal of dissatisfaction both among the Whigs and the staunch supporters of the Ministry. Lord Ellenborough says that the duke, secure of

a majority, thought it better not to have any question with the king about displacing any of the men who had voted against the Government until the bill was passed. Over and above, the duke was no doubt reluctant to quarrel with the head of the Lowther family, whose nine members had gained him the title of 'the Premier's cat-o'-nine tails.' Greville says the real reason why the resignations of Lord Lowther and the other refractory members of the Government were not accepted was 'that the duke has got an idea that the Whigs want to make him quarrel with his old friends in order to render him more dependent upon them, and he is therefore anxious to carry through the measure without quarrelling with any body, so that he will retain the support of the Tories and show the Whigs that he can do without them'—'a notice,' Greville adds, 'which is unfounded, besides being both unwise and illiberal.' Lord Ellenborough corroborates this statement, and mentions that on the third reading of the Relief Bill the duke 'was obliged to say something civil to the Whigs, but he did it sparingly, and against the grain.' Peel, however, was much more just and generous in the testimony which he bore to the patriotic conduct of the Opposition during this struggle. 'I cannot advert to that conflict,' he says in his Memoirs, 'even after the interval of twenty years, without placing on record my grateful acknowledgment of the cordial support which we received in both Houses of Parliament, not only from all those with whom our official connection had been then recently interrupted, but from those also who had never had any political connection with us, and might be considered, so far as the interests and ties of party were concerned, our decided opponents. It was not merely that they supported our measures, but they cautiously abstained from every thing which might have thrown obstructions in our way, and in many instances forbore from pressing objections strongly felt to portions of the plan in order that their general support of

* Lord Ellenborough ascribes this epigram to Mr. Horace Twiss.

that plan, as a whole, might be cordial and effective.'

One point still remained to be disposed of before the Roman Catholic question could be regarded as finally settled—the admission of Mr. O'Connell to a seat in the House of Commons as member for Clare. He had prudently refrained from claiming admission until the Relief Bill became law, and it was not until the 15th of May that he presented himself to be sworn at the table of the House of Commons. The clerk tendered him the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. O'Connell expressed his willingness to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, but declined to take the oath of supremacy, which he alleged was no longer in force, and claimed to be allowed to take the oath set forth in the Relief Act. The Speaker ruled, that as O'Connell's election had taken place before the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, the oaths imposed by the old law must be taken. The provision that the oath recited in the Act, and no other, should be taken by a Roman Catholic, was expressly limited to the case of 'any person professing the Catholic religion who shall, after the commencement of this Act, be returned as a member of the House of Commons.' O'Connell was heard at the bar of the House on the 18th of May in support of his claim. It was admitted on all sides that his speech was very able, and that 'his whole demeanour was a happy mixture of dignity, respect, and ease.' His argument was very ingenious, but it failed to convince the House that his claim was

well founded; and though it was supported, not only by the Whigs, but by the Canningites and the friends of Mr. Greville, the House decided by a majority of 190 votes to 116, that Mr. O'Connell was not entitled to take his seat without first taking the oath of supremacy. When asked whether he was ready to comply with this decision, he said, 'I see in this oath one assertion as to a matter of fact which I know is not true; and I see in it another assertion as to a matter of opinion which I believe is not true; I therefore refuse to take this oath.' In consequence of this refusal a new writ for Clare was ordered to be issued, and O'Connell was re-elected without opposition. 'There is but one opinion,' wrote Mr. Greville, 'as to the wretched feeling of excluding him; but the saddle is put upon the right horse, and though the Government are now obliged to enforce the provisions of their own bill, everybody knows that the exclusion was the work of the king.'

With this episode the struggle for Catholic emancipation, which had lasted for a quarter of a century, was brought to a close. The Relief Bill removed the Roman Catholic disabilities, but it left untouched the evils that had made Ireland a scene of mingled turbulence and wretchedness. The teeming population of that unhappy country, the habits of idleness, the struggle for the soil, the absence of the landlords, all these grievances remained without remedy to be the cause of future coercive Acts, and to give an excuse to the agitation for the Repeal of the Union.

CHAPTER XX.

Continental Europe in a state of Disquietude and Strife—Don Miguel's intrigues to obtain the Crown of Portugal—Atrocities committed by his command among the People—Insurrection at Oporto—Expedition against the Azores—Don Miguel's outrages on British and French Subjects—His seizure of British Merchant Vessels and their Cargoes—Russia declares war against Turkey, and invades that Country—Partial success in the Campaign—Great loss of men—Capture of Kars—Second Campaign—Defeat of Redschid Pasha—Surrender of Silistria—The Treaty of Adrianople—Settlement of the Greek Question—Boundaries of the New State—Differences among the Allies respecting the selection of a Sovereign for Greece—Prince Leopold offered the Crown, but ultimately declines it—Appointment of Prince Otho of Bavaria.

WHILE these important changes were taking place in Great Britain, Continental Europe was in a state of disquietude and strife. The Greeks were continuing their struggle for independence, war was raging between Russia and Turkey, and a civil contest was carried on in Portugal. When Don Pedro preferred the empire of Brazil to the sovereignty of his native country, he surrendered Portugal to his daughter Donna Maria, a child of eight years of age, on condition of her marrying her uncle, Don Miguel. Such an alliance boded ill for the happiness of the youthful princess; for the conduct of Don Miguel, and especially his treatment of his aged father, had proved him to be a monster of wickedness, destitute alike of natural affection and of the common feelings of humanity. In consequence of his outrageous misconduct he had been compelled to leave the country, and had spent some years in exile at Vienna. On the death of his father he wrote a most affectionate letter to his sister, the Regent Donna Isabella, expressing his single-hearted desires for the tranquillity of Portugal, and his confidence in the loyalty of the Portuguese to their sovereign, and especially to the lawful heir and successor of his brother, the Emperor of Brazil. On the abdication of Don Pedro he at first refused to return to Portugal, intending, there was good reason to believe, to wait the result of the intrigues of the Absolutist party to transfer the crown to him, freed from all the restrictions of the Charter. This attempt, however, had to be abandoned, and Don Miguel took a solemn and public oath at Vienna, on the 4th of

October, 1827, to observe and maintain the constitutional charter, and on the 29th he contracted a formal affiance with Donna Maria, the Queen of Portugal, in the presence of the Austrian court. He was still disposed to delay his return to his native country; but he was persuaded by Prince Metternich in a secret interview to alter his professed intentions, and towards the end of 1827 he proceeded to London on his way to Lisbon. He remained nearly two months in England, and while there voluntarily wrote a letter to George IV., in which he said, that if he overthrew the constitution he should be a wretch, a breaker of his oath, and a usurper of his brother's throne. His professions of liberality and loyalty, and of his determination to preserve the charter inviolate, so imposed upon the government and the people that he obtained a loan of £200,000, and adroitly persuaded Lord Dudley, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to hasten the final resignation of Don Pedro, and to rescind the orders already issued for the recall of our troops from Portugal. He landed at Lisbon on the 22nd of February, 1828, and four days after his arrival he swore, in the presence of the two chambers and of the court, to be faithful to the constitution. He is reported to have said, when the formality was over, 'Well, I have gone through the ceremony of swearing to the charter, but I have sworn nothing.' Stimulated and abetted by his mother, a Spanish princess, he resolved to take immediate steps for the overthrow of the constitution while the British troops were at hand to protect him. 'Under the care

of their protecting shelter, he dismissed his constitutional ministers, removed his constitutional officers, changed his constitutional magistrates, and prepared the dissolution of his constitutional chambers, and thus all those means of resistance were paralysed, which, had our troops been out of the way, the existing institutions of Portugal would have opposed to his projects.' A large body of loyal Portuguese were prepared to resist by force of arms the disloyal proceedings of the usurper; but on learning from the commanding officer of the British forces that the personal protection of Don Miguel formed a principal part of his instructions, they relinquished the enterprise in despair. The announcement of the dismissal of the ministry, and the substitution for them of a body of men who had intrigued and rebelled against the charter, spread dismay among the friends of the constitution; the funds fell, and all business was at a stand still in Lisbon. The Absolutists eagerly recommended Don Miguel to declare himself king, and to reign without the chambers. The mob, among whom the new prime minister distributed money, assembled under the windows of the queen-mother's palace, shouting 'Long live Don Miguel, the absolutist king,' and insulted and attacked those who did not join in the treasonable cry. The press and the pulpit, and Don Miguel himself in his proclamations, meanwhile employed the most violent language against the supporters of the charter. The arbitrary and revolutionary measures of the usurper were carried out promptly and rapidly. On the 11th of March the commanding officers of the garrison of Lisbon, whose loyalty was proof alike against blandishments and threats, were dismissed, and three days later the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. Many hundreds of the best families in Lisbon, alarmed at these illegal proceedings, left the capital. The detention of the British troops had at the first served Don Miguel's purpose; but now that his plans were ripe for execution their longer continuance was

not desirable, and they received orders to return home. Sir Frederick Lamb, however, who was British minister at Lisbon, and had from the first strongly represented to our Government that Don Miguel was determined to usurp the throne, took upon himself the responsibility to detain 3000 of the troops, and also to send back to London the money remitted at this juncture in virtue of the loan which Don Miguel had effected in England. This prompt and courageous step of the British minister rectified one error that had been committed, and contributed not a little to paralyse the subsequent movements of the usurper. The home government expressed their approval of the provisional act of their representative; but they nevertheless resolved to recall the whole of the troops, on the ground that they could not interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal. The withdrawal of our soldiers removed all check upon the 'organized plan of plunder, intimidation, and tyranny' that was about to be put in operation against the faithful adherents of the lawful sovereign of the country. Don Miguel's claims to the throne were now openly advocated. The municipalities of some of the towns were stirred up to memorialize him to declare himself the lawful monarch. A tumultuous mob in Lisbon proclaimed him king. The ancient Cortes of the kingdom were convoked by a circular of Don Miguel's minister, which ordered the different electoral presidents 'to refuse the votes and consider as perjured all persons who should tender their suffrages for those who, by their political opinions, might be considered enemies of the true principles of legitimacy and admirers of new institutions;' while, on the other hand, the presidents were commanded 'to permit the election of those only who had in view the service of God and of the throne.' The Cortes, thus selected and packed, were quickly assembled, and of course resolved that the service of God and the throne would be best promoted by calling upon Don Miguel to assume the crown. The

regent could not possibly resist so powerful an appeal to his duty, and on the 1st of July he consummated this barefaced act of royal perjury and hypocrisy by accepting that crown he had sworn to maintain for his niece. On his assumption of the title, as he had already done the powers of royalty, the European powers immediately withdrew their ambassadors, thus renouncing all intercourse with the disgraced Lisbon court, and placing this 'cruel, base, cowardly, false, and treacherous prince,' as he was termed by Lord Palmerston, under the ban of the civilized world.

The same measures that were employed by Don Miguel for the attainment of the crown—the employment of the mob, the army, and the law as his instruments—were required for the maintenance of his ill-gotten authority. Denouncement, proscription, imprisonment, confiscation, exile, transportation, and death were the appropriate supports of his throne. The leading Constitutionalists were thrown into the common jails, were compelled to herd with thieves and murderers, or placed in solitary damp dungeons, and if poor, were left to starve unless supported by charity. Others were imprisoned in distant fortresses, while the place of their confinement, and even their very existence, were concealed from their friends and relations. Three thousand were transported to the pestilential climate of Africa, and condemned to work as felons, or as colonial servants and soldiers. Altogether it was calculated that there were not less than 80,000 or 90,000 persons who, by imprisonment, exile, or death, were the victims of Don Miguel's usurpation. The execution of those who were condemned to death was carried out with protracted and fiendish cruelty. They were compelled to walk barefooted from the common prison to the place of execution, and the procession was so slowly conducted that though it set out at eight o'clock in the morning, it was generally mid-day before the work of death began. One by one the victims of constitutionalism and loyalty were strangled, shot,

or hanged. An hour intervened between the execution of each individual, and the poor wretch who was next in succession was compelled to stand during that time watching in speechless agony the mutilation of his predecessor in suffering. To add to their misery, their parents and other near relatives and friends were placed beside the scaffold, and compelled at the peril of their own execution to gaze upon the last agonies of their relatives and associates. Mr. Matthews the British consul mentions, among other atrocities, that the son of the Brigadier Moreira, who was one of the most distinguished victims of Don Miguel's cruelty, was compelled to be present at the execution and to see his father's head stuck on a spike, and also to walk three times round it. His mother, the consul adds, 'has since expired of grief; and the father of one of the other sufferers, who was a youth of scarcely sixteen years of age, has since destroyed himself.'

The Portuguese, though intimidated and trodden down, were by no means unanimous in their submission to Don Miguel's usurped authority, and the loyal section of the people made an effort to shake off his yoke. The inhabitants of Oporto declared their determination to support the cause of the youthful queen; the garrison of the port followed their example; and that important post formed the rallying point of the royalist forces. Other regiments stationed in the neighbourhood made common cause with them, and marched upon Lisbon. Intimation of this movement was sent to Saldanha, Palmella, and other leading Constitutionalists who had taken refuge in England; and they were entreated to come with all speed to take the command of the loyal forces. Don Miguel was greatly alarmed at this movement, as he had neither money nor troops to enable him to take the field against the Constitutionalists; and if they had promptly advanced against the usurper, it is highly probable that they would have obtained possession of Lisbon and driven him out of the country. But they unfor-

unately resolved to wait for the arrival of Saldanha and the other leaders from England, who were delayed on their voyage by bad weather. Meanwhile Don Miguel, taking courage, declared Oporto in a state of blockade; and though his naval force was utterly inadequate to enforce this measure, which, moreover, was directed against the legitimate authorities of the country acting in the name of their acknowledged queen, this paper blockade was recognized by the Duke of Wellington's administration. The Constitutionals were greatly surprised and dismayed at this step. Although superior in numbers, in equipment, and means to their opponents, they lost heart; and having been worsted in an engagement on the Mondego by a force sent against them from Lisbon, Palmella and his friends re-embarked instantly, leaving the army to shift for itself. About 5000 who had kept together made good their retreat across the Spanish frontier, where they were required to give up their arms and were subjected to the worst usage, and tempted in every way to go over to Miguel. At last, through the intercession of the French Government, the Spanish authorities permitted these unfortunate patriots to go to England; and about 3000 came to Plymouth at their own expense, in vessels which they had hired at Corunna.

Though Miguel had thus far been successful in his flagitious enterprise, he felt uneasy at the presence of these troops in one of the English sea-ports, and feared that they would return and make a descent upon Portugal. D'Assica, his unaccredited agent in London, had the assurance to remonstrate against their presence in the country; and the Duke of Wellington informed the Marquis of Palmella, Donna Maria's minister, that the Spanish refugees must be separated and distributed throughout the interior like prisoners of war. Palmella protested against this order, and denied Wellington's right to insist upon it. Brougham and Denman, however, on being consulted by him, were of opinion that as

the refugees were organized, regimented, and equipped as a military body, though not actually armed, they must be considered as foreign troops and not as a number of individual aliens. Palmella then said he would send them to Brazil; but three days later he received information which induced him to alter this intention.

The Azores, a small group of islands in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, had steadfastly adhered to their lawful sovereign; and Miguel, now freed from any immediate danger from the Constitutionals in Portugal, resolved to reduce these islands to his authority. He was permitted to fit out an expedition for this purpose without any hindrance on the part of the British Government—'a strange straining of the system of neutrality,' says Lord Palmerston, 'and a decided indication on our part of partiality for Miguel. It was right enough not to interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal in order to force any particular form of government upon the majority of the people; but why should we allow the Portuguese to force a particular government on the people of Madeira? We ought to have said to Miguel, If the Portuguese choose to have for their sovereign a man whom we have to his face taxed with treachery, bad faith, perjury, usurpation, well and good, much happiness may it confer upon them. But we will not permit you to go and conquer Madeira, the territory of Donna Maria, in which she is queen *de facto* as well as *de jure*.' No such intimation, however, was made; and the Miguelite expedition succeeded in reducing Madeira and the other islands, with the exception of Terceira. Their attempt upon that island was defeated by Count Villa Flor, commanding for the queen, with a loss to the assailants of their commander-in-chief, the second in command, and nearly 1000 of the men.

At the time when Palmella was about to send the Portuguese troops out of England to Brazil, he received an application from the royal authorities in Terceira for 1000

men to help them to resist the attacks of the Miguelites. Palmella at once intimated to the Government his intention to comply with this request. The Duke of Wellington said he would prevent him by force, and wrote him a violent letter of three sheets of paper, in which he said, 'Monsieur le Marquis, *I have conveyed to you the commands of His Majesty, and I expect you will obey them.*' 'Somewhat imperative language,' remarks Lord Palmerston, 'to be used towards the ambassador of an independent and allied sovereign, but which would have sounded better had it been used towards a stronger power.' Palmella, however, persisted in his purpose, and the expedition sailed in the beginning of January, 1829, for Terceira. 'They went weak and unarmed, they were fugitives from their country, they were sufferers for the cause which England had professed to espouse, and yet in this state of helplessness the arm of England was raised against them.' The Duke of Wellington had a very low opinion of the Portuguese and Brazilian ministers in England, whom he termed, in a letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, an 'infamous gang;' and in a letter to Peel, he said, 'I don't believe there exists a worse set.' He was determined not to allow war to be carried on from Great Britain to recover either Portugal or her colonies. He therefore despatched H.M.S. *Ranger*, under the command of Captain Walpole, to the Azores to intercept any vessels arriving with troops on board at these islands; and if they should persist in hovering about, or in making any efforts to effect a landing, he was authorized to use force to drive them away from the neighbourhood.

Walpole reached Terceira on the 13th of January, 1829, and three days after his arrival four vessels were descried approaching the island, having on board a Portuguese force of 652 men under the command of Saldanha. As the vessels declined to lie to, Walpole fired into the leading ship, killing one man and wounding another.

Saldanha then consented to receive a British officer on board; and being informed in peremptory terms that he would not be permitted to carry out his intention 'to conduct, unarmed, to the isle of Terceira the men on board the four vessels in sight,' he turned round and proceeded with his squadron to Brest, escorted and watched by Walpole, until he reached the British Channel.

This affair created a great deal of excitement both at home and abroad, and the conduct of the Ministry was almost universally condemned in England. They pleaded that the Portuguese troops had sailed from a British port to take part in a civil war, and were therefore lawfully intercepted and turned back; that though unarmed and unequipped, a supply of arms and ammunition for their use had been previously sent from Britain to Terceira in direct violation of the clear and explicit promise to the contrary given by Visconde d'Itabayana, plenipotentiary of the Emperor of Brazil; and that such hostile acts were forbidden by the laws of the land, and could not, therefore be permitted or connived at by the Government. The public were not inclined, however, to attach any weight to such a defence in the face of the facts that the Ministry had recognized the blockade of Oporto, though the usurper was notoriously unable to enforce it; and that Don Miguel had been allowed to take forcible possession of Madeira, while Donna Maria was not permitted to strengthen her garrison at Terceira, which had successfully resisted an assault of the Miguelites. They saw the British prime minister, whose professed neutrality seemed to be all on one side, employing his influence against a constitutional sovereign, and permitting a usurper and a tyrant to extend his authority; and the nation's heart went with Lord Palmerston when he thus expressed himself in the House of Commons in a debate on the foreign policy of the Government:—

'The civilized world rings with execra-

tions 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 helpless and defenceless women*—is, in the opinion of Europe, mainly indebted for the success which has hitherto attended him, to a belief industriously propagated by his partizans, and not sufficiently refuted by any acts of the British Government, that the Cabinet of England looks upon his usurpation with no unfriendly eye.

‘In the opinions of many this impression is confirmed by much that ministers have done, and very much that they have omitted to do. . . .

‘Their steady refusal to interfere in cases in which their interference would have been prejudicial to Don Miguel has been contrasted with their promptitude and vigour to interfere when their interference was subservient to his projects.’†

Severe as was this condemnation of the conduct of the Government by Palmerston in a speech of extraordinary eloquence, supported as it was by the censure pronounced upon the ministers by Brougham, Mackintosh, Lansdowne, and other speakers in both Houses of Parliament, a still more severe condemnation of Wellington’s policy was pronounced by Miguel’s announcement in the *Lisbon Gazette* ‘that the conduct of England towards Portugal in such circumstances had been above all praise.’ If the whole facts of the case had been known to the public, their disapprobation of the conduct of the Ministry would have been still more strongly expressed. The publication

* Don Miguel made an attempt on the life of his sister, Donna Isabella, and killed one of her servants who interposed for her protection.

† ‘The event of last week was Palmerston’s speech on the Portuguese question, which was exceedingly able and eloquent. This is the second he has made this year, of great merit. It was very violent against Government. He has been twenty years in office and never distinguished himself before; a proof how many accidental circumstances are requisite to bring out the talents which a man may possess.’—Greville’s ‘Diary,’ i. 211.

of the Duke of Wellington’s Despatches has shown that he regarded the usurpation of Don Miguel with indifference, if not with positive approval, and was disposed to throw the blame of the deplorable state of affairs in Portugal on Don Pedro rather than on his perjured and despotic brother. ‘In respect to Portugal,’ he wrote privately to Lord Aberdeen, ‘you may tell Prince Polignac that we are determined that there shall be no revolutionary movement from England on any part of the world.’ The duke must, therefore, have regarded as ‘a revolutionary movement’ the attempts of the loyal Portuguese to expel the usurper and to restore their lawful sovereign to her hereditary throne.

In regard to Portugal, as well as to other important matters, the king and his powerful minister by no means saw eye to eye. Before Don Miguel’s faithlessness to his trust and his oath was known at Brazil, the young queen had set sail for Europe; but on arriving before Gibraltar she found that in the actual circumstances it would be dangerous for her to land at Lisbon, and therefore proceeded to England. On her arrival at Falmouth she was welcomed with a royal salute. She was greeted with addresses by the corporations of all the principal towns through which she passed on her way to London; and Her Majesty was welcomed to the metropolis by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, who waited upon her in state, as the representatives of the king. ‘Towards the end of December,’ says Lord Palmerston, ‘the king received the little Donna Maria at Windsor Castle with all the honours of sovereignty, the duke, Aberdeen, and the other ministers being present. He was charmed with her, thought her like Princess Charlotte, well-mannered, and, above all, beautifully dressed in lace and diamonds. When he handed her to her carriage he stopped to make her a farewell speech, in which he expressed his hearty wish to see her restored to her throne. The child was so overcome with his kindness and her own difficulty of ex-

pressing herself in French, that, as the readiest reply, she instinctively threw her arms about his neck and kissed him to thank him. This completely captivated him. He said that everything else might have been taught her, but this *must* have been her own.' In August, 1829, Donna Maria returned to Brazil, having been informed by the Government that though they acknowledged her sovereignty, and were bound by treaty to protect her kingdom against force or aggression, they could not interfere in the domestic contests of her subjects.

The usurper still pursued the same course of oppression that had hitherto marked his rule. The prisons of the Limoeiro alone, in Lisbon, in October, 1828, contained 2400 prisoners, of whom 1600 were confined for political delinquencies. The total number of individuals throughout the kingdom at this date, incarcerated on similar charges, or who had avoided the scaffold and the dungeon by flying into exile, amounted to upwards of 15,000 men, among whom were forty-two members of the Chamber of Peers, including some of the highest nobility and seven members of the Chamber of Deputies. Two years later it was calculated that the number of individuals under arrest for political causes alone had increased to 40,000, and that 5000 more were concealed in hiding-places in different parts of the country.

Not content with imprisoning and despoiling his own countrymen, Don Miguel extended his outrages to British and French subjects, evidently believing he might do so with the same impunity that had hitherto attended his savage treatment of his Portuguese victims. Sir John Milly Doyle, a distinguished British officer, who had fought for the independence of Portugal in her hour of need, was suddenly and without any offence seized and confined in a secret dungeon, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Matthews, the British consul-general; and after a grievous imprisonment of three months was conducted as a prisoner on

board a British packet and compelled under a heavy bond to engage never to re-enter Portugal. Mr. Young, an officer in the British waggon train, after a still longer imprisonment and as many disregarded remonstrances on the part of Mr. Matthews, met with similar treatment on the same false accusations. Other two British subjects, Mr. Hargraves Cobham and Mr. Rospigliosi, were at different times insulted by lawless mobs and thrown into prison, from whence they did not escape without great difficulty; and the latter not without a confinement of more than four months. Sir Augustus West, too, was publicly insulted, wounded, knocked off his horse, and beaten, till his ribs were broken by a field officer and party of police, who were all maintained in authority utterly unreprieved, in spite of remonstrances both from Mr. Matthews and Lord Aberdeen. The case of Mr. Marcos Ascoli, a British subject established in Lisbon, was still more flagrant. Having taken out his passports in proper form, he was proceeding to Gibraltar on private family business in a Portuguese vessel, when at Belem he was taken out of the ship and imprisoned in secret confinement for thirty-four days, and then released from his underground dungeon and sent to the common jail. It was in vain that Mr. Matthews demanded his release and that Lord Aberdeen conveyed to Viscount Santarem, Don Miguel's minister, the resolution 'that His Majesty's Government would not permit British subjects to be injured with impunity,' declared that 'the case of Marcos Ascoli has been attended with the most flagrant injustice,' and instructed Mr. Matthews 'to demand his immediate liberation as well as full compensation for the wrongs which he had endured.' 'In lieu of liberation, Ascoli, after an imprisonment of four months, was put on a pretended trial,' says Mr. Matthews, 'was condemned to costs, whereby his establishment is ruined and misery entailed upon his wife, five children, and her relations, because on his leaving this for

Gibraltar with due passports, some masonic insignia were found in his luggage, placed there by a Spaniard, a spy of the police, hired at thirty-four milrees per month; and having taken out *a certificate as such*, that it might serve as *a recommendation* to him in Spain, whither he has repaired; and who has, by the evidence and trial, boasted of being revenged on Marcos Ascoli by getting him into trouble in return for his refusal to lend him more money.' 'Ascoli is, therefore, quite a ruined man, and is about to apply to the benevolence of the British residents here to raise a moderate sum to enable him to pay the costs and leave this country for England by an early opportunity.'

Ascoli's was no solitary case of oppression; it was only one among a disgracefully long list. The parliamentary papers mention the cases of the iniquitous confiscation of the property of a most respectable merchant, Mr. Hatt. Noble, at Oporto, and the six months' imprisonment of his son, a youth under age; the two months' imprisonment of Mr. O'Brien; the outrageous seizure of Mr. Macrohon; the eight months' confinement of the British consul of Tavira; the fifteen months' secret imprisonment of Joseph Fragoas, an overseer of the fortifications of Gibraltar; the cruel seizure of Mr. Story: these last three victims having been so closely immured in their dungeons that they could not, the one for a year, and the others for six months, find any means of conveying a report of their seizure to the British consul.

The impunity extended to these and numerous other similar outrages, emboldened Don Miguel to proceed from the imprisonment of British subjects, and the confiscation of their property, to the violation of the essential clauses of the commercial treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, to the seizure of our merchant vessels and their cargoes, and even to the carrying off our commissioned packets. The British schooner *Ninus*, laden with salt for Newfoundland, and furnished with

all proper papers and clearances, was captured and sent into the Western Isles by a Portuguese brig of war, on the frivolous and utterly unfounded pretence that she intended to break the blockade of Terceira. The Portuguese Admiralty courts declared her to be no lawful prize; but she was not the less sent to Lisbon, where her cargo was ruined and her captain and her crew turned adrift. This capture was followed by the seizure, on the same absurd and unfounded pretences, of 'five other British ships, whose crews, registers, and papers were in perfect order, proving their lawful pursuits and distant destination from Terceira; but which were not the less arrested, ill-treated, and partly plundered.' Then came the seizure of the St. Helena packet, under the command of Lieutenant Warren, R. N. 'They were met,' says the Consul-general, 'by the Portuguese frigate, *Diana*, who fired at them and brought them to—treating them with every indignity, calling them pirates, taking from their officers their swords and pistols, and putting them all under arrest on suspicion that they were bound to Terceira, which Lieutenant Warren solemnly declares he had not the smallest intention of going to.' The officers and crews of these vessels fancied, on their arrival at Lisbon, that the name of their country and the protection of their consul would release them at once; but they had to submit to see 'their vessels dismantled, their cargoes (worth half a million) injured, their anchors and cables lost, their sails cut in pieces and sold, their cordage damaged, themselves cast ashore, and their papers taken from them.' These outrages drew down indignant remonstrances from Lord Aberdeen, and peremptory demands for the immediate restitution of the ships, a full indemnification of losses incurred, 'and the public dismissal of the commanding officer of the *Diana* frigate, as a just punishment for his cruel and unmanly treatment of the individuals on board the St. Helena packet, and the audacity with which he had thought proper to regard officers and invalided sea-

men in His Majesty's service as pirates.' As these remonstrances and demands were not followed up by any active measures, the insults and outrages of Don Miguel on the property, the persons, and the commerce of British subjects, his confiscations and imprisonments, violations of treaties, and seizures of ships were still unpunished and untermiated when the Ministry went out of office. They were even prepared to recognize the usurper as king of Portugal, at first on condition of his granting an amnesty, but ultimately they were willing to accept Don Miguel's promise to grant one upon the most fitting occasion; that is, wrote Lord Ellenborough in his Diary, 'he makes us, whom he has once deceived, dependent upon his word'—the promise of a man whose whole career showed that in his estimation 'oaths were but words, and words but wind.' Before this recognition could be consummated, however, the Wellington administration had run its course.

While Portugal had thus fallen into a state of anarchy, and her ruler had been placed under the ban of the civilized world, war had once more broken out between Russia and Turkey. On the death of the Czar Alexander on the 1st of December, 1825, his younger brother, Nicholas, who succeeded him on the throne of All the Russias, immediately took steps to carry out the hereditary policy of the Romanoffs. The conduct of the Porte had given the Russian Government just cause of complaint, and the position of the country tempted the Czar to undertake active measures to compel reparation. The massacre of the Janissaries by the Sultan Mahmoud II. had left the empire defenceless; and the Porte had in consequence no resource but to submit to the humiliating treaty of Ackermann, in which every one of the Russian conditions was conceded. The Duke of Wellington, who had been sent to St. Petersburg to congratulate the Czar on his accession to the throne, strove in vain to induce Nicholas to abate the rigour of his demands. He succeeded, however, in bringing

about an agreement between Great Britain and Russia on the Greek question. A protocol was formally drawn up, by which the two powers undertook to offer their joint mediation to the Porte. It was proposed that Greece should be erected into a distinct principality, governed by its own rulers, and secured in the enjoyment of complete liberty of conscience and freedom of trade, but dependent on the Turkish empire, and paying to the Porte a fixed tribute. It was thought by the British Government that this scheme would be more likely to succeed if other powers could be induced to join in it; and accordingly Austria, Prussia, and France were invited to co-operate in the measures which Great Britain and Russia had agreed to adopt for the pacification of Eastern Europe. Austria and Prussia declined to concur in any joint action, though professing their approval of the object in view; but France at once intimated her 'absolute and unqualified accession' to the protocol, and proposed that it should be converted into a treaty. This suggestion, as has already been mentioned, was carried into effect. A draft treaty was prepared which, after some discussion, was signed at London on the 6th of July, 1826, and was followed by the intervention of the allies and the battle of Navarino, which annihilated the Turkish fleet.

One important object which the British Government had in view in framing the treaty of London was to prevent independent action on the part of Russia towards the Porte, and to compel her to act in concert with the other parties to that agreement. The folly and perverse obstinacy of the Turkish ministry, however, rendered this precaution of no avail. They insisted that the allied powers should desist from all interference in the affairs of Greece, and even declared that they expected them to compensate the Porte for the destruction of its fleet. A *hatti sheriiff* was issued on the 30th of November, 1827, calling on all the faithful

Mussulmans, 'rich or poor, great or little,' to take up arms against the allies as the only 'means of working out salvation in this world and the next.' It was asserted that the conditions of the treaty of Ackermann were unjust, and had been complied with only to gain time. Peel, indeed, said publicly that Turkey had signed this treaty with the intention of violating it, and that she never would fulfil any of its conditions. Its stipulations were now openly violated. Russian ships were detained at Constantinople, and Russian subjects were expelled from Turkey. In these circumstances Nesselrode intimated to Great Britain and France that, though the Czar was anxious to carry out the treaty of London, he had no alternative but 'to reply to war by war;' but it would be declared on purely Russian grounds—the violation of the treaty of Ackermann, the interruption of Russian commerce by Russian subjects, and the interference of Turkey to prevent the conclusion of peace between Russia and Persia. He was of opinion that, notwithstanding, the allies might continue to carry out the treaty. If they would act in the manner demanded of them in his project, he would then act towards Greece according to the existing treaty; otherwise as he thinks accords best with his own *interests* and '*convenances*'—in other words, that he intended to violate the conditions to which he had formally bound himself. The reply of the British Government to this offensive declaration of Russia, as stated by Lord Ellenborough, was in effect—'We are very sorry you are going to war. We will not. We refer you to what we have already said on that subject. We do not see how you who are going to war can co-operate with us who will not go to war; but we do not admit that your going to war absolves you from the self-denying obligations you have contracted with us. We are as desirous as ever of accomplishing the objects of the treaty, and we will endeavour to concert with France measures for that purpose.'

At this critical juncture 'the infatuation of the Turks,' as Lord Ellenborough remarked, 'seemed to be miraculous.' After the battle of Navarino the allied fleets had left the coast of the Morea for Malta and other ports to refit their ships. A number of Turkish and Egyptian vessels, taking advantage of their absence, repaired to Navarino and succeeded in embarking a large number of invalid and wounded soldiers belonging to Ibrahim's army, along with 5500 captive Greek women and children, and conveyed them to Alexandria. The Greeks arrived there 'in the most wretched state of suffering from hunger and grief,' and were immediately sold into slavery. Lord Palmerston called the attention of the Cabinet to this atrocious procedure, and urged that it would be a stain on our national character if an effort were not made to release these wretched captives. 'The duke,' he says, 'received the proposition coldly. Aberdeen treated the matter as a thing we had no right to interfere with, Bathurst as the exercise of a legitimate right on the part of the Turks, and Ellenborough as rather a laudable action.' Palmerston urged, but in vain, that Ibrahim should not be allowed to evacuate the Morea until these slaves were given up. All that was done was to send a deputation to Sir Frederick Adam, Lord High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, and to Admiral Codrington, instructing them to express their hope that the pasha would release the Greek women and children who had been sold as slaves. The Cabinet had from the first been dissatisfied with Codrington's proceedings, and they now resolved to recall him; but before he was superseded, he was successful in persuading Mehemet Ali not only to give orders for the evacuation of the Morea, but to give up at once the Greek slaves in his own possession, and to promise that he would 'use his utmost endeavours to induce such persons as have purchased any of the slaves to deliver them up.'

Russia at length declared war against Turkey in March, 1828, and in May following

a Russian army of 150,000 men, under the command of General Wittgenstein, crossed the Pruth at three different points, took possession of Jassy, Bucharest, and Galatz, and in a few weeks occupied the whole of the left bank of the Danube. Siege was next laid to Brailow, which was taken after a series of sanguinary assaults. The Russians then crossed the Danube, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Shumla, directed by the Czar in person. Varna, however, after a vigorous defence of more than two months, fell into their hands by the treachery of a Turkish officer named Yussuff Pasha. But their efforts to reduce Silistria utterly failed; and they were obliged to retire beyond the Danube and to winter in Wallachia. In Asia General Paskievitch invested and took the strong fortress of Kars; and after a sanguinary conflict, he defeated a Turkish army under the walls of Akhalzik, carried that place, which was strongly fortified, and captured Anapa and Poti, on the east coast of the Black Sea. But these successes were attended by a great loss of life by disease, as well as by the hand of the enemy. Not more than half of the force that crossed the Danube returned to winter quarters. A large and influential party in Russia were now anxious for peace; but the military and court classes, mortified at their comparative want of success, which had fallen far short of general expectation, and desirous of redeeming the national honour, insisted on trying another campaign. The Turks, on the other hand, elated by their unexpected success in resisting the Russian invasion, were more than ever obstinate in refusing all concessions. Both sides, therefore, made vigorous exertions for the renewal of hostilities in the following spring. The garrison of Shumla was strengthened by the addition of no less than 30,000 men, drawn from various parts of the Turkish empire; on the other hand, 70,000 men were added to the Russian army, and the command was intrusted to General Diebitsch, an officer of great experience and high reputation.

On the 10th of May, 1829, the Russians again crossed the Danube, and immediately laid siege to Silistria. Redschid Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, set out from Shumla at the head of 36,000 men, to attempt the relief of that important fortress, but was unexpectedly attacked by Diebitsch at Koulevescha, a village about three miles from Shumla, and was completely defeated with the loss of his whole artillery and baggage. On the 30th of June Silistria surrendered, and the garrison, amounting to about 8000 men, were made prisoners of war. The fall of this fortress determined the Russian general to carry the war into the heart of Roumelia. Masking the important position of Shumla, Diebitsch set out for Aidos on the 11th of July, and crossed the Balkans in nine days without opposition, the Turks everywhere fleeing before them. The country, indeed, was wholly destitute of the means of defence. If only a slight resistance had been made to the advance of the Russians, or had they been even harassed by small parties of the enemy during their march, they could not have ventured to Adrianople. When they reached this place, they were so enfeebled by sickness and fatigue that hundreds of them were dying daily, and they were quite unable to undertake any active operations. Diebitsch, however, very carefully concealed his real condition from the Turks, and by acting on their fears and their ignorance he was able to obtain most advantageous terms of peace.

The treaty of Adrianople, which terminated the war between Russia and Turkey, was signed on the 14th of September, 1829. Nicholas, at the commencement of hostilities, declared that he wished no extension of territory; but in accordance with the habitual policy of the Russian court, that statement was forgotten when the terms of peace came to be settled. It was stipulated that the Pruth should continue to be the boundary of the two empires, but that the islands at the mouth of the Danube should remain in possession

of Russia. In Asia, the Czar was to obtain that portion of the coast of the Black Sea which lies between the mouth of the Kouban and the port of St. Nicholas, comprising a considerable extent of territory, and Anapa, Akhalzik, and other fortresses, along with the port of Poti. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were to be restored to the Porte, but their Hospodars were to be elected for life, and were not to be interfered with in any manner by the Porte or any of its officers. The people were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, perfect security, and full liberty of conscience. Russian subjects were to be secured throughout Turkey in the entire freedom of trade guaranteed to them by previous treaties, and were to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Russian ministers and consuls. Russian ships were not to be subjected to any search by the Turks, either at sea or in port. The trade and navigation of the Black Sea were not to be impeded in any way; and the passage of the Dardanelles was declared to be entirely open to all Russian vessels, and to all vessels trading with Russia belonging to powers at peace with the Porte. Finally, the Porte was required to pay an indemnity of £5,750,000 in ten annual instalments, and the Russian forces were not to evacuate the principalities until the whole of that large sum had been paid, and all the other conditions of the treaty 'could be considered as fulfilled.'

The treaty of Adrianople was most unfavourable to Turkey, which was weakened in every department, and it was evidently intended to prepare the way for the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire; but the British Government, though greatly dissatisfied with its provisions and with the duplicity of Russia, could not interfere. 'The Duke of Wellington,' Lord Palmerston says, 'had a strong personal feeling of dislike to Russia.' He had violent quarrels with the Russian ambassador, Monsicur de Lieven and his wife, and thought himself not civilly received at St. Petersburg. He

distrusted the designs of the Czar, disbelieved his professions before the war began, and was indignant at the severe terms which were imposed upon the Porte when peace was concluded. These feelings, as well as his strong dislike to all revolutionary movements, made him indifferent if not hostile to the cause of Greek independence, which Nicholas, unlike his predecessor, patronized. He disapproved of the treaty of London, which was concluded by Canning, and 'would execute it in the spirit of one who condemns it.' His sentiments were shared by Aberdeen, Ellenborough, and Bathurst, who all, says Lord Palmerston, 'would give anything to get out of the Greek treaty, which they hate. Huskisson, Dudley, and myself were for executing the treaty in the fair spirit of those who made it.'

The first proposal of the Cabinet for the settlement of the question was that Greece should be restricted to the Morea and a few islands. The duke also proposed that the Greeks should pay a tribute of £200,000 a year, and an indemnity of £1,500,000, and that the Greek state should be bound to follow Turkey in peace and in war. The proposal of the duke was indignantly scouted even by his own Cabinet. Peel declared, much to the Premier's annoyance, that he preferred independence to suzerainty, and that they had no data upon which to fix tribute and compensation. Everybody thought the tribute proposed by the duke was much too high; and Aberdeen said he knew that the whole tribute of the Morea was carried on the backs of twelve mules. Palmerston, supported by Lord Dudley and Charles Grant, expressed a strong objection to the narrow limits of the new state, as at variance with the spirit and principles both of protocol and treaty, because permanent pacification could not be looked for when large districts long in revolt were excluded from the settlement. The idea 'of creating a Greece which should contain neither Athens, nor Thebes, nor Marathon, nor Salamis, nor Plataea, nor Thermopylae,

nor Missolonghi; which should exclude from its boundaries all the most inspiring records of national achievements whether in ancient or modern times,' was as distasteful to the people of Great Britain as to the Greeks themselves, and could not be regarded as either a satisfactory or permanent settlement of the question.

The Porte continued doggedly to refuse its assent to the project for the establishment of a Greek state even in its most restricted form; but after the termination of the war with Russia, and a hostile army had advanced to within a few leagues of Constantinople, the Sultan, humbled by the disasters which his subjects had undergone, showed himself more inclined to accept the proposals of the allied powers. The conferences held in London by these plenipotentiaries, which had been suspended in consequence of the action taken by Russia, were now resumed. The ambassadors who represented these powers at Constantinople—Sir Stratford Canning, General Guilleminot, and Monsieur Ribaupierre—met at Poros, an island in the Archipelago, to consider the arrangements which should be made for the separation of Greece from the Turkish empire. They agreed to recommend that the new state should consist of the largest extent of territory that had yet been proposed, that the tribute to be paid to the Sultan should be reduced to 1,500,000 piastres, and that the state should be governed by a Christian prince. These proposals were adopted at a conference held in London on the 22nd of March, 1829, by the plenipotentiaries of the three allies as a basis for negotiations, and it was agreed that they should in this form be submitted to the Porte. The Sultan very reluctantly, and under strong pressure, agreed to accept the treaty of London; but only on condition that the Greek state should include merely the Morea and the adjacent islands, that the tribute to be paid by it was to be proportioned to the revenue which had formerly been drawn from it, that the materials found in the fortresses were to be

given up to the Sultan, that the naval and military force of the state should be merely sufficient to preserve internal order, and that no Greek was to be permitted to leave the Turkish dominions and to settle in the new state. The French and Russian plenipotentiaries, at the conference held in London on the 19th of September, were of opinion that these conditions were at variance with the whole spirit and object of the treaty, and insisted that the Porte's acceptance of the protocol and treaty must be complete and unreserved. The British representative, whose object was to get rid of the protocol, strove hard, but unsuccessfully, to convince his colleagues that the acceptance of the Porte was quite satisfactory, and he had in the end to give way.

After the treaty of Adrianople had been signed the prompt settlement of the Greek question became a necessity, for Russia was quite prepared to take it into her own hands. The British Government were still bent on 'cutting down the Greeks,' as Lord Palmerston expressed it; but the other two allied powers were equally determined to carry out an opposite policy. Aberdeen suggested to the Premier that Greece should be divided into two states, under separate governments. 'This,' he said, 'would be agreeable to the Porte; it would be more in unison with the declamations of the classical dreamers; but, above all, it would operate as a check upon the encroaching and restless spirit of Greek ambition.' But this absurd proposal seems to have met with no encouragement from any member of the Cabinet. The duke then proposed to restrict the Greeks to Attica, and to give the Turks the adjacent islands of Eubœa and Crete, in addition to 'suzerainty, tribute, and indemnity. 'Should the Turkish power,' he said, 'be ever good for anything, the possession of Candia and Eubœa ought effectually to control Greece.' But this proposition was deemed utterly inadmissible by the other parties to the treaty of London. In the end the British Government were obliged

to give way on every point. It was arranged that the boundaries of the Greek state were to extend from Thermopylæ on the one side to the mouth of the Aspropotamos on the other; and that Greece was to be entirely independent of the Porte, and governed by a hereditary sovereign. The result of these protracted negotiations, though satisfactory as far as the extent and position of the new state were concerned, reflected no credit on the Duke of Wellington's policy, and contributed not a little to discredit and weaken his administration.

As might have been expected, the selection of the sovereign for the new kingdom led to a great deal of intrigue and contention. 'The choice of the prince,' said Wellington, 'is very important; but that choice will not rest with us. It will be carried against our views and interests.' So it proved. The British Foreign Secretary proposed Prince Philip of Hesse Homburg; but his nomination was not approved either by France or by Russia. Prince Frederick of Orange was next suggested; but he intimated that, if chosen, he would decline, as

did Prince Charles of Bavaria, the nominee of the French Government. The Archduke Maximilian, mentioned by the British representative, was positively objected to by the French plenipotentiary. The crown was then offered to Prince John of Saxony, but was declined by him. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of the Princess Charlotte, was the next choice of the representatives of Russia and France, acquiesced in with considerable reluctance by the British Cabinet; and after some negotiations and explanations he agreed, in the month of April, to accept the offer. But difficulties arose connected with the internal condition of the country and its foreign dangers, and on the 21st of May the prince finally and conclusively declined the crown of Greece. It was not until the year 1832 was far advanced that the three powers at last succeeded in obtaining a sovereign for the new kingdom in the person of Prince Otho, a younger son of the king of Bavaria, a youth of only eighteen years of age, every way unfit for a position so critical and responsible.

CHAPTER XXI.

Affairs of Ireland—Affray between the Roman Catholics and Orangemen at Armagh and Clare—Depression of Trade in Great Britain—Great Distress among the Manufacturing Classes—The Unpopularity of the Government—Its Commercial Measures blamed for the Depression—Proposed Reduction in the Public Expenditure—Want of Confidence in the Government by the King—The Duke of Wellington's Remonstrance—The *Morning Journal's* violent Attack on the Ministry—The Editor imprisoned and fined—Parliamentary Reform—Proposals of Lord Blandford and Lord Althorp—O'Connell's Bill to establish Triennial Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot—Lord John Russell's Resolutions on the Reform of the House of Commons—Proposal to Repeal the Civil Disabilities of the Jews—Death of George IV.—His Life and Character.

THE expectation so confidently expressed that the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities would restore peace to Ireland was doomed to disappointment. The redress of one grievance was not likely to establish public tranquillity in a country filled with a pauper population, and torn for ages by internal dissensions. Remedies of a different and much more extensive character were required to relieve the squalid misery of the mass of the Irish people, and to free the country from that spirit of faction which was the prime source of all its calamities. O'Connell, no way conciliated by the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, renewed his agitation as the avowed and bitter enemy of the Government, recounting all the misdeeds, real or imaginary, of the ministers, holding them up everywhere to public odium, and employing all the powers of his eloquence and his unscrupulous mendacity to rouse the passions of the ignorant peasantry against their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and their connection with Great Britain. There was no gratitude felt for the boon just bestowed, and no inclination to unite in peaceful measures for the redress of the grievances that remained. The Orangemen, on the other hand, returned hatred for hatred, and railing for railing; and for the purpose of displaying their strong dissatisfaction with the Irish policy of the Government, they resolved on celebrating the 12th of July with the usual rejoicings. The triumphant Romanists, elated by their recent victory, and regardless of the public peace and welfare, resolved

to stop these celebrations by force. In an attack which they made upon an Orange procession in Armagh, ten men lost their lives; and in a pitched battle which took place in Clare, one Protestant was killed and seven were wounded. Similar outrages were reported from almost every district of Ireland. The magistrates in various quarters declared their inability to quell the riots that had taken place, and it was with difficulty that the united efforts of the military and the police prevented a civil war breaking out between the Orangemen and the Roman Catholics.

While Ireland was in this state of chronic agitation, Great Britain was suffering severely from depression of trade in all its branches, and of course the agricultural interests—landlords, farmers, and labourers—were sharing the general distress. All the farmers in Kent, Sir Edward Knatchbull said, were insolvent. Another member of Parliament declared that 'a very large portion of the working classes were approaching starvation. They wanted food and clothing; the best workmen could not find employment, and were obliged to apply for charitable distributions of food to eke out their existence. The large farmer was reduced to a small farmer, the small farmer was becoming a labourer, and the labourer was becoming a pauper.' The poor rates in the fertile vale of Aylesbury amounted to thirty shillings an acre. In one parish the rates had swallowed up the whole rental except £40. In another there were 1000 paupers out of 1900 residents. In Sussex, labourers were

paid threepence and fourpence a day for working on the roads. In Huddersfield the average wage was only twopence a day. In some agricultural counties, such as Hampshire and Cheshire, the peasants were seen harnessed to waggons; and the bishop of Bath and Wells stated in the House of Lords that in his diocese he had seen men 'yoked together like oxen, and engaged in drawing coals from the pits in the neighbourhood.'

'I saw a friend who had recently returned from one of the largest districts in the county,' said a member of Parliament, 'who told us both masters and workmen were fast coming down to despair. I know that labourers perform most painful works, and that after fourteen hours of hard and constant labour, they can only earn a few shillings, utterly insufficient to maintain themselves. The retail dealers are sinking into distress for want of customers, and are unable to pay rates, rent, and taxes, and trade is altogether unprofitable; wretchedness, ruin, and misery, swallow up all in their vortex. Every week in the Gazette is a long list of bankrupts, and a longer list of declared insolvents.' 'In one district in the county of Warwick,' said another member, 'there was a parish containing a mixture of manufacturers and agriculturists. The population amounted to 7100 persons. Of these there were 2000 receiving parochial relief, 2100 not receiving relief, but not able to contribute anything to the rates, the whole weight of which was borne by 400 heads of families, the representatives of the other inhabitants.'

The condition of the manufacturing classes, if not quite so degraded, was equally distressed. The silk trade had suffered severely, both from the stagnation of business and the effect of recent legislation reducing the duties on foreign silks. The Somersetshire silk weavers were dragging 'on a 'miserable existence on two shillings and sixpence a week.' In Coventry, 4000 persons engaged in this branch of manufacture were out of employment. The operatives in Macclesfield, Rochdale, Manchester, and other seats of manufacturing industry, were in the

same condition. The silk weavers of Bethnal Green were suffering distress even more severe. 'They are all weavers,' wrote Greville, 'forming a sort of separate community; there they are born, there they live and labour, and there they die. They neither migrate nor change their occupation; they can do nothing else. They have increased in a ratio at variance with any principles of population, having nearly tripled in twenty years—from 22,000 to 64,000. They are for the most part out of employment and can get none; 1100 are crammed into the poorhouse, five or six in a bed; 6000 receive parochial relief. The parish is in debt; every day adds to the number of paupers and diminishes that of rate-payers. These are principally shopkeepers, who are beggared by the rates. The district is in a state of insolvency and hopeless poverty, yet they multiply; and while the people look squalid and dejected, as if borne down by wretchedness and destitution, the children thrive and are healthy.'

It need excite no surprise that the poor creatures reduced to such a state of misery should become restless and turbulent, and attempt to destroy the machinery to which they erroneously ascribed their sufferings. The Protectionists in Parliament, quite as ill-informed though with much less excuse, advocated a return to the old system of higher prohibitory duties. But the Ministry expressed their determination to reduce the duties rather than to increase them, and the machine-breaking riots only made them the more resolute in adopting this measure with all possible speed. 'The interests of the manufacturers,' said Peel, 'the interests of the workmen themselves, and the public tranquillity, called for the immediate passing of the bill. The outrages which had recently taken place were, he knew, perpetrated for the purpose of intimidating the legislature against agreeing to this measure; and he was convinced that every day it was delayed would add to the number of these outrages.' Although strenu-

ously opposed by the manufacturers as well as by their workmen, the bill became law.

The unsatisfactory state of the country, and various other causes, had produced a general conviction that ministers were unequal to the task of carrying on the business of the Government. They had apparently not framed any definite system by which to regulate their proceedings, and seemed to expect, that now that the Roman Catholic question was out of the way, public affairs would subside into their former position. The duke evidently hoped that the Tory country gentlemen would ere long return to their allegiance, and that though they might grumble and threaten, they would not unite with the Whigs in assailing the Government. On the 19th of January, 1830, he wrote to Maurice Fitzgerald : 'We shall have a troublesome session. But I think the gentlemen of the country will come to view matters in their true light, and will not seriously endeavour to break down the establishments of the country because the getting in of the harvest has been expensive to their tenants, or because their tenants paid last year large prices for lean cattle, for which they cannot now obtain adequate prices after they have been fattened.'

The feeling displayed by the House of Commons at the opening of the session on the 4th of February speedily dispelled these notions. It was impossible to avoid taking notice in the king's speech of the distress prevailing throughout the country ; but in accordance with the Premier's own view it was declared to be partial. 'His Majesty laments,' the speech said, 'that notwithstanding the indication of active commerce, distress should prevail among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom.' Reference was made to 'the effect of unfavourable seasons, and the operation of other causes, which are beyond the reach of legislation to control or remedy.' The necessity of acting with extreme caution in proposing remedies for the existing suffering was strongly inculcated, and the speech con-

cluded with the statement that 'above all, His Majesty is convinced that no pressure of temporary difficulty will induce you to relax the determination which you have uniformly manifested to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and the permanent welfare of the country.'

The country gentlemen were strongly dissatisfied with this reference to the existing distress, which they affirmed to be not partial but general, and mainly due not to unfavourable seasons, but to the commercial measures of the Government. So great was their irritation, that they adopted a course which had not been followed for a good many years ; and, headed by Sir Edward Knatchbull, the ultra-Tory member for Kent, they proposed an amendment to the address, declaring the distress to be general, and promising that the House would make strenuous efforts to alleviate and remove it. This measure was supported not only by the extreme Tories, but by a large section of the Whigs, headed by Brougham and other prominent Liberals, and by Huskisson and the other friends of Mr. Canning, who heartily united with their old enemies in order to revenge themselves on the Duke of Wellington's administration. Lord Althorp, though he desired the ministers to remain in office, voted for the amendment, simply on the ground of its undeniable truth, while he virtually repudiated any concurrence in the motives of those with whom it originated. So formidable was the combination, that there is every reason to believe that the Government would have been in a minority but for the sudden and unexpected intervention in their behalf of young Lord Howick, the eldest son of Earl Grey. Like Lord Althorp, he doubted the expediency of turning out the Ministry. He had no confidence in the Canningites, and thought that the duke after carrying Roman Catholic Emancipation was entitled to a fair trial. He rose towards the close of the debate and intimated his intention to support the address. His interposition



Engraved by R. Dawson from an old print

BRISTOL DURING THE RIOTS 1831.

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW.

at this critical juncture turned the scale in favour of the Government, and the amendment was rejected by a majority of 158 votes to 105.

Brougham, who had calculated on a different result, was very angry with Lord Howick; and believing the majority (as he told Roebuck) to be the result of an intrigue, he insinuated that Lord Howick was actuated by personal feeling against himself. There is no doubt, however, that his lordship acted independently on his own judgment, and his example, as he himself wrote, 'influenced some others (as one sheep going through a gap encourages others to follow) who were in great doubt as to their votes. I was led to vote in this manner from my believing that it was not desirable at that moment to turn out the Duke of Wellington. I had no confidence in the Canningites, as they were called; and the duke's Government having recently carried Catholic Emancipation, there had yet been nothing to show whether, after the schism thus produced among the Tories, he would endeavour to strengthen his Government by a Liberal policy, or regain them by one of an opposite character. Until he had a fair trial, I thought he ought not to be turned out; and, least of all, by supporting an amendment proposed, in the pure spirit of faction, by an old Tory in revenge for Catholic Emancipation, and joined no less factiously by those who had left the duke's Government in 1828. What ultimately decided my vote, about which I had been in very painful doubt all the evening, was a very bitter speech of Huskisson against the Government.'

This indication of the weakness of the Ministry naturally led to other motions, referring directly or indirectly to the state of the country and the public expenditure; but they were all rejected by large majorities. Though the Opposition were agreed as to the pressure and extent of the distress, they entirely differed as to the measures which should be adopted for its mitigation or relief. In this wide diversity of opinion

on the part of their opponents the Ministry found safety for a time; but they were well aware that something direct and tangible was necessary in order to stem the current of public opinion which was running so strongly against them. They, therefore, set about making reductions in the public expenditure and taxation. They were of course hampered by the fact, that a large portion of the expenditure of the state was beyond their control; but they were of opinion that they could reduce the estimates by at least £1,031,985. It was expected that the reduction of the interest on the exchequer bills would add nearly £300,000 to this saving. Some of the Whigs, however, insisted that these reductions, if conducted on sound principles, 'might be carried to an indefinitely greater extent' without any loss to the revenue. The serious illness of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald at this juncture compelled him to resign his offices of President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. He was succeeded in the former by Mr. Herries, Master of the Mint; the Opposition made an strenuous effort to abolish Fitzgerald's second office, but were defeated by a large majority. The Ministry, however, found it necessary, in order to conciliate the House, to reduce the salary attached to the office from £3000 to £2000 a year, and they conferred it on Mr. Frankland Lewis, father of the late distinguished statesman, Sir George Cornwall Lewis.

Sir James Graham, a young and rising member of Parliament, who, though brought up in the strictest Tory school, had adopted Liberal principles mainly on economical grounds, was the assailant of the treasurer-ship of the Navy; and nothing daunted by his failure, he next made an attack upon the overgrown Ordnance office, which had no fewer than eight representatives in the House of Commons, besides one in the House of Lords. The Finance Committee of 1828 had recommended the abolition of one of these nine offices—that of lieutenant-general; and Graham endeavoured to give

effect to this recommendation by striking the salary of the office out of the estimates, but his proposal was rejected by 200 votes to 124. Nearly all the other motions in favour of the reduction of the salaries of officials met with the same fate. The Opposition only succeeded in striking out of the estimates the pensions awarded to Robert Dundas, a son of Lord Melville, and to William Bathurst, a son of Lord Bathurst, who had held the sinecure offices of commissioners of the Navy Board and Victualling Department, which were abolished in 1830. As these offices had been held only for a short time by the sinecurists—and Lord Melville as keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland received £4000, and Lord Bathurst as teller of the Exchequer £3000 a year for doing nothing—the feeling of the House ran strong against them, even among the high Tories, and their pensions were struck out of the estimates.* Still, though the Government suffered defeat on this question, and on the reckless extravagance with which the repairs of Windsor Castle had been carried out, they succeeded in carrying nearly all their proposals. The reductions which they made in the expenditure of the country, and the relief which they gave to the poor and industrial classes by the abolition of the taxes on leather, beer, and cider, met with general approbation. But the Opposition were not yet satisfied that economy had been fully carried into effect, and retrenchment was still further pressed. The lead was taken by Mr. Poulett Thomson, a young member of Parliament—a Russian merchant—‘clever and thoroughly conversant with business;’ and after a comprehensive view of the fiscal

policy of the country, and a thorough exposure of the vicious character of many of the existing duties, he proposed the repeal of the taxes on timber, coal, hemp, glass, and paper, and the reduction of the duties on soap, barilla, tea, tobacco, spirits, wine, and sugar. It was evident, however, that the abolition or reduction of these duties would involve a considerable loss of revenue; and Lord Althorp, a warm friend of Thomson’s, boldly recommended the substitution of an income tax for the duties which pressed most heavily on the industry of the country. Spring Rice told Althorp plainly, that if he broached such doctrines he would become the most unpopular man in England. The proposal was, of course, regarded as highly dangerous and revolutionary, even by the Whigs; and it contributed to swell the majority against Thomson’s motion for a committee to revise the whole system of taxation.

An attempt was made at this time by the extreme section of the Opposition to obtain a depreciation of the currency by the repeal of Mr. Peel’s bill re-establishing cash payments and the restriction of small notes. The question was debated for four nights on a motion to appoint a committee to inquire into the public distress. But the ‘plain, honest, sensible, and resolute’ speech of Lord Althorp against a paper currency determined the votes of many hesitating members, and swelled the overwhelming majority by which the motion was rejected.

The attacks of the Opposition had thus far been unsuccessful, and their proposals had been defeated by large majorities, though a considerable number of the Tories were willing to co-operate with them in order to be revenged on the Ministry. It could not escape the notice of men so shrewd and experienced as the leading Whigs in Parliament, that one main cause of their own helpless condition was the want of cohesion. There was no unity of aim or action among them—no concert in their proceedings, so that ‘one day many of

* Young Bathurst was amply compensated for the loss of his pension by his appointment to the office of clerk of the Council. After the Duke of Wellington’s Ministry had resigned, Lord Bathurst was informed by Greville that this office, which had just become vacant, was in the gift of the Crown, not of the Government. The old sinecurist immediately hastened to the king, and asked and obtained the office for his son. ‘I can never object,’ said the king, ‘to a father doing what he can for his own children.’

them were ready to join, and on the next to oppose the Government.' There was undeniable truth in the remark which Mr. Dawson, Secretary of the Treasury, made to Mr. Portman, the Whig member for Dorset, 'You are a mere loose bundle of sticks, and will be always beaten.' This taunt excited Mr. Portman, Mr. Pendarves, member for Cornwall, and Sir Francis Lawley, country gentlemen of high standing and great influence, to take immediate steps to prevail upon Lord Althorp to become the leader of the Opposition. Lord Althorp, as Mr. Roebuck, an unfriendly critic, remarks, 'was not only willing but eager to place the burden and confer the honour on any one in preference to himself. Mr. Brougham he evidently considered as the only person fit for the task;' but he was well aware that from various causes the great body of the Whigs were averse to that able but unreliable politician, and would follow no one but himself; and after consulting with Brougham, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Graham, he agreed to accept of the position to which he was called by acclamation at a meeting of the most influential members of the party. He intimated, however, that it was only on questions of trade and finance that he could pretend to be of much use to them, but his advice should be always at their service. This important and judicious arrangement reorganized the Opposition into a united and powerful body, and made them really formidable to the Government. A few nights afterwards the newly-chosen leader availed himself of a casual opportunity in the House, to say with reference to a statement of Sir Robert Peel's, 'I give notice that *we* intend to take the sense of the House on this question.' Lord Portman said that he cannot forget Sir Robert Peel's start when Lord Althorp uttered the word '*we*.'

The Ministry had thus on their front a compact body, instead of a 'loose bundle of sticks,' led by able and experienced statesmen, and popular from their steady and dis-

interested support of the rights of the people. On the one flank they were assailed by the Canningites, small in number, but formidable from their great talents and acquirements and their long experience in office. The third grand division of the Opposition, who attacked them fiercely on the other, was composed of the extreme members of the Church and Tory party, whom the abolition of the Roman Catholic disabilities had rendered the implacable enemies of the duke and his colleagues. But the greatest annoyance, if not the greatest danger to the Government, arose out of the intrigues of the Court and the vacillating and underhand if not actually treacherous conduct of the king, instigated by his brother the Duke of Cumberland. So serious were the troubles and dangers to the Ministry arising from this source, that the Duke of Wellington was compelled to send, on the 30th of January, a firm remonstrance to His Majesty on this subject. 'I have no reason to complain,' he wrote, 'of His Royal Highness's opposition to or want of confidence in your Majesty's ministers, or of his personal hostility to myself, although I lament that His Royal Highness should think that he has cause for these feelings. But I complain that this is not fair political opposition. I complain of his reports of me personally at Windsor, and of his using your Majesty's name in communication with political characters in this country as well as abroad. The consequence of his frequent long interviews with your Majesty is that he is supposed to speak your Majesty's language, even when he does not use your Majesty's name.'

'If the only inconvenience attending this state of things were that the public confidence in your Majesty's Government was deteriorated without cause, it would not be unimportant, inasmuch as your Majesty's service must suffer from such want of confidence in the stability of your administration. But it exposes your Majesty yourself to be misunderstood. Indeed,

it represented that your Majesty keeps in your service ministers in whom your Majesty does not confide, and whom you wish to dismiss from your Majesty's service.

'All this is the consequence of the language of the Duke of Cumberland, and of his interviews with your Majesty.

'The inconvenience which is felt, and to which must be attributed much that we now see going forward, may lead to a crisis, of which the consequence will be to occasion to your Majesty much vexation and trouble; and it may possibly prove injurious to the monarchy itself.

'The disgrace of an individual like myself, and the breaking up of an administration, are trifles in comparison with the objects to which I have adverted. I supplicate your Majesty's attention to this subject.'

The remonstrance, however, was fruitless; the intrigues and annoyances continued unabated. 'I consider the death of the king,' wrote Ellenborough, on the 27th of June, 'to have been one of the fortunate events which have often saved the Duke of Wellington. I really do not know how we could have gone on had he lived two months.'

To meet all this array of strength and of numbers the Ministry had only a mass of apathetic, indifferent, and mercenary followers, who obeyed reluctantly the summons of the *whip*, and but a single man to whom the House of Commons would listen with attention and respect. It was quite evident that if these three parties should coalesce, they could at once overthrow the Government; but the Premier seems to have flattered himself that their incompatible principles would keep them from uniting against his administration. He hoped to receive alternate assistance from all three, and by playing off their mutual jealousy, thus to avoid the necessity of forming a junction with any of them. When any measure to which he was averse was energetically pressed upon him, he escaped a direct defeat by introducing another substantially the same,

differing only in form. For example, on the 12th of February Sir James Graham moved a resolution to the effect 'that whereas subsequently to the Act of the 37th of George III., by which a suspension of cash payments was effected, large augmentations had taken place in the salaries and pay of persons in civil and military employments on account of the diminished value of money, and whereas the alleged reason for such augmentations had ceased to operate in consequence of the passing of 59th George III., which restored a metallic standard of value, it was expedient, to relieve the country from its excessive load of taxation, to revise our present system of expenditure for the purpose of making every possible reduction that could be effected without violation of good faith or public justice.' This motion was opposed by ministers, but in the temper of the House they did not venture to meet it with a direct negative. They therefore substituted for it a motion similar in purport in the following terms:—'That whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleased to assure the House that he would cause an inquiry to be made into all the departments of the civil government, with a view of reducing the number of persons employed and the amount of the salaries paid; resolved that an humble address be presented to His Majesty, that he may be graciously pleased to lay before the House an account of the progress which had been made in such; also that it was the opinion of the House that in every establishment of the state every saving ought to be made consistently with the due performance of the public service, and without the violation of existing engagements.' In this and other important matters ministers did not attempt to lead the House or the country; they merely asked to be allowed to walk at the head of the procession.

The unpopularity of the Ministry was a good deal increased by their prosecutions of the press. A newspaper called the *Morning Journal* had for some months persistently

assailed the leading members of the Government in the most violent manner, not only denouncing their general policy, and especially their conduct in connection with the Roman Catholic question, but accusing them of corruption and personal dishonesty. In consequence, Sir James Scarlett, who, though a member of the Whig party, had accepted the office of Attorney-General on the dismissal of Sir Charles Wetherell, filed no fewer than three *ex-officio* informations against the journal. In its leading articles the duke was described as an ambitious, unprincipled, and dangerous minister, keeping His Majesty under degrading and unconstitutional control; and in an anonymous letter, which turned out to have been written by the domestic chaplain of the Duke of Cumberland, His Grace was charged with 'despicable cant and affected moderation,' with a want 'of mercy, compassion, and of those more kindly and tender sympathies which distinguish the heart of a man from that of a proud dictator;' and in relation to the Roman Catholic question, he was affirmed to have been guilty of the 'grossest treachery to his country, or else the most arrant cowardice, or treachery, cowardice, and artifice united.' A verdict of guilty was returned against Mr. Alexander, the editor, and the proprietors of the paper. The latter were dealt with leniently, but the editor was severely punished with a heavy fine and imprisonment for twelve months in Newgate. These proceedings were brought under the notice of Parliament by Sir Charles Wetherell, and vehemently denounced as cruel and oppressive. The general impression seemed to be that, though the libels in question were utterly unjustifiable and merited severe reprobation, allowance should have been made for the period of unexampled excitement in which they were published; and that the prosecutions were harsh and vindictive, and reflected little credit on the Attorney-General or the Government.

The question of parliamentary reform

began now to come into prominence, and was supported by some influential Tories, who dreaded the accumulation of Roman Catholic power in Parliament, which might be obtained by means of the rotten boroughs. Lord Blandford, eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough, and a staunch Tory, now brought forward a second time a motion which had been rejected in 1829, declaring that the House of Commons had ceased to be framed as the essential principles and earlier practice of the constitution required that it should be framed; and he proposed that places that had fallen into decay, or had in any manner forfeited their right to representation, should be deprived of the franchise, which should be conferred upon towns that had hitherto been unrepresented; that the right of voting should be extended to all copyholders and leaseholders; and that the representation of Scotland should be placed on the same footing with that of England. The Whigs, however, were not prepared to support such a sweeping measure of reform as this; and as Mr. Horace Twiss remarked, they stated so many objections to the bill as to leave the ministerial members almost nothing to add. Lord Althorp moved as an amendment that, for the motion for leave to bring in the bill, should be substituted the resolution, 'That it is the opinion of this House that a reform in the representation of the people is necessary;' but both motion and amendment were rejected by large majorities, though the debate gave unmistakable indications that the Ministry could at any moment be overturned by a combination of Whigs and Radicals and discontented Tories against them, and there seemed good reason to believe that such a combination would be brought about very soon.

The Government, however, were obstinately blind to their danger, and to the evidence of the growing feeling of the people in favour of a reform of the House of Commons; and they gave a striking proof that they had utterly failed to learn practical wisdom from the events that were

passing in the country by their continued refusal to transfer the forfeited franchise of East Retford to the town of Birmingham—the question which had caused the resignation of Huskisson. The necessity of such a step had already been recognized by the House of Commons when, in 1828, it had sanctioned the transfer of the franchise of Penrhyn to Manchester, although the bill had been rejected by the Upper House. Everything that had passed since that time, as Mr. Huskisson and Charles Grant pointed out, had only served to show more clearly the importance and necessity of conferring a substantial representation upon the great towns, which had increased so largely, not only in population, but in wealth and commercial resources. The improved spirit of the age had wrung from the Government successive concessions in favour of liberty, concessions in favour of intelligence, concessions in favour of commerce, concessions in favour of general improvement. But though these measures were in themselves beneficial, it was not creditable to the legislature that such concessions should always be granted only at the moment when prudence and necessity made it impossible longer to withhold them. The result of the previous refusals to amend the constitution, even to the most moderate extent, and to remove the most glaring abuses, had been to call forth loud complaints, and to excite great and general dissatisfaction; and there was danger that if that which was just was refused, that which was unjust would be demanded. The people of England dreaded innovation, and were sincerely attached to their old institutions; but if this temperate mode of remedying abuses were refused them, they would be driven to attack those landmarks of the constitution which all judicious and moderate men were anxious to preserve. It was the Government, and the Government alone, which was exposing the country to this danger; for the House of Commons, when left to itself, had done its duty by agreeing to transfer to Manchester the franchise of

Penrhyn. The Ministry, however, were wholly uninfluenced by these considerations, and persisted in their proposal to transfer the franchise to the Hundred of Bassetlaw; but they carried their motion by a majority of only twenty-seven. Mr. O'Connell tried to engraft upon the bill a clause authorizing the electors of this new constituency to give their votes by ballot; but only twenty-one members voted for the motion, among whom, however, were Lords Althorp, Ebrington, and Nugent.

The Reformers were greatly encouraged by the decision on the East Retford franchise, and, on the 23rd of February, brought the question again before Parliament by moving for leave to bring in a bill to enable Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, to return members to Parliament. The motion was supported, not only by the Whigs and Radicals, but also by such staunch Tories as Lord Sandon and General Gascoigne, and by Mr. Huskisson, who delivered on this occasion his last speech on parliamentary reform. He was careful, however, to state, that while advocating this limited proposal, he was still opposed to 'a measure founded upon the principle of a general revision, reconstruction, and remodeling of our present constitution.' Such a combination might have convinced the Ministry of the great and growing danger of resisting all proposals of reform; but they showed that they were totally ignorant of the feeling that had now arisen in the country on this question, and doggedly refused to make any concession to the wishes of the people. They opposed even the motion for leave to bring in the bill, and succeeded in defeating it by a majority of 188 votes to 140.

Mr. O'Connell next proposed to bring forward a bill to establish triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, but found only thirteen supporters in a House of 332 members. After this motion was negatived, Lord John Russell once more took the field with a series of resolutions declaring it to be expedient that

the number of representatives in the House should be increased; that members should be granted to the large and manufacturing towns, a list of which was given; that extensive and populous counties, such as Yorkshire, should be divided into two parts, each returning two members; that a number of boroughs not exceeding sixty, and not containing more than 2500 members, should severally return for the future only one member instead of two, but that compensation should be given them for the privilege of which they would thus be deprived. These resolutions did not, however, meet with the same amount of support that had been given to his lordship's more limited proposal, and were negatived by a majority of 213 to 117. Sir Robert Peel, in the course of the debate, very unwisely made a statement similar to the declaration of the Duke of Wellington during next session, which proved so fatal to the Government, and expressed himself opposed to any material change in the existing system of representation. 'It may be easy,' he said, 'to take to pieces all the parts of such a complicated system; but I doubt whether it would be equally possible for human skill again to unite its component parts, and still more doubtful whether, if again put together, it would ever work as well for the country as it had hitherto done.'

The result of this want of foresight and statesman-like comprehension on the part of the heads of the administration might easily have been foreseen. If they had gradually withdrawn the franchise from nomination and corrupt boroughs, and conferred it on populous towns, the seats of commercial enterprise, the constitution would have been amended in its weakest parts, and adapted by degrees to the altered circumstances of the country. But in their dread of innovations the Ministry forgot the sagacious remarks of Lord Bacon that 'every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils. For Time is the greatest innovator, and if Time, of course, alter

things to the worse, and if wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of Time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived.' Instead, however, of calmly examining the new forces which were evidently now operating in the community, and placing themselves at the head of the movement in favour of the reform of the representation, so as to moderate its violence and direct its course, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel most unwisely committed themselves to a policy of resistance to all change. The refusal in 1830 to confer the franchise on Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, led inevitably to the sweeping Reform Bill of 1832.

The only other measure affecting the constitution of the legislative body brought forward during this session was the motion of Mr. Robert Grant, on the 5th of April, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the civil disabilities of the Jews. Persons of this religion, though British-born subjects, had derived no benefit from all the growing liberality of legislation; they alone were still placed beyond the pale of the constitution. They were excluded from holding any offices, civil or military, under the Government. They were excluded from practising law or physic, from holding any corporate office, and from being members of either House of Parliament. In the metropolis they could not obtain the freedom of any of the companies, nor exercise any retail trade. They had been peaceable and industrious subjects, had added largely to the wealth and prosperity of the country, and only asked in return to be admitted to the benefits of the constitution. The introduction of the bill was opposed by Sir Robert Inglis, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Solicitor-General, who argued that the proposal could stand only upon the principle that no regard at all should be held to a man's religion; that it

would apply to Turks and Mahometans as well as to Jews; and that it was fitted to make the people believe that the Parliament regarded Christianity as a matter of indifference, though the Christian religion was bound up as part and parcel of the British constitution. The Jews, it was asserted, were aliens, not, indeed, in the legal, but in the popular and substantial sense. They had another country and an interest not merely distinct from, but hostile to that of the country which they might happen to inhabit.

The measure was advocated by Dr. Lushington, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Macaulay, who had just entered Parliament, and delivered a brilliant speech in support of the proposal to emancipate the Jews. It was urged that it was persecution to deprive a man of civil rights on account of his religious opinions, and that no danger could arise either to the constitution or to Christianity from the admission of the Jews to Parliament. It would be the most absurd and inexplicable of all contradictions to reject the bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities after repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, and more especially after admitting Roman Catholics to a seat in Parliament. None of the special circumstances which formed the leading grounds of objection to the Romanists existed in the case of the Jews. Here was no foreign head, no divided allegiance, no bulls, no indulgences, no priests exercising a despotic influence over their flocks, no agitation, no violent addresses, no mobs disciplined with almost all the regularity of men at arms. In the case of the Jews there was nothing but long and silent suffering; and now they appeared before the legislature, asking for relief in a calm and temperate tone. The arguments of the opponents of the bill were utterly inconsistent with those which they employed against Roman Catholic emancipation last year. There the objection was made to the claim of the strong, here to that of the weak; there to the violent, here to the modest;

there to the proselytizing, here to those who were proud to make no proselytes. The opposition, if unjust, was no less absurd; for though the object was to prevent Jews from enjoying political power, the substance of that power they already had. Civil power did not consist only in furred gowns, in maces, waxed parchments, and seals. Was not knowledge power? was not wealth? did not the influence which large capital gives constitute power? Was it not found in the influence of the creditor over the debtor, of the benefactor over the benefited? Yet all this power a Jew might now possess. He might be the greatest man in the city of London; might possess immense influence on the Exchange, the Bank, and the East India Company; he might have the means of assisting foreign sovereigns, even those hostile to this country; he might be sent for to the congress of sovereigns; he might possess the power to procure seats in Parliament for others, though he was not allowed personally to sit there; he was debarred from obtaining a furred gown in a corporation, but he might retain all the influence which would enable him to govern the corporation. And yet, while possessing all these elements of immense power, the Jews were to be denied the symbols of it, and treated as a degraded class! On a division the motion for introducing the bill was carried by a majority of eighteen, the numbers in its favour being 115, and those against it 97; but on the second reading it was rejected by a majority of 228 against 165. The opponents of the bill little thought that the time would come when the Tory aristocracy of England would be fain to follow a leader who gloried in his Jewish ancestry.

The consideration which mainly prevented the Whigs and Canningites, and extreme Tories who had now thrown off their allegiance to Wellington and Peel, from combining against the Government, was the state of the king's health. If, as Brougham bitterly said, we had had 'a king who had no childish fancies to gratify,

who did not one day want to get rid of his wife at the risk of a civil war, another day to build palaces at the cost of a million, who had no minions to rule over him, and no personal spites to gratify, he would never have required an unyielding minister to keep him in order.' As it was, a first minister with a firm hand and a strong purpose was necessary to keep George IV. in order during his regency and the earlier years of his reign; they became much more necessary as the end drew near and the evils of uncertainty and feebleness in the sovereign became much more dangerous and mischievous. There had been for some time a general impression that the king was seriously ill, which in the studied absence of all definite information about his state, was not dispelled by the preparations made for the celebration of his birthday in April. His constitution, originally sound and vigorous, had long been impaired by the life of dissipation and profligacy which he had led for many years; and latterly he had secluded himself almost entirely from society, taking little or no exercise, and surrounded only by his favourites and parasites. His attendants had for some months perceived his increasing weakness; but it was not until the 15th of April that the first bulletin was issued by His Majesty's physicians announcing that he was ill of a bilious attack, accompanied with difficulty in breathing. The public, however, were kept as far as possible in ignorance of the king's real condition; for the bulletins issued from time to time were of the most deceptive character, owing, it is said, to the fact that His Majesty himself insisted on seeing them, and the physicians were unwilling to make him aware of his danger. His increasing weakness, however, made it necessary that he should give up signing the official documents which required his signature, and a temporary law was passed by Parliament allowing the sign-manual to be affixed to public papers by a stamp in the king's presence on his own immediate

order given by word of mouth. The disease under which he laboured—ossification of the valves of the heart—was known from the first to be incurable; but his physicians kept him to the last in ignorance of his real condition. Sir Henry Hallford, the chief royal physician, makes a merit of this, and mentions that he hinted to the poor unhappy monarch that in his state of health it might be proper for him to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The king, who, like his physician, seems to have imagined that this ceremony was a sure *viaticum* to heaven, was always eager to take the sacrament whenever he was or fancied himself seriously ill, and he now readily complied with the hint of his physician; and having done so, Sir Henry says he thought himself at liberty to soothe the king's apprehensions with the hope of recovery, until at last it might be said, not so much that he died, as that he ceased to live. The courtly physician takes care not to tell the manner in which the end came suddenly and quite unexpectedly to the poor deluded monarch. At three o'clock in the morning of the 26th of June, on awaking out of sleep, he was seized with a violent fit of coughing, which caused the rupture of a bloodvessel in the stomach, and made him feel the unmistakable sensations of immediate dissolution. All at once, realizing his real condition, he exclaimed in a loud and thrilling voice, 'O God, what is this? This is death!' and instantly expired.

It was at once seen how little George IV. was respected, even by his special favourites among his attendants. Greville says 'the anxiety of his pages to get what they could out of the king's wardrobe in the last weeks of his life, and their dishonesty in the matter, were excessive.' After his death 'there never was anything like the quantity of trinkets and trash that they found;' 'heaps of women's gloves which he had got at balls;' a prodigious number of lockets containing hair of all colours, and other *gages d'amour*, for 'he had never given away or parted with any-

thing.' One incident seems to have occasioned general surprise; he died with Mrs. Fitzherbert's locket round his neck:—

'The darkest night that spans the sky
Of beauty hath a share;
The blackest heart hath signs to tell
That God still lingers there.'

'Certainly nobody was less regretted than the late king,' says Greville, 'and the breath was hardly out of his body before the press burst forth in full cry against him, and raked up all his vices, follies, and misdeeds, which were numerous and glaring enough.' The behaviour of the attendants at his funeral showed very strikingly the little regard entertained for the late sovereign, and was indeed consistent with neither propriety nor decency. 'When they got together in St. George's Hall,' says Greville, 'a gayer company I never beheld; with the exception of Mountcharles, who was deeply affected, they were all as merry as grigs.' Lord Ellenborough confirms this account. 'The day was beautiful,' he writes, 'and all the world made it a holiday. London was quite empty. It seemed to be a day of general recreation. . . And so King George IV. is gone to his grave with all the pomp of royalty, and splendid the pageant was; but it was considered a mere pageant, even by his household who had lived so intimately with him for years. There was no regret; a coronation could hardly be gayer.'

George IV. was one of the worst, if not the very worst, of the sovereigns that have reigned over our country; and his conduct in all his domestic and social relations, as a son, a husband, a father, and a friend, was not fitted to redeem his want of all public virtues. His whole life from childhood to its close was most unhappy, in consequence mainly of his own vices and his habitual neglect of all his duties, both public and private. In youth his person was handsome and his manners were graceful, and he could, when he chose, be extremely agreeable and winning. His natural abilities were good; he was gifted with a retentive memory, a

fine ear for music, and a discriminating taste, which, however, was ultimately spoiled and lost. He had a keen sense of humour, and was an excellent mimic. His intellectual abilities had been very imperfectly cultivated, and his classical knowledge was of the most superficial kind. He had considerable skill in music, and great facility in modern languages; but he knew nothing even of the rudiments of the sciences either natural or moral, and was equally ignorant of political principles and the nature of the British constitution. He was badly trained. His parents disliked and distrusted him, and the restrictions under which he was placed in his early years by his father no doubt contributed to make him, when he became his own master, plunge into excesses of dissipation and profligacy. His own habits of unrestrained self-indulgence, aided by the flatteries of worthless companions, made him at last, says one who knew him well, 'selfish to a degree so extravagant that he appeared to act upon a practical conviction of all mankind being born for his exclusive use.' He never appeared to think that it was his duty to make a personal sacrifice, or to submit to any inconvenience to promote the welfare of his subjects, or even of his personal friends. His dissolute habits and reckless extravagance involved him in enormous and most dishonourable pecuniary embarrassments, which led directly to the worst and most scandalous acts of his discreditable career. The course of dissipation which he ran in his youth was so unbounded, that when he entered upon public life he was found to have exhausted all the resources of indulgence and vicious enjoyment; and during his later years he sank into the condition of a worn-out miserable debauchee, incapable of receiving farther gratification from his favourite pursuits, which had now become to him 'apples of Sodom and grapes of Gomorrah.' His weak and vacillating character and unsteadiness of purpose made him the torment of his ministers, and oftener than once led

to results dangerous not only to the Government, but to the throne. His want of firmness was aggravated by his habitual hypocrisy and falsehood. It was impossible to place the slightest reliance on his word, or even on his most solemn assertions. When the dowager Lady de Clifford, whose confidence he had most shamefully betrayed, in consequence threw up her appointment of governess to the Princess Charlotte, she was requested by the Prince Regent to state her reasons for quitting his service in so abrupt a manner. 'Because,' was the cutting reply, 'your Royal Highness has taught me the distinction between the word of a prince and that of a gentleman.' His habitual untruthfulness had become so confirmed and incurable that it was regarded by courtiers and statesmen as a matter which it was idle to discuss, and was the subject of frequent jokes among his attendants and associates. Numerous anecdotes were in circulation illustrating the universality of the impression. He used to speak of himself as having led in person the famous charge of the British cavalry at the battle of Waterloo, and on one occasion he appealed to the Duke of Wellington for the truth of the story. 'I have often heard your Majesty say so,' was the duke's cautious reply. Greville, remarking on the duel between the duke and Lord Winchelsea, says, 'The king, it seems, was highly pleased with the Winchelsea affair, and he said to his Grace, "I did not see the letter (which is probably a lie); if I had I should certainly have thought it my duty to call your attention to it." Somebody added that 'he would be wanting to fight a duel himself.' Sefton said, 'He will be sure to think he has fought one.' The most extraordinary thing is that the king was himself quite well aware of his habit of lying, and of the universal distrust of his veracity. When Regent he once called on Lady Spencer to ask her to do him a great service. He wished her to choose a person of attainments and accomplishments to be governess to the Princess Charlotte. Above

all things he desired that the lady should teach his daughter to tell the truth. Lady Spencer betrayed by the expression of her features what was passing in her mind; on which His Royal Highness observed, 'You know I don't speak the truth, and my brothers don't, and I find it a great defect, from which I would have my daughter free. We have been always brought up badly, the queen having taught us to equivocate; and I want you to help me in the matter.' The Earl of Essex, one of the king's early associates, pronounced him dissipated, profligate, and heartless, and posterity has fully confirmed the verdict. For some years before his death he had almost entirely secluded himself from the notice of his subjects, and the news of his decease was received by them with perfect indifference. He had not a single friend near him to minister to him and cheer him on his deathbed. The ruling favourite of his later years, indeed, remained in the castle; but (if Greville's account is to be relied on) only for the purpose of plundering the establishment: waggon loads of articles, he says, were sent away every night. Unhonoured, unloved, and unregretted, George IV. passed to his account, and oblivion fell rapidly on the recollections of his worthless name and mischievous career. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the eleventh year of his reign; but as Regent he had previously governed the country for ten years.

During the period of George IV.'s rule many important improvements—physical, intellectual, and moral—had been made in the country; but none of them could in any way be traced directly or indirectly to his influence. The protracted war with France was brought to a close, though the restoration of peace, unfortunately, owing to the misconduct and faithlessness of the sovereigns, did not bring about quiet and order throughout the continent of Europe. A great change took place in the spirit of the legislation of our country in commercial and political affairs, and especially in

regard to civil and religious liberty. The Corporation and Test Acts were repealed, the Roman Catholic disabilities were abolished, the sanguinary criminal code was ameliorated, the corn laws and the restrictions on trade and commerce were modified, though still maintained, and the old Tory policy in the government of the country was steadily though silently abandoned. The progress in the arts and sciences, and in the diffusion of literature, was even more remarkable. The railway system was initiated by George Stephenson; gas was brought into operation; the first chain-bridge in Great Britain was erected; Herschel the great astronomer made some of his most important discoveries, and Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, his most energetic efforts in the diffusion of a knowledge of natural science. The writings of Ricardo, Malthus, Senior, and McCulloch had contributed greatly to the diffusion of sound principles of political economy. This epoch was peculiarly brilliant in scientific and literary productions. In science, the researches of Faraday, Leslie, Davy, Dalton, Playfair, Buckland, Lyell, Mrs. Somerville, and other eminent philosophers, had added largely to our knowledge of chemistry and geology. Mitford, Hallam, Lingard, Turner, and James Mill, sustained the historical reputation of the age; Mackintosh and Dugald Stewart its philosophy. As regards its poetical productions, the writings of Crabbe, Byron, Scott, Shelley, Campbell, Rogers, Moore, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Keats, and Joanna Baillie, have taken a permanent

place in the literature of our country. In fiction, the novels of Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austin, and Sir Walter Scott, stand unrivalled. The *Edinburgh Review*, associated with the names of Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, Horner, Mackintosh, Playfair, Malthus, and Brougham, which exercised a vast influence both on politics and literature, originated at this period, and was followed in 1809 by its rival organ the *Quarterly Review*, supported by Scott, Canning, Southey, Frere, George Ellis, John Wilson Croker, Rose, and other eminent writers and politicians. *Blackwood's Magazine*, established in 1816, afforded an opportunity to John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart to commence their celebrated literary career. In sculpture, this era was adorned by Chantrey and Flaxman, and in painting, by Wilkie, Lawrence, Raeburn, Leslie, and Landseer, and others who did not attain to their full height of fame until after the third decade of the century. The age could boast in the Duke of Wellington, the greatest general our country has produced since the days of Marlborough, fitly supported by such companions-in-arms as Moore, Graham, Hill, Crawford, and Hardinge. Our illustrious naval captain, Nelson, was every way worthy to rank with the conqueror of Napoleon; and Collingwood and Cochrane were scarcely his inferiors in skill and enterprise. In short, in every department of literature, science, and art, as well as in military and naval achievements, the Georgian era is not surpassed, perhaps scarcely equalled, by any period of the same extent in the history of our country.

CHAPTER XXII.

Accession of William IV.—His Character and Behaviour—Weakness of the Government—Amendment on the Address—Dissolution of Parliament—State of Affairs in France—Death of Louis XVIII.—Accession of Charles X.—Paramount Influence of the Priests and Jesuits—Appointment of the Martignae Ministry—Their Reforms—Coronation of the King—Law of Sacrilege—Attack on the Liberty of the Press—Dissolution of the National Guard—The Result of the New Elections—Banishment of the Jesuits—Reforms in the Diplomatic and Administrative Services—Dismissal of the Martignae Ministry—Polignae made Prime Minister—His Hostility to the Press—Expedition against Algiers—Surrender of the City—Position of the Ministry—Dissolution of the Chambers—Result of the Elections—*Ordonnances* Overthrowing the Constitution—Insurrection in Paris—The ‘Three Days’ Fighting’—Abdication of Charles X.—The Crown conferred on the Duke of Orleans.

WILLIAM HENRY, Duke of Clarence, who now ascended the throne of the British empire in the sixty-fourth year of his age, presented a marked contrast in appearance, character, habits, and demeanour, to his predecessor. He had no pretensions to dignity; but his good-nature, simplicity, and affability to all about him were very striking. When he occupied the post of Lord High-Admiral, he distinguished himself by making absurd speeches, by a morbid official activity, and by a general eccentricity, which led many persons to imagine that he was half-crazed. But his familiar manners and kindness to old friends, of which many anecdotes were in circulation, made him a general favourite. Instead of shutting himself up in strict seclusion from the sight of the people, as his brother had done, he went about courting popularity. He walked in the streets of London with an umbrella under his arm; ‘he rode in an open carriage with his queen, and set the crowd shouting and vociferating, waving hats and handkerchiefs, like parish school children at a holiday show.’ On one occasion, when he was rambling about the streets in plain clothes, a great mob collected around him, and when he got near White’s Club a woman came up and kissed him. The Earl of Belfast and Lord Clinton, who witnessed this strange scene, thought it high time to interfere, and came out of the club to attend upon him. The mob naturally increased, and taking Watson Taylor’s arm, and flanked by Clinton and

Belfast, who got shoved and kicked about to their great indignation, the king succeeded with some difficulty in reaching the palace, amid shouting and bawling and applause. ‘Never mind all this,’ said the good-natured monarch; ‘when I have walked about a few times, they will get used to it, and will take no notice.’ To the astonishment of the sticklers for etiquette, he continued to sit backwards in his private carriage; and when he was accompanied by gentlemen, he made one sit by him and not opposite him. After reading his first speech in the House of Lords, he drove all over the town in an open carriage, with the queen, the Princess Augusta, and the King of Würtemberg; and coming home, he set down the king (*dropped him*, as he called it) at Grillon’s Hotel. The extreme good-nature and simplicity of the new sovereign were very pleasing, but he not unfrequently forgot the dignity which ought to be maintained by the ruler of a great country, and in consequence lowered his position in the eyes of the people. Everybody expected, as a matter of course, that he would retain his brother’s Ministry in office; but not contented with this, he took every opportunity of expressing in the strongest terms his unbounded confidence in the Duke of Wellington, and his determination to maintain him in power. The Premier, on his part, was delighted with the new sovereign. ‘If I had been able to deal with my late master,’ he said, ‘as I do with my present, I should have got on much better.’ The

king, he said, was so reasonable and tractable that he had done more business with him in ten minutes than with his predecessor in ten days.

But though thus freed from the annoyance to which they had been subjected by the vacillation and untrustworthiness of the monarch and the intrigues of the courtiers, the position of the Ministry was not strengthened. There was a general feeling both in Parliament and in the country, that as the throne was no longer occupied by a weak and capricious monarch, the slave of his impulses and passions, and continually liable to change in regard both to his likings and his dislikings, it was not now necessary to maintain in office a premier whose chief qualification for that position was supposed to be his ability to keep his sovereign in order. In the critical state of public affairs, both at home and abroad, there was urgent need of a strong Government to regulate the national feeling and to direct it into a safe channel; and no one could venture to assert that a ministry dependent for its very existence on the forbearance of its opponents was fit for such a task. As soon as the session was opened, it became evident that this forbearance was at an end. There was to be 'no more courtesy—no more displays of superiority without mischief—no more exhibitions of skill in showing men their weakness without doing them any harm—no more shaking them good-humouredly over the precipice and then setting them down on its edge.' Both the Whigs and the ultra-Tories now proclaimed that the time for action was come, and that they were resolved to use their utmost efforts to turn out a ministry that had lost the confidence of the nation and of the Parliament, and had kept its position mainly through the divisions of its adversaries; and to replace them with men who could really transact the business of the country and save it from the mischiefs and the dangers of uncertainty and feebleness.

George IV. had died on the 26th of

June, and on the 29th William IV. sent down his first message to Parliament, in which, after referring to the loss sustained by himself and the nation, he declared his opinion that the sooner the new elections rendered necessary by the demise of the late king took place the better, and recommended the Commons to make such temporary provision as was requisite for the public service during the interval between the close of the present session and the opening of another Parliament. It now appears, from Lord Ellenborough's 'Diary,' that Sir Robert Peel with his usual caution and good sense, did not approve of an immediate dissolution, and wished to settle the Regency question before Parliament was dissolved. He urged that, as the session would have lasted two months longer if the late king had lived, why should it not now when the reason for Parliament's sitting was so much the greater? And what would be the situation of the country, should the king die leaving a minor queen? Peel's judicious advice was, however, overruled, much to his own dissatisfaction and annoyance. His view of the case was adopted by the Opposition, who urged that the Parliament could without inconvenience sit a month longer and make provision for the possible demise of the Crown during the interval which must elapse before a new Parliament could assemble. The dangers to which the country would be exposed in such a case were very great. The next heir to the Crown was a child, only eleven years old. The law does not recognize the minority of a sovereign; and if the king should die before the new Parliament met, all the regal rights and functions would devolve upon this child unless some provision were made for a regency.

On the 30th of June Earl Grey in the Upper House, and Lord Althorp in the Commons, moved as an amendment on the address, that its consideration should be delayed for a day in the hope that the king might be induced to recommend the

Parliament to consider the subject of a regency. The ministers resisted this proposal, alleging that the question was so important that it should not be brought forward at a time when the members of the Lower House would be thinking much more of the elections for the next Parliament than of the business of the present. They pleaded that this was not a matter of pressing necessity; there was no prospect of danger to the king's health, as His Majesty's strong constitution and temperate habits were likely to insure him a long reign. They overlooked the fact, however, that the overturn of the king's carriage, or a fall of his horse, or the slipping of his foot, as well as an attack of illness, might have brought about an event that would have exposed the country to very great risks as well as most serious difficulties. The amendment was supported not only by the whole Whig party, but by such staunch Tories as the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle, the Marquises of Londonderry and Wellesley, the Earls of Mansfield, Winchelsea, and Harrowby, Lords Wharncliffe and Goderich, and even by the ex-chancellor Eldon. The ministers and their friends in great anger denounced 'the unnatural coalition' which, they said, had now taken place between parties the most opposed in principle; to which the Earl of Mansfield retorted that the bond which united them together was a want of confidence in His Majesty's Government, and a determination to bring forward such measures as would be beneficial to the public interest; and the Duke of Richmond emphatically declared that the existing Government was 'a Government of mere expediency, full of vacillating proposals, never daring to propose and support measures on their own proper grounds.' The declaration of the Duke of Wellington, however, that if the amendment were adopted, 'it would be viewed as a complete defeat of ministers,' rallied to his support a considerable body of waverers; and on a division, the amendment was rejected

by 100 votes to 56. In the House of Commons, after a very keen debate, in which Sir Charles Wetherell, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Huskisson united with Mr. Brougham and Lord John Russell in supporting the amendment, and Sir Robert Peel had almost single-handed to contend with these powerful debaters, the Government could only muster 185 votes against 139.* The strength of the Opposition made it evident that, unless the Ministry obtained from one quarter or other an infusion of new blood, their days were numbered. On the 23rd of July the Parliament was prorogued, and on the following day it was dissolved by proclamation.

While matters were in this unsettled and unsatisfactory condition in Great Britain, events had taken place in France which exercised a momentous influence in every country of Europe. The French intervention in the affairs of Spain was at the outset popular among the mass of the French people, and contributed somewhat to strengthen the Villèle Ministry. The general election, which took place in the spring of the following year (1824), went strongly in favour of the ultra-royalists, and it was resolved to take advantage of the opportunity to extend the duration of the Chambers to seven years, subject to the royal prerogative of dissolution. M. Royer-Collard and other moderate liberals showed that the septennial law would repeal an essential part of the charter, and tend to make the king independent of the popular voice; but the bill was nevertheless carried by 292 votes to 87.

Another measure which was introduced at this time, though quite reasonable and just in itself, contributed to excite public feeling against the Government. With the view of reducing the interest of the national

* Lord Ellenborough entered in his 'Diary' on the vote in the House of Lords, 'A very good division. We went at ten to Goulbourn's to dinner, and expected soon to see the members of the House of Commons and to hear of as good a division there as in the Lords; but after an hour we heard the division had only been 185 to 139. This made us a little flat, and Lord Bathurst drank no more champagne.'

debt, the holders of Rentes were allowed to exchange the 5 per cent. stock for either 3 per cent. at 75, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at par. It was calculated that this would effect a reduction in the annual charge of the debt of 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000), and would establish the credit of the Government on a solid foundation. The clergy, the public officials, and the shopkeepers in the capital were all opposed to this scheme, as it would seriously affect their incomes; and as there were no fewer than 250,000 persons who were holders of these annuities, the opposition was both general and violent. The unpopularity of the scheme was increased by its supposed connection with a proposal to vote 30,000,000 francs—the exact amount to be saved by the conversion of the 5 per cent. Rentes—to indemnify the emigrants for the losses which they had sustained at the time of the Revolution. There was some plausibility in the allegation that the reduction of the interest of the Rentes was effected, not for the purpose of saving the public money, but in order to increase the incomes of the emigrants; but though the measure excited great dissatisfaction and opposition, it was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 238 to 143. In the Chamber of Peers, however, the bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty-four, and its rejection was celebrated in Paris by the most unbounded demonstrations of delight. M. Villèle, the prime minister, was deeply indignant at this result, and showed his mortification by dismissing next day, in an unceremonious and almost contemptuous manner, M. de Chateaubriand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, because he had not spoken in favour of the measure, while several of his friends had voted against it. He was succeeded by M. de Damas, a creature of the Duke d'Angoulême. Victor Duke de Belluno, who was obnoxious to the Dauphin, was at the same time removed from the War department. This ungracious dismissal of Chateaubriand, the only member of the Government of distinguished ability

and European reputation, was a great mistake on the part of the Ministry and the Court. He was undoubtedly a person of inordinate vanity and ambition, and his conduct in connection both with the Congress of Verona and the invasion of Spain did not reflect much credit on his straightforwardness, or candour, or political honour. He was, however, not only an able and eloquent statesman, but he had defended the foreign policy of the Government with great ability, and had in various ways rendered them most important services; and his rude and harsh dismissal not only cost the Ministry Chateaubriand's own powerful assistance, but deprived them of the support of the *Journal des Debats*, the principal organ of the Parisian press.

The health of Louis XVIII., which had for a considerable time been infirm, now completely gave way; and the direction of affairs was transferred to his brother, the Count d'Artois, a weak, narrow-minded, bigoted, and obstinate prince, the mere tool of the priests and the ultra-royalists, and his hand was speedily to be traced in the arbitrary measures of the Government. Louis was a kindly and humane though selfish man, and did what he could to moderate the violence of the priestly and aristocratic party, and had no sympathy with the superstitious observances of his brother, and quite as little with the arbitrary policy of the old aristocratic party. When his end drew near he said to the Count, 'The Charter is my best inheritance; preserve it, my brother, for me, for your subjects, for yourself, and for this child (the Duke de Bordeaux), to whom you should transmit the throne after the death of his father (Duke d'Angoulême, son of the Count d'Artois).' The last words of Louis to his brother were remarkable. 'I have tacked,' he said, 'between parties, like Henry IV., and unlike him, I die in my bed and in the Tuilleries. Do as I have done, and your reign will end in peace.'

Charles, however, had no intention of following the moderate policy of his brother,

and the injudicious and unpopular proceedings of the Villèle Ministry at the close of Louis' reign, the suspension of the liberty of the press, the re-establishment of the censorship, and the creation of a ministry of ecclesiastical affairs, were undoubtedly carried out at his dictation.

As might have been expected, the accession of Charles X. to the French throne produced no change in the Ministry. M. de Villèle had long been the mere instrument of the Count d'Artois, and enjoyed his entire confidence. The first act of the new king was to restore the ancient rank and titles of his family. The Duke d'Angoulême, now turned of fifty, was created Dauphin, and his duchess Dauphiness. The title of Royal Highness was conferred on the Duke of Orleans, along with the ancient appanages of his house—the Crown forests which had not been sold at the Revolution. The Duke de Chartres, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, was promoted to the command of a regiment, and the Duke d'Angoulême, the king's son, was intrusted with the supreme command of the army. These appointments, though injudicious, might have been overlooked; but the backstairs' influence exercised by the Jesuitical Camarilla was deeply offensive to the great body of the people, and in no long time it became evident that the new king was completely under the control of the priests and the ultra-royalist junto. Everywhere throughout France the Jesuits set about establishing new colleges and seminaries, all appointments in the public offices were made through their influence, and their veto was sufficient to prevent the nomination of candidates hostile or lukewarm to their cause. Even the celebrated mathematician, M. Legendre, was deprived of the pension which he enjoyed as a member of the Academy of Sciences, because he declined to vote for Mr. Benet, a Jesuit candidate. Mass, vespers, complines, matins, fastings, pilgrimages, were now the order of the day, and assiduity in the observance of these ceremonies was the passport to

office. Confession was made a test in the army as well as in civil life, and the Minister of War, the nephew of the archbishop of Toulouse, a most intolerant and arrogant prelate, caused the soldiers to be regularly catechised. Processions for the exhibitions of the Holy Sacrament and of relics multiplied day by day, and were recommended in the pastorals of the bishops and the preaching of Jesuits, Congregationists, and Redemptorists, but were regarded with indifference by many, and by still more with scoffing sneers. On all sides proofs of the ascendancy of the priestly party were seen. Through the operation of the electoral law of 1821, they had succeeded in returning no fewer than 130 devoted adherents to the Chamber of Deputies; but they could boast of no more than thirty supporters in the House of Peers, where Decazes, Pasquier, Molé, Siméon, Portal, Roy, Lainé de Talleyrand, and other liberal royalists, kept them in check.

The measures adopted by the Government, under the control of the Ultramontane and Absolutist leaders, were all directed to strengthen the authority of the party, rather than to promote the public tranquillity and security. One of their most perilous and unpopular acts was their placing on half-pay fifty lieutenant-generals and a hundred major-generals, among whom were Grouchy, Vandamme, Drouot, Excelmans, and many others, who had served with great distinction under Napoleon in his wars with Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The object of this injudicious step, which was agreed on at a secret conclave of the Camarilla, was doubtless the more easily to bring the army under the authority of the Jesuits and their tools. It excited, however, such strong dissatisfaction, that the king was obliged to grant so many exemptions and dispensations as to render the ordinance almost a dead letter. General Foy termed it a cannon-shot charge at Waterloo, and fired ten years after the battle.

The Chambers were opened by the king

in person on the 22nd of December, 1824. A few weeks later the civil list was settled at 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) for the king during his life, and 7,000,000 francs (£280,000) for his family. The restitution of the whole territorial possessions of the Orleans family, which had been merged in the domains of the state, was sanctioned by a solemn act of the legislature. The scheme for the reduction of the interest of the national debt was abandoned; but the proposal to provide an indemnity for the emigrants was renewed. It was resolved to create a stock of a milliard of francs (£40,000,000) in the Three per cents. for the benefit of the families who had lost their property during the revolutionary excesses. It was calculated that the annual charge would amount to 30,000,000 francs, or £1,200,000. The ultra-royalists denounced the law of indemnity as a miserable compromise; and Labourdonnaye insisted that the compensation to the emigrants should be levied on the purchasers of their estates, and not on the nation. But General Foy, amid almost universal approbation, affirmed that the indemnity was neither a punishment to one class of Frenchmen nor a recompense to another, but a measure indispensable to complete the Restoration, and to give unity, security, and peace to the country.

The clergy obtained no share of the indemnity, much to their dissatisfaction; but by way of compensation they induced the Government to pass a most stringent law of sacrilege, punishing the profanation of the sacred elements with the penalties inflicted on the parricide. Even the profanation of the vessels employed at the sacrament before the consecrated elements were placed in them was made a capital offence, and theft in sacred places was punished with death, or the galleys for life. The sanguinary severity of these enactments, more suited, as Chateaubriand remarked, to the twelfth than to the nineteenth century, excited vehement opposition both in the Chambers and

among the people. But the law passed the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 115, and even the Peers adopted it by a majority of 36. A bill for legalizing female religious communities was also passed, the majority in its favour in the Lower House being no less than 236—a striking proof of the growing tendency of the Chamber of Deputies in favour of any measure that would strengthen the authority of the priests and Jesuits.

The coronation of the king, for which preparations on an extensive and expensive scale had been making for some time, took place at Rheims on the 24th of May, and afforded the priests another opportunity of showing their ascendancy at court. In spite of the opposition of the prime minister, Villèle, they insisted that the ceremony should be performed with all the ancient rites, and that the king should be anointed with the *sainte ampoule* or holy oil, which according to the legend had been brought down from heaven by a dove to St. Remy, to be used at the coronation of Clovis. It was notorious that the phial had been broken and the oil cast out by the Commissary of the Convention; but the clergy were not to be thwarted by such an occurrence. Another phial was discovered and produced containing the miraculous unguent, with which the king was duly anointed in the orthodox fashion. The entire ceremony, which occupied six hours, was conducted with extraordinary pomp, and cost 4,000,000 of francs. Three of Napoleon's marshals, Soult, Mortier, and Jourdan, were invested on the occasion with the insignia of the order of the *Cordeón Bleu*, as was the Duke de Chartres, and a general pardon was granted to all political offenders. On the other hand, three Ultramontane cardinals were appointed ministers of state.

An attempt was made to obtain the suspension for three months of the *Constitutionnel*, the *Courier Francoïis*, and the *Drapeau Blanc*, which had denounced the measures of the Jesuits; but the cases

were so trivial that the court refused to convict, and dismissed the complaint of the Procureur-Général. In 1826 a strenuous effort was made to alter the law of succession, and to procure for the eldest son a larger share of the paternal property—a cherished project of the court and the Camarilla, which had been warmly recommended a year or two previously by Polignac, the favourite of the king. The object of the proposal—to introduce a kind of law of primogeniture—was quite apparent, and was unpopular not only in the country but in the Chambers; and though Villèle promised that the measure should be limited to families paying 1000 francs direct taxes, which would affect only 8000 families in the whole kingdom, it was rejected by 120 votes against 94. The defeat of the project was received with extraordinary manifestations of delight, and a general illumination in the capital. The clergy tried to compensate themselves for this mortifying failure by getting up splendid religious processions, and instituting a jubilee or religious revival, which was attended by all the royal family with the exception of the Duke of Orleans. The scoffing spectators were amused rather than edified with the spectacle of Talleyrand and Soult walking with monks and priests in a religious procession, in the garb of penitents, with wax candles in their hands. The war minister, M. de Damas, compelled whole regiments and divisions of the army to take part in this jubilee, a procedure that tended not a little to increase the dislike which the soldiers cherished towards the Bourbons. The Abbé Tharin, bishop of Strasburg, one of the most intolerant of the Ultramontane prelates, was selected by the king as preceptor to the Duke of Bordeaux; and shortly after, on the death of the amiable Duke de Montmorency, governor of that prince, the Duke de Rivière, another member of the priestly and absolutist party, was chosen to fill the vacant office. These unpopular appointments, indicating as they did the complete ascendancy of the Jesuits

and ultra-royalists over the mind of Charles X., greatly increased the general dissatisfaction, and were most injurious to the reputation of the sovereign. 'The names of the men,' said Lamartine, 'indicated the line, the line indicated the intention, the intention disclosed ruin, overthrow, subversion.'

There was now open war between the press and the Government, and the court and the Camarilla were so galled by the attacks of the Liberal journals that, in an evil hour for themselves, they resolved to take steps to muzzle, if not to suppress them. The king rashly announced, at the beginning of the session of 1827, that he 'would stifle the voice that troubled him.' This indication of the intentions of the Ministry served greatly to increase the irritation of the popular leaders, the agitation among the masses, and the violence of the newspapers. A bill was speedily brought forward by M. de Peyronnet, the Minister of Justice, at the urgent request of the bishops and the ministerial majority of the Chamber of Deputies, ostensibly to restrain the licentiousness of the press, but in reality for the restriction of the liberty of the press within the narrowest possible limits. It forbade the printing of any journal without the name of its proprietor upon it: no company for conducting a journal was to consist of more than five persons. Fines varying from 2000 to 20,000 francs might be imposed for any article attacking either the church or the crown. Stamp duties were largely augmented for the purpose of diminishing the circulation of the popular periodicals. A fine of 500 francs might be imposed for any article relating to the private life of any Frenchman, or any foreigner resident in France, without his permission; and should the individual noticed decline to prosecute, the case might be taken up by the public prosecutor. This obnoxious project was, of course, violently assailed by the press; men of all ranks, classes, and professions joined in denouncing it,

and petitions against it were poured in from every district of France. The French Academy, though notorious for its habitual subservience to the crown and court, placed itself in the foreground of the movement, with Chateaubriand at its head; and only six out of twenty-eight members present at the discussion were averse to any action in the matter. Michaud was one of the speakers against the bill, and pointed out the injurious effects which it would exercise on science and literature, as well as on journalism. Villemain and Lacratelle were appointed, along with Chateaubriand to prepare the remonstrance. The next day the Government newspaper announced that Villemain was deprived of his office as Master of Requests, Lacratelle of his post as examiner of dramatic works, and that Michaud was no longer reader to the king. Charles even refused to see the Director of the Academy when he requested an audience for the purpose of presenting the memorial to His Majesty. These injudicious proceedings exerted a strong feeling among the people. Crowds assembled with shouts of applause before the houses of the three academicians thus dismissed from office, and subscriptions were set on foot to defray the expense of publishing the works which it was known they were preparing. Chateaubriand, while walking through the streets of Paris, was almost mobbed by his enthusiastic admirers. On the other hand, Peyronnet and Villèle were everywhere loaded with abuse. Even in the Chamber of Deputies the bill met with the most strenuous opposition, and underwent so many alterations in committee, that it could scarcely be recognized by its own author. It passed the House, however, by a majority of 233 votes to 134; but its reception by the Peers showed clearly that they were hostile to the measure, and on the 17th of April Peyronnet withdrew the bill. This announcement flew over Paris with lightning speed, and was received with rapturous rejoicings. The whole city was speedily in a blaze with illuminations, and

resounding with the explosion of fireworks, and the example of Paris was followed by all the great towns.

The rejoicings of the people at the great victory which they had gained over the Ultramontane and absolutist party was regarded by the Government as indicating the existence of a revolutionary spirit in the country, and made them only the more doggedly determined to persevere in their reactionary and unpopular policy. On the 29th of April the king reviewed the National Guard in the Champ de Mars, 'in token of his satisfaction of their zeal in his honour, and the anniversary of his return to Paris.' There were from 20,000 to 30,000 armed citizens present. As the king rode down their ranks, he was received with shouts of 'Vive le Roi.' But as he proceeded, these loyal cheers were mingled with shouts of 'Down with the Ministers!' 'Down with the Jesuits!' 'Vive la Carte!' The king was evidently much annoyed, and exclaimed, 'I came to receive homage, and not admonitions,' and rode away home. It was alleged, that as the National Guard were returning to their homes they halted before the mansions of Villèle and Peyronnet and renewed their cries of 'Down with the Ministers!' 'Away with Peyronnet!' Charles himself was not inclined to resent what had occurred; but the Duchesses d'Angoulême and Berri complained that they had been insulted at the review by seditious cries, and his Ministers could not forgive the affronts they had received. A meeting of Council was held that same night, and the king, yielding to the solicitations of his cabinet and court, agreed to issue a decree dissolving the National Guard. Before daylight the royal ordonnance for the dissolution of this national force was received by its commandant, and the posts of the Guard were immediately occupied by troops of the line.

This imprudent step did not tend to diminish the unpopularity of the Villèle administration, and their subsequent proceedings brought them more and more into disrepute. It was resolved to create a large

number of peers, in order to bring the Upper Chamber into harmony with the Chamber of Deputies; but the promotion of so many members of the Lower House threatened to destroy the ministerial majority in that Chamber. Villèle, therefore, determined to accompany the creation of a large body of peers with the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, in the hope that a new and hasty election might result in a fresh, and perhaps increased majority.

The session was closed on the 23rd of June, 1827, and the censorship of the press, which the law of 1821 allowed the king to establish during the prorogation of Parliament, was immediately brought into operation. At the funeral of one of the deputies who had been expelled from the chamber in 1823, several orations were delivered, and were published, along with an account of the proceedings, in a pamphlet. The Government thought fit to take offence at the sentiments expressed on the occasion, and prosecuted the printers and publishers of the report. The speakers and reporters at once acknowledged their share in the matter, and were included in the prosecution. All the parties were acquitted, however, and the copies of the pamphlet which had been seized by the police were ordered to be restored. Undeterred by this failure, the Ministry were guilty of the folly of prosecuting the *Journal de Commerce* for copying an article which had previously been published in the *Gazette de France*, under the sanction of the censor. The *Journal de Bordeaux* had inserted in its commercial news—*Les brutes Bourbons sont en baisse*—‘Raw sugars of the Isle of Bourbon are falling.’ The censor, however, insisted that the words meant, ‘These brutes of Bourbons are coming down,’ and the journal was in consequence suppressed.

In the course of the autumn a batch of seventy-six new peers was created for the purpose of swamping the Upper House. In this number were found the most servile supporters of the Government in the

Chamber of Deputies, and the only archbishops, five in number, who were not already among the peers. All necessary preparations having been made, the Chamber of Deputies was suddenly dissolved on the 17th of November, and the new elections were ordered to be made in ten days. The censorship could be legally exercised only while the Chambers were adjourned or prorogued, and the dissolution set it free from royal or ministerial control. As might have been foreseen, it exerted all its influence to excite the electors against the Government, and with such effect that the ministerial candidates were defeated in all the larger towns and in not a few of the country departments. In the capital, out of 8000 electors, 7000 voted for the Opposition candidates—Dupont de l’Eure, Lafitte, Casimir Pèrier, Courtan de Schonen, Ternaux, and Royer-Collard. The electoral triumph of the people was celebrated by illuminations in Paris and all the great towns. In the capital the mob broke the windows of the houses which were not illuminated. This proceeding led to riots and arrests, and ultimately the military were called out. The rioters sheltered themselves from the pursuit of the police and the soldiers behind carts and carriages, and a barricade which they constructed by means of the scaffolding and building materials which they found near the church of St. Leu, where some new houses were in process of erection. This accidental circumstance first suggested to the Parisian populace a mode of defence against the attacks of the military, which three years later they employed with fatal effect in overturning not only the Government, but the monarchy.

The result of the new elections was fatal to the Villèle Ministry, and on the 4th of January, 1828, they resigned. The king had been recommended by the retiring premier to admit Chateaubriand, De la Ferronay, De Fitzjames, and De Labourdonnaye to the new Cabinet. But Charles had a personal dislike to Chateaubriand,

and his liberal views had made him obnoxious to the priests and Jesuits. After some deliberation M. de Martignac, an advocate of Bordeaux, and a politician of moderate opinions and amiable disposition, was appointed President of the Council in the room of Villèle. He possessed many of the qualities fitted to secure the support of the Chambers and the favour of the people; but he was never heartily supported by the sovereign, and was merely endured until a minister after the king's own heart could be placed at the head of affairs. In the meantime it was speedily made evident that the change of Ministry had not come a day too soon. When the Chambers met, though the king made a conciliatory speech, the address in answer to it showed the hostile feeling of the deputies. 'The remonstrances of France,' they said, 'have put an end to the deplorable system which had rendered illusory all the promises of your Majesty.' The party headed by Chateaubriand voted in the majority of thirty-three for retaining these strong expressions, which were equally mortifying to the king and his clerical advisers.

In order to lessen the increasing influence of the crown, a bill was brought in to exclude from the suffrage all persons employed under Government, and was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 151, and in the Peers by a majority of 83. A commission was appointed to examine into the existence and influence of the Jesuits, and led to the issuing of a royal ordonnance prohibiting ecclesiastics belonging to a congregation forbidden by the laws from engaging in the education of youth. The king appended his signature to it with marked reluctance. 'Do you not think we are doing wrong?' he said to the bishop of Beauvais. 'No, Sire,' replied the prelate, 'your Majesty is saving religion from ruin.' But the rest of the bishops, and the whole church party, vehemently protested against the decree; and the archbishop of Toulouse—the firebrand Clermont de Ton-

nerre—refused to obey it. The Pope, however, approved of the ordonnance as a measure of state policy, and the Jesuits were obliged to leave the country and return to Switzerland.

Martignac made numerous reforms both in the diplomatic and the administrative services. He abolished the *Cabinet Noir*, a band of twenty persons charged with the secret examination of letters at the post-office—a measure which gave great satisfaction. He altered and greatly modified the law of the press, and endeavoured in various ways to adapt the system of government to the wishes and requirements of the people. But at every stage he had to contend with the disinclination of the king, backed by a secret clerical and absolutist junto, while he did not receive the cordial support of any party in the Chambers. A ministry so weak was not likely long to maintain its ground. It was tolerated by the king merely because he was unable to bring his favourite counsellors into office, and was afraid that if Martignac was dismissed a more liberal ministry would be forced upon him. The majority of the deputies, on the other hand, allowed him to retain office in the meantime, because they preferred him to Villèle, and still more to Polignac. But it was apparent to all that this state of affairs could not be of long continuance. The session of 1829 still saw Martignac at the head of the Government; but it soon became evident that the king was preparing a successor for him, in the person of Prince Polignac, a man after His Majesty's own heart; and Martignac was well aware that the loss of authority in the Chambers would speedily follow his now avowed loss of credit with the king. This the first vote of the Chambers clearly indicated. Royard-Collard was elected president by a great majority over Labourdonnaye, the ministerial candidate for the office, who stood only third on the list, with ninety votes—sixty-five below Casimir Pèrier. Notwithstanding the critical position in which the Ministry was placed, they had the courage to intro-

duce a measure for the purpose of increasing the popular influence in the municipal councils, and thus diminishing the unpopular control which the executive exercised over local affairs. One part of the measure regulated the internal administration of the communes, the other the councils of the arrondissements and the departments. The opposition of the ultra-Royalists was expected as a matter of course; but for some reason or other the ultra-Liberals were not satisfied with the proposal to establish elective councils in lieu of the old cantons of arrondissement, and a coalition of the two parties proved fatal to this part of the scheme. When the result was announced to His Majesty by Martignac and Portalis, he said to them, 'You see whither you have been dragged by your system of concessions. You see whither they would drag me. Return and announce to the Chambers that I withdraw my laws!'

An attempt had previously been made on the retirement of De Ferronay from the Foreign Office, in consequence of ill health, to introduce Polignac into the Ministry as his successor; and the royal favourite, who was at this time ambassador at the British court, came over from London to Paris to see how matters stood. He was afraid, however, that the ultra-royalist intrigue was not yet ripe for execution, and the Ministry threatened to resign in a body if Polignac was introduced into the Cabinet. But as soon as it was seen that Martignac had lost the control of the Chambers, the king resolved to get rid of him. He delayed, however, taking steps for this purpose, until the close of the session. Meanwhile secret conclaves were held in the Tuilleries, to which the most ardent members of the ultra-royalist party were admitted in plain dress through the apartments of the royal valets. After the Chambers were prorogued in July, Polignac was recalled from London by a letter in the king's own hand, to consult with Camarilla as to the course they should pursue. Before leaving London, he waited

upon Lord Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary in the Duke of Wellington's administration, evidently for the purpose of ascertaining what would be the feeling of the British Government towards a French Ministry of which he should be the chief. 'He did not conceal,' wrote Lord Aberdeen to his Grace, 'that it depended entirely upon himself whether he should be at the head of the Ministry or not; but he said that he should not make up his mind until he arrived in Paris, and saw with whom he could act and what was to be done. He seemed to think the greatest difficulty consisted in bringing the Government to a determination to act with the necessary firmness against the revolutionary spirit which had grown up in the Chamber of Deputies and in the country, but which he felt confident might be easily controlled.' Polignac paid the Duke of Wellington the dubious compliment to say that his Grace, 'being at the head of the Government in this country, would be the greatest inducement for him to accept office in his own; and that if the reports were true which circulated on all sides respecting changes intended, and of the weakness of the present Government, he should prefer, in the event of any alteration of principle and system in this country, either to remain at his post as ambassador, or to quit public life altogether.' Lord Aberdeen, whose knowledge of the state of feeling in his own country was not much more accurate than Polignac's acquaintance with the state of public opinion in France, wrote the duke, 'I told him that in my opinion your strength in the country is not only unimpaired, but greatly increased; and that if the people were fairly polled, five-sixths would without hesitation decide in your favour.'

Encouraged by Lord Aberdeen's assurance that the Duke of Wellington 'had no reason to apprehend any want of sufficient support in Parliament,' Polignac proceeded to Paris, and after an interview with Charles, whose implicit confidence he possessed, the final and fatal step was taken. The 'Ministry of Compromise' was suddenly dismissed,

and Polignac was installed in office as Premier, with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, with Labourdonnaye, one of the most extreme ultra-royalists, whose violence made him the object of general dislike—as Minister of the Interior. General Bourmont, who went over to the allied armies a day or two before the battle of Waterloo, and was in consequence held in abhorrence both by the army and the people, was placed at the head of the War department. M. de Montbel was made Minister of Public Instruction, M. de Courvoisier of Justice, M. de Chabrot of Finance, and M. d'Haussez of Marine—all of them belonging to the ultra-royalist and priestly party, and hateful to the great body of the French nation; while a few unknown and insignificant men were thrown in as make-weights of the junto.

'The announcement of such names,' it was said at the time, 'completed the impression which the elevation of Polignac was calculated to excite; and it spread consternation through all France. Reflecting men saw on the throne a prince of weak understanding, but furious bigotry; the declared enemy of all liberty, civil and religious, and blindly bent, under the dictation of his confessor, upon working out his own salvation by rooting up every vestige of the blessings which his people had gained at the price of so much suffering for a quarter of a century. Around him they perceived a younger brood of the self-same character, who shut out all hope of better times, because the fanaticism of the old king's successors was quite as furious as his own. The chief minister was a weak and reckless bigot, a man of no pretensions to capacity, or knowledge, or experience; whose dullness and frivolity made his mind impervious to reason; whose fanaticism made it proof against fear. His colleagues were one or two obscure and desperate adventurers, the Coryphæus of the ultra-royalists and the deserter of his post on the eve of the battle which had inflicted on the French the unmitigated evils of the Restoration. Among the tools

with which this portentous Cabinet had to work were some of the most unprincipled of Napoleon's generals—men grown grey in the career of cruelty, profligacy, and oppression; practising in the court of the Bourbons all the suppleness which they had learnt in their riper age under the usurper; and ready to rehearse once more in the streets of the capital the early lessons of butchery which had been familiar to their more tender years under the Convention and the Directory. So prodigious a combination of evil designs, blind violence, and unprincipled instruments had seldom been arrayed against the happiness of any people. The firmest beholder could not contemplate it without alarm, nor could the most sanguine descry any ground of hope, save in the chance of fatal errors being committed by such adversaries. These errors we will not say rescued, but enabled the people to rescue their country.'

The very names of the new ministers, especially those of Polignac, Bourmont, and Labourdonnaye, were regarded as an insolent defiance to the country; and the Liberal press immediately poured upon them a storm of invectives. 'It is Coblenz and Waterloo,' said the *Débats*. 'We have the emigration in Polignac, desertion to the enemy in Bourmont, the fury of prescription in De Labourdonnaye. Such are the leading principles in the three leading persons.' Guizot and Thiers, the one in the *Temps*, the other in the *National*, denounced the insanity of the king. Other journals expressed their satisfaction, that the veil which had disguised the conspiracy of the last six years was at last laid aside. Lafayette made a journey through the southern districts of the kingdom to rouse the people, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. The conflict became daily more violent and deadly. The Government prosecuted the *Globe* and the *National* for their violent attacks, and their editors were fined and imprisoned; but the assaults of the press on the character and policy of the Government were in no way rendered less

frequent or violent. A crisis was evidently at hand.

The Chambers met on the 2nd of March, 1830. The king in his opening speech, after referring to the amicable relations between France and other powers, and to the alleged prosperous state of the finances, said, 'The first wish of my heart is to see France happy and respected. The Charter has placed the public liberties under the safeguard of the rights of the Crown; these rights are sacred, and my duty is to transmit them uninjured to my successors.' Similar statements had previously been made in the ministerial organ, the *Moniteur*. 'Judging from the newspapers,' it said, 'the Government dreams only of *coups d'état*, and contemplates the overthrow of the Charter. . . . Those who say such things know very well that the ministers, unless they had lost all common sense, could not conceive the bare idea of violating the Charter and substituting a government by ordonnances for that of the laws. Such men know also that if the ministers desired ever so much a method of government like this, the king would on the first hint of such a system thrust them out of power—out of that power which he has confided to them in his name and under their responsibility to govern according to the laws.' It is not easy to decide whether these ministerial proclamations were sincere, or only intended to deceive; but it is quite certain that, if not at this period, in no long time Polignac had resolved to violate the Charter and to substitute a 'government by ordonnances for that of laws.' The French people gave no credit to these declarations, and fully expected that the Ministry and the court would sooner or later endeavour to destroy the constitution. The French press concurred in these views, and vehemently denounced Polignac and his colleagues. Strange to say, the London ministerial journals eulogized the French Ministry in the most glowing terms, and lauded 'the firmness of purpose displayed by the Bourbons;' 'the unshaken resolution, not to be

moved by threats, exhibited by Prince Polignac;' 'the extraordinary vigour of this distinguished minister fitting him for the troublous times he lives in, the statesman-like capacity shown by the French premier who, had Louis XVI. been fortunate enough to possess such a minister, would speedily have put down the Revolution.' It need excite no surprise that in these circumstances the Parisians denounced the Polignac Cabinet as 'the Wellington or Tory Ministry,' and that the supposed countenance of the duke should have increased the unpopularity of the French premier.

As soon as the Chambers met it became evident that the great majority of the deputies were hostile to the Government. M. M. de Berbes and Delalot, the ministerial candidates for the office of president, had only 131 and 125 votes, while Royer-Collard had 225, Casimir Pèrier 190, and General Sebastiani 177. It was pointedly said by the deputies in the reply to the king's speech, that 'our loyalty, our devotion, compel us to say that concurrence between the political views of your government and the wishes of your people does not exist; an unjust distrust of the feelings and reason of the French is at present the fundamental thought of your administration. It afflicts your people because it is insulting to them, and excites their anxiety because it threatens their liberties.' This address, which was carried by the Opposition in spite of the strenuous resistance of the Government, made it evident that the king must choose between the Parliament and the Ministry. His decision on the point was at once made manifest. The Cabinet immediately dismissed all the officials who had taken part in the hostile vote. Chateaubriand, the ambassador at the papal court, and several other high functionaries resigned. M. Marcellus refused to accept the situation of Under-secretary of State, and Lamartine declined the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the apprehension that an attack on

the Charter was meditated. The king stated, in answer to the address of the Chambers, that he was grieved that he could not expect the concurrence of the Chambers, but that his resolution was immovable, and that his ministers would make known his intentions. Afraid, however, to risk at once a second dissolution, he prorogued the Chambers till the 1st of September. It is alleged that the Ministry, dreading the consequences, recommended that His Majesty should give way. 'No,' said Charles, 'that would be a degradation of the crown, and an abdication of my functions and prerogative.' Ranville, who had succeeded Labourdonnaye as Minister of the Interior, hinted that it might be possible to come to an accommodation and to obtain a majority. 'A majority,' exclaimed the king, 'I should be sorry to have one, and would not know what to do with it!'

An open war was now commenced against the press, which at this period was conducted by a number of the ablest writers in France, such as Chateaubriand, Salvandy, Mignet, Thiers, Carrell, Guizot, Dupin, De Remusat, and others of equal celebrity. The first attack was made upon the *Débats*, whose principal editor and proprietor, M. Bertin de Vaux, had fought and suffered for the royal cause. He conducted his own defence, and was acquitted. But the proprietors and editors of the *National*, the *Globe*, the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, and the *Journal du Commerce*, against whom proceedings were taken, were less fortunate; they were all convicted, and severe sentences were passed on their managers. Notwithstanding his success in punishing the hostile press, Polignac was quite well aware of the weak state of his Ministry, and made applications for assistance to both parties in the Opposition; but neither moderate Royalists nor Liberals would have anything to do with his administration. In this extremity he seems to have imagined that he might strengthen the Government by gratifying the fondness

of the French people for military glory. A quarrel which took place at this crisis with the Dey of Algiers, afforded him an opportunity of trying how far the public attention could be diverted from his domestic misgovernment by some warlike exploit. It was resolved that an expedition on a large scale should be fitted out to punish the Dey for his refusal to pay the sum of 2,000,000 francs, which he owed to certain French merchants, and for the insult which he had offered to the French consul in the presence of the other European representatives. The land forces consisted of 37,500, with 3984 horse, and 180 pieces of artillery, conveyed in 377 transports, and supported by 11 sail of the line, 23 frigates, and 70 smaller vessels. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Marshal Bourmont, the Minister at War, and the Duke d'Angoulême superintended in person (11th of May) the embarkation of the armament. Polignac took charge of the War department during Bourmont's absence.

The troops disembarked on June 14th, at Sidi-Feruch, within five leagues of Algiers. On the 19th they were fiercely attacked by the Algerine forces; the conflict was for some time doubtful, but in the end the invaders were victorious, and obtained possession of the enemy's cannon, ammunition, and baggage. The loss of the Turks was upwards of 5000 men, while that of the French did not exceed 500. On the 24th the Mussulmans made a second attack on the French army, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The trenches were opened against the town on the 30th of June; and while the land batteries, mounted with a hundred guns, directed their fire against the Emperor fort, the French ships cannonaded the sea defences. The walls could not long resist this tremendous and combined fire, and fell with a terrific explosion. The French grenadiers forced an entrance, and the city surrendered on the 5th of July. In the Dey's treasury was found treasure to the amount of 48,500,000 francs in gold and

silver, and the value of the entire booty was 55,684,000 francs. The total loss of the French was 2300 men, of whom 600 fell in fight.

Polignac did not wait for the news of the success of the expedition; but on the report of the Duke d'Angoulême that the army was animated with the best spirit, a dissolution of the Chambers was resolved upon five days after the armament had sailed from Toulon. Two of the ministers, however, Courvoisier and Chabrol, were so dissatisfied with this step that they resigned. The former was succeeded, as keeper of the seals, by Chantelauze; and Montbel became Minister of Finance in the room of Chabrol; while Peyronnet, a royalist of the most extreme and violent type, and the most unpopular minister in France, took the place of Montbel as Minister of the Interior.

The Ministry not only employed their whole influence in the most unscrupulous manner to induce the electors to support their candidates, but had even the folly to instigate the king himself to issue a proclamation on their behalf. 'The elections,' it said, 'are going to commence at all points in my kingdom. Listen to the voice of your king, and maintain the constitutional charter and the institutions on which it is founded;' but the document went on to declare that, in order to make them available, the sacred rights which belong to the crown must be respected. 'Do not,' it continued, 'let yourselves be deceived by seditious persons, and do not yield to unfounded fears which may excite serious disorders. Electors! hasten to join your colleagues; let the same sentiment animate you, and rally under the same standard. It is your king that demands it; it is the call of your father; fulfil your duties, and I shall fulfil mine.' The chiefs of the different ministerial departments issued to their subordinate agents orders calling for their active co-operation in the struggle. Instructions were also given to the prefects and all subordinate officials 'to march in

unison to one common end, namely, the choice of such deputies as will candidly and loyally concur with the king in the execution of his benevolent views.'

The Government officials, thus stimulated, exerted themselves to the utmost in fulfilling the commands of their superiors; and in dealing with the electoral lists they expunged without hesitation the names of the electors whom they knew or suspected to be hostile to the Ministry. Between the 9th and the 20th of June the Royal Court of Paris, to which the revision of the lists in seven departments is intrusted, decided against the Government no fewer than 658 out of 857 appeals. But all these unworthy attempts to influence the electors utterly failed. Public opinion ran strongly in favour of the Opposition. Even the news of the brilliant success of the Algerine expedition, which arrived before the elections were completed, failed to stem the tide, or even to affect a single return. Polignac's African laurels could by no exercise of ingenuity be converted into a civic crown. It was calculated that the Opposition numbered 270 supporters among the deputies, while the Ministry could muster only 145, or at the very uttermost 158. The dissolution had, therefore, only intensified the difficulties of the Ministry and the crown, and made it more evident than before that they had lost the confidence of the nation.

The general impression both in France and the other countries of Europe was that Polignac's Ministry must now give way, and either resign or introduce measures that would satisfy the popular desires. No one imagined that they would be guilty of the folly and wickedness of attempting violently to overthrow the constitution, though there were ominous expressions employed by the organs of the court, which seemed to indicate an intention on the part of the king either to attempt to rule without a legislature or to overthrow the elective law. The latter was the course which the ignorant and infatuated ministers recom-

mended the king to adopt. In a long, weak, and vituperative memorial to His Majesty they denounced the periodical press as having at all times been, 'and it is in its nature to be, only an instrument of disorder and sedition,' as tending 'to no less than to subjugate the sovereignty, and to invade the powers of the state; as aspiring to direct the debates of the two Chambers; and, to crown all, as having criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the means, the preparations, and the chances of success' of the expedition against Algiers. 'A turbulent democracy,' the document further said, 'is assuming the place of legitimate authority. It disposes of the majority of elections by the assistance of the journals and numerous affiliations. It has paralyzed, as far as depended upon it, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the Crown, that of dissolving the Chamber. By this the constitution of the state is shaken. Your Majesty alone retains the power to replace and consolidate it upon its foundations.' 'The moment is come,' they added in conclusion, 'to have recourse to measures which are in the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources of which have been exhausted in vain. These measures, Sire, your ministers, who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are that justice will remain the strongest.'

The illogical reasoning of this memorial, and the confusion of ideas which it displays, are very characteristic of the muddle-headed, violent, and arbitrary members of the Government, who had evidently not the faintest idea of their real position, and of the dangers they were so rashly provoking. But their advice was quite in accordance with the king's own notions and wishes, and on the 25th of July Charles X. signed three ordonnances, suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the newly-elected Chambers, which had not been allowed to meet, and summoning a new Parliament, in which the Lower Chamber was to be composed

only of the deputies chosen by the departments, thus entirely overturning the constitution. These ordonnances were countersigned, not only by the Minister of the Interior, to whose department they belonged, but by all the members of the Cabinet.

It seems scarcely credible that the ministers who had thus drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard could have believed that the nation, described by them as on the verge of revolution, should tamely submit to this arbitrary overthrow of the constitution, and suspension of the liberty of the press. They were quite well aware of the temper of the French people, for they made that the excuse for their illegal proceedings. They could not be ignorant that the Liberal party in France had for a good many months contemplated the result to which they had now brought the contest between the crown and the people as its probable termination, and they could scarcely have expected that any thing short of overwhelming force would make them submit to such a violent invasion of the rights and privileges of the nation. And yet, with unparalleled infatuation and imbecility, they had not made the slightest preparation to meet any resistance that might be made to their decrees. They had only about 6000 men, composed of the guards and the gendarmerie, on whom they could depend; and of these 1800 were required for the supply of the regular posts in Paris, the royal palace at St. Cloud, and other places in the neighbourhood, so that there were only about 4000 men at hand to suppress any insurrection that might break out in the capital. To make the danger more imminent, there were in Paris 4400 troops of the line and 1100 men belonging to veteran battalions, who, it was well known, were disaffected towards the Government, and were more likely to act with the people than against them. The commanders even of the small body of troops which were doing duty in Paris had received no instructions to be ready

to put down any tumults that might arise; and so complete was the infatuated security of the Ministry that no preparations had been made even for supplying with provisions and ammunition the insignificant force on which the king could depend for the protection of his throne in the critical position he had assumed. Incredible as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that during the fierce struggle of the 'Three Days' the soldiers remained without supplies, and were indebted for food to the citizens of Paris. The resolution of the Ministry to overturn the constitution, though agreed to as far back as the 7th of July, had been kept a profound secret, even from the heads of the police and the commanders of the troops, until the midnight of the 25th, when they were communicated to M. Suavo, the responsible editor of the *Moniteur* newspaper, for publication in the morning. On that same day the command of the troops was intrusted to Marshal Marmont, the Duke of Ragusa, who up to that moment had received no intimation of the step the ministers had taken, or of the perilous nature of the service he had to perform.

On the morning of Monday, the 26th of July, Paris began to exhibit symptoms of excitement. Groups of citizens were seen standing in the streets anxiously discussing the probable result of the ordonnances which had just been issued. Towards evening mobs collected here and there in the streets; but beyond breaking the windows of Polignac's house, and of the residence of the Minister of Finance, no outrages took place. In short every one was taken by surprise, and there were no leaders and no unity of operations. The proprietors and editors of the Liberal journals were the first to take action. They obtained an opinion from some eminent lawyers that the ordonnances were illegal, and they met in the office of the *National* to concert the steps which they should take to resist them. A protest written by Thiers was signed by forty-five journalists, setting forth the grounds on which they

refused to obey the royal decrees. 'Legal government,' they said, 'is interrupted, and that of force has commenced. In the situation in which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. The citizens first called upon to obey are the writers of the journals; they ought to give the first example of resistance to authority which has divested itself of a legal character. The Government has now violated legal order. We are dispensed from obeying. We shall endeavour to publish our journal without asking the authority which is imposed on us. We shall do our best in order that, for the present at least, it shall reach all parts of France. The Government has this day lost the character of legality which commands obedience. We resist it in what concerns ourselves. It is for France to determine how far that resistance ought to extend.' In the course of the day a magistrate of the name of Belleyne authorized the printer of the *Journal of Commerce* to continue the issue of that paper provisionally, so long as the ordonnance of the 25th of July suspending the liberty of the press had not been authorized and promulgated in a legal manner. The crowds assembled in the Exchange were in a state of great excitement, as might have been expected. Many were eager to sell at any price, but no one would buy; and there were ominous hints that manufacturers would be obliged to close their establishments and dismiss their workmen. Still, there were no violent disturbances, and the ministers flattered themselves that the public discontent would exhaust itself in harmless murmurs and complaints; and such was their blind security that the military officers who asked from them leave of absence obtained it without difficulty.

Next day, however, the conflict began between the police and the newspaper establishments. The gendarmerie and other agents of the police attempted to seize the journals and to close the printing offices. But the doors were shut and

admission was refused, and copies of the papers containing the protest of the journalists were printed off and thrown out of the windows among the populace who crowded the streets. The police in the meantime were standing before the doors unable to obtain an entrance, and one blacksmith after another brought to the spot refused to give them any assistance. At last an artisan, employed to rivet the fetters of the galley slaves, picked the locks and enabled the police to enter the printing offices, and to break the presses and scatter the types. During this day the *Tribunal of Commerce*, by the voice of its president, Ganneron, declared that the ordonnance, being contrary to the Charter, was not binding on any one, and that the printer of the *Courier Francoais*, who had been afraid to print the paper in violation of the royal decree, and had been sued by the editors for breach of contract, must fulfil his agreement within twenty-four hours.

Up to this point the proceedings of the mob, though menacing and riotous, could not be called insurrectionary. The ministers held a meeting at the foreign office, but were still blind to the seriousness of affairs, and talked of threatening to declare Paris in a state of siege if the people were not quiet next morning. About thirty of the Deputies met to consider whether or not they should assemble on the 3rd of August; but though intreated by repeated deputations to guide the proceedings of the multitudes congregated in the streets, they broke up without coming to any decided resolution as to the course they should adopt. The people themselves, however, settled the question. The crowds in the streets were now crying, 'Long live the Charter,' 'Down with the ministers.' The whole mass of persons, 30,000 in number, who were deprived of employment by the suppression of the newspapers were, of course, thrown loose upon the capital. The funds had now fallen seven per cent., and the bankers refused to discount bills. The manufac-

turers on this closed their establishments and discharged their workmen, who were turned out in thousands to swell the agitated mobs that were parading the streets, and to breathe out vengeance against the ministers who had deprived them of their bread. They were rapidly increasing in numbers, and growing more and more unmanageable, and meanwhile the infatuated Ministry were looking on with perfect composure. Prince Polignac was giving a dinner to his colleagues, his hotel protected by a battalion of guards and two pieces of cannon; and the king and the dauphin, after signing the ordonnances, had gone to Rambouillet on a hunting excursion, and were now at St. Cloud. Barricades were now seen rising in the streets, and it was noted that one of these was formed across a narrow street by one of those low coaches to which the Parisians had given the name of *Omnibus*. The troops advancing to clear the way were assailed by a shower of stones and tiles, and some lives were lost before the crowd retreated.

The mob had at this stage received a check. They were still unarmed, and without leaders or combination; and if during the night the Government had taken energetic measures to maintain their authority, it is possible that the insurrection might even yet have been suppressed. But the infatuated ministers did nothing. They were aware that there existed in Paris 40,000 equipments of the old National Guard; that the guard-houses scattered throughout the town could offer no effective resistance if attacked; that the arsenal, which was well supplied with arms and ammunition, and the powder magazine of Deux Moulins were left unguarded. But though attention to these matters was earnestly pressed upon them, nothing was done, and the troops were marched back to their quarters, and left there without orders till next day.

On the morning of the 28th it was evident that the riots had developed into a revolution. Barricades were seen rising

rapidly in the narrow streets, and defended by an armed mob, not a few of them wearing the uniform of the National Guards. The shops of the gunmakers were attacked and rifled of their arms. The tradesmen hastened to take down the royal insignia from their shops, in case they should be made a pretext for pillage; and very speedily the royal arms everywhere disappeared. The tricolor was unfurled. The detached guard-houses throughout the city were rapidly carried, one after another. The arsenal, the artillery depot, and the powder manufactory were also seized and emptied. The battalion of veterans, amounting to 1100 men, by whom they were garrisoned, gave up their arms at the first summons. The squares and the places were occupied by large bodies of armed insurgents. The Minister of the Interior was warned by the prefect of the Seine that if the Hotel de Ville were not strongly guarded, the populace would take possession of it, and might establish there a provisional council; but the warning was unheeded, and that important post, guarded only by sixteen men, fell without resistance into the hands of the mob, who, running up to the belfry, rang the tocsin, and hung out a huge tricolored flag from the roof. Another flag was soon displayed from the steeple of Notre Dame, whose great bell was immediately tolled to call the people to arms. All this was accomplished without the slightest opposition before eight o'clock in the morning, while the troops were left in their barracks without orders.

Marmont, who had from the first disapproved of the ordonnances, was now convinced that matters were in a very serious position. He declared Paris in a state of siege; but at the same time he despatched a note to the king informing him that the populace had again assembled in the streets in groups more numerous and menacing than before. 'It is no longer a riot,' he said, 'but a revolution. It is urgent that your Majesty should take the means of pacification. The honour of the Crown may

yet be saved. To-morrow, perhaps, it will be too late. . . . I wait with impatience your Majesty's orders.' No answer, however, was received from the king; and about mid-day Marmont put the Guards in motion. He had previously concentrated the troops at his disposal around the Tuilleries; but the eight guns at his command had only four rounds of grape shot, and the infantry twenty rounds of ball cartridge each, and they had no provisions, or even water, under a scorching sun.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the marshal resolved on offensive operations. He left the regiments of the line to occupy the Place Vendôme and the Boulevards round the Bastille, and intrusted the defence of the Palais Royal to a battalion of Guards; but he left ungarrisoned the Louvre, the Tuilleries, and the Champs Elysées—an omission which was severely condemned, but may be accounted for by the small body of troops at his disposal. He divided the rest of the Guards, on whom alone he could rely, into four columns, and ordered them to clear the streets. Two of these detachments had an encounter with the populace, and suffered severely from the fire poured on them from behind the barricades and from the house-tops and windows in the narrow streets through which they had to clear their way. They succeeded, however, after a fierce struggle, in regaining possession of the Hotel de Ville, which they maintained during the day notwithstanding the violent assaults of the mob, headed by the students of the Polytechnic School. The loss of life, however, was considerable; and, as the regiments of the line refused to fire on the people, the Guards, comparatively few in number and exhausted with the want of food and with continued marching and fighting, had to carry on single-handed the contest with the masses.

Meanwhile the ministers, who had been at St. Cloud holding a council, returned to Paris, and made their way to the Tuilleries under the impression that they could no

longer be safe in their own houses, and that they ought to be beside Marmont, in order that they might consult him as to the steps which should be taken to restore order. At this juncture five deputies—General Gerard, Count Lobau, Lafitte, Casimir Pèrier, and Maugin—were commissioned by the liberal members of the Chamber, to propose to the marshal that he should consent to a truce until a communication could be made to the king. Marmont said his orders were positive to enforce the royal ordonnances, but offered to send a message to St. Cloud, and immediately despatched one of his aides-de-camp with a letter to the king, stating the proposal of the deputies. The messenger found Charles X. at cards; and though he had learned from an officer of the royal suite what was passing in Paris, he had made himself believe that the danger was exaggerated. Delivering the letter into the king's own hands, the aide-de-camp remarked that an answer could not be given too speedily, for the whole people had risen in arms. 'Is it a formidable revolt?' inquired Charles. 'Sire,' replied the colonel, 'it is not a revolt; it is a revolution.' He was then directed to retire, and at the end of twenty minutes he was called in, and in the presence of the Dauphin and the Duchess de Berri he received from the king a verbal message to Marmont, that he must persevere, 'concentrate his forces on the Place du Carousel and the Place Louis XV., and act with the masses;' in other words, that he must at all hazards suppress the insurrection by military force. But this was now quite impracticable. A large portion of the troops had either gone over to the people or had declared that they would remain neutral in the conflict, and those who continued faithful to the crown were worn out by the protracted struggle and the want of food. In the evening Marmont informed Polignac that the troops of the line had made common cause with the people, and that the Guards alone could be relied on, on which that weak and wrong-headed

functionary replied, 'Well, if the troops have gone over to the insurgents, they must be fired on.' At night an officer in plain clothes made his way to the Hotel de Ville, and intimated to the soldiers there the orders of the marshal, that they should return to the Tuilleries in the best way they could. But on reaching it at midnight, having had neither food nor even water to drink all day in a burning sun, they found that no provisions had been issued for them by the imbecile Ministry. They were informed that some food would be given them at day-break; but even then there was none, and the officers had to bring from the bakers what these tradesmen had prepared for their own customers.

The night was passed in great anxiety by both parties. The insurgents dreaded the attack of the auxiliaries, who, as they knew, were now on their way to join the troops in the city; and, in fact, during the night, two battalions of Guards arrived from Versailles and a Swiss battalion from Ruel. Some light infantry and about 800 cavalry were also brought in from country quarters. But these reinforcements, amounting to about 1700 men, did not compensate the losses of the previous day in killed and wounded and from defection. Marmont passed the night in a state of the greatest anxiety and distress of mind, and the arrangements which he made have been severely criticised and condemned. But it must not be forgotten that he had only about 5000 men and eight guns to contend with probably 100,000 armed citizens, who were busily employed during the night in rendering the city impenetrable to troops. Barricades blocked up the principal thoroughfares, in some cases constructed of stones from the torn-up pavements, surmounted by barrels filled with the same materials, or by planks and pieces of furniture. In others, carts, carriages, and hackney coaches had been seized, overturned, and converted into ramparts. These precautions, however, were superfluous, as the troops, instead of involving themselves in a con-

test with the populace among narrow and crooked streets, were concentrated at certain posts, where they waited an attack.

Early on the morning of this eventful day, the Marquis de Semonville, Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers, went to the Tuilleries, accompanied by M. D'Argout, and requested Marmont, who looked the picture of despair, to obtain for him an interview with Prince Polignac. The marquis pressed upon the minister the absolute necessity of putting a stop to hostilities by withdrawing the ordonnances, or at least, to resign, and Marmont warmly supported this recommendation. Polignac, however, coldly replied, that he had no power to take either step without the orders of the king; but he yielded so far as to retire from the room, in order to consult his colleagues. During his absence M. Semonville urged the marshal to arrest the ministers, assuring him that the announcement of his having taken this step would put an end to the conflict between the troops and the people. Marmont, according to the account of the marquis, was 'moved to so great a degree that he shed tears of rage and indignation, and hesitated between his military duty and his feelings. His agitation was nearly convulsive, and we saw him twice refuse with vehemence the orders, which officers came to demand of him, to use cannon against the populace.' It is alleged that Marmont was on the point of yielding to the urgent entreaties of the marquis when the ministers returned from their consultation, and intimated their intention to proceed to St. Cloud and tender their resignations to the king. They at once set out, preceded by De Semonville and D'Argout, who carried a letter from Marmont to the king, entreating him to give way.

So entirely ignorant was the king and royal family of the real state of affairs, that according to the Duke of Wellington, when Semonville entered the royal presence, and said, 'All is over,' the deluded monarch imagined that his informant was announc-

ing the victory of his troops, and proposed to return to Paris next day. For some time the king obstinately persisted in maintaining the ordonnances and his 'system' of government. The marquis, however, set before him in plain and explicit terms the fact, that not only was his personal safety, but the lives and fortunes of his family, endangered by his refusal to yield, and that on him must rest the sole responsibility of whatever might happen to them, if he should refuse to make any concession to the demands of the people. The poor old monarch was moved to tears by this appeal; and after a short deliberation, it was resolved that the obnoxious ordonnances should be revoked, and the resignation of the ministers accepted. In their room M. de Mortemart was appointed President of the Council, Casimir Pèrier Minister of the Interior, and Gerard Minister of War.

Marmont's own account of the proceedings to Greville, when he visited England a few weeks later, confirms all that was reported respecting the rashness and folly of the French ministry. 'He had no notion,' he said, 'that the ordonnances were thought of.' On the morning of their publication, 'the Dauphin sent to him to desire that, "as some windows might be broken," he would take the command of the troops. Directly after the thing began. He had 7000 or 8000 men. Not a preparation had been made of any sort; they had never thought of resistance; had not consulted Marmont or any military man. He soon found how hopeless the case was, and sent eight estafettes to the king, one after the other, during the action, to tell him so, and implore him to stop while it was time. They never returned any answer. He then rode out to St. Cloud, where he implored the king to yield. It was not till after seven hours' pressing that he consented to name M. de Mortemart minister, but would not withdraw the edicts. He says that up to Wednesday night they (the insurgents) would have compromised and accepted M. de

Mortemart and the suppression of the edicts; but the king still demurred. On Wednesday night he yielded, but then the communications were interrupted. That night the meeting at the Palais Royal took place, at which the king's fate was determined; and on Thursday morning, when his offers arrived, it was too late, and they would no longer treat.'

The populace, on finding that the troops were remaining on the defensive, moved forward in great numbers to the points whence they could under cover assail the soldiers posted in the Louvre. They would have made little impression but for the defection of the troops of the line, who refused to fire upon them. Regiment after regiment unscrewed their bayonets and withdrew from the struggle. The commandant of the fifth regiment, which had been posted at the Palais Bourbon and the Chamber of Deputies, came to an agreement with the mob before midday and withdrew from his position, which was immediately occupied by the insurgents. The two regiments of the line which were stationed in the Place Vendôme, also quickly unscrewed their bayonets and ultimately joined the people. Marmont ordered up one of the Swiss battalions stationed at the Louvre to take their place, and M. de Salis, the officer commanding there, by a strange fatuity, sent one of the two battalions which occupied the colonnade and galleries of the building, and in fact defended the whole position, while with the other battalion he remained in the interior court below. A good deal of fighting had been going on at this place, but the troops had firmly held their ground. Now, however, the insurgents, observing that the firing from the colonnade and the windows of the Louvre had ceased, broke through the windows, forced open the gates, and took possession of the building. One portion of them occupied the windows which commanded the inner court, and fired on the battalion below. Another fired from the windows of the great picture gallery on the Swiss in the Place de Carusel. As-

sailed thus both in front and in flank, a panic seized the troops, and they fled precipitately and in disorder into the garden of the Tuilleries, where they were rallied by Marmont himself, and then withdrew into the Champs Elysees.

The capture of the Louvre decided the contest. The Treasury, the Post Office, and the telegraphic departments were soon in the hands of the insurgents; and the Invalides and the barracks of the Rue de Babylonne were the only positions of importance that were occupied by the royal troops. Marmont, in these circumstances, had no alternative but to withdraw his forces—leaving Paris in the undisputed possession of the insurgents—and to proceed to St. Cloud for the purpose of providing for the safety of the king and of the royal family. So hastily was this step taken, that the marshal had not even time to call in the companies stationed in the advanced posts. The greater number of them, however, succeeded, though not without difficulty and some hard fighting, in making their way out of the city, and joined him on the road to St. Cloud.

The numbers who fell on each side during the three days' conflict have been variously estimated, and cannot be accurately ascertained. According to one computation, they amounted to from 6000 to 8000; but the probability seems to be that they did not exceed half that number. According to Marmont, 2000 of the troops and 1500 of the populace were killed.

It is an interesting and significant fact, that though the bankers' offices and the goldsmiths shops were for hours in the possession of the mob, there was no plunder; not a sou was abstracted or a trinket touched. The same persons who exhibited this striking forbearance and honesty were seen, after the fatigues and perils of the day, begging charity, that they might have wherewithal to purchase the meal of the evening; and when the purses of the admiring spectators were pressed upon them, a few pence was all they would accept.

While the contest between the populace and the troops was still undecided, a provisional council was established at the Hotel de Ville, consisting of Generals Lafayette and Gerard and the Duke de Choiseul, and other well-known Liberals. A proclamation, with their names attached to it, but without their authority, was placarded on the walls of the city, declaring that Charles X. had ceased to reign. About thirty deputies, who had already protested against the ordinances as illegal, held a meeting at the house of M. Andry de Puyraveau to consider what steps should be taken in this emergency. M. Maugin, the advocate, urged that they should at once name a provisional government. But this step was regarded as premature, and it was resolved, in the first instance, to send to Marmont the deputation which has already been mentioned, as well as its unsuccessful result. Another meeting of the deputies was held early on the morning of the 29th, at the mansion of Lafitte, the eminent banker, when they resolved (General Sebastiani alone dissenting) to declare Charles X. and his ministers public enemies. The efforts of M. de Mortemart to open negotiations with the council sitting at the Hotel de Ville, on the 29th and 30th of July, proved utterly fruitless. The proposals which he made to them in the name of the king were treated with contempt.

When the retreat of Marmont left Paris, without a government and without police, at the mercy of an armed mob, the deputies took immediate steps to provide for the safety of the city. They at once appointed a provisional government, consisting of M. Andry de Puyraveau, Count Gerard, M. Lafitte, Count de Lobau, Maugin, Odier, Casimir Pèrier, and De Schonen. The old National Guard, which had been dismissed by Villèle, was called out and placed under the command of Lafayette, who established his head-quarters at the Hotel de Ville. The provisional rulers took no notice whatever of the communication from St. Cloud and the appointment of De Mortemart's ministry,

but proceeded themselves to appoint interim ministers to the different departments. Casimir Pèrier was nominated Minister of the Interior and Bignon of Foreign Affairs. General Gerard was set over the War Department, and the Ministry of Marine was assigned to Admiral de Rigny. Dupont de L'Eure was placed at the head of the department of Justice, Baron Louis of Finance, and Guizot was appointed Minister of Public Instruction. Some of the deputies had even yet not lost hope that Charles X. might be permitted to retain the crown, while others insisted on the establishment of a republic. As a sort of compromise between the old Bourbon dynasty on the one hand, and republicanism on the other, the Duke of Orleans was proposed by Lafitte; and the *National*, in which Thiers was one of the principal writers, zealously advocated the duke's claims to the throne. A republic, it said, would expose France to civil war, and would alienate the whole of Europe. But the Duke of Orleans was devoted to the revolution, had never borne arms against France, had fought against the Austrians at Jemappes, had borne the tricolor flag, and would hold his crown from the people. While these efforts were making in his favour, the duke had retired to his country seat at Raincy to be out of the way, but was persuaded with great difficulty to return to Paris, where he arrived on the 29th, *incognito*, in the dark. A meeting of the deputies on the 30th, presided over by Lafitte, had meanwhile resolved not only to set aside Charles X., but also to pass over the Dauphin and the young Duke of Bordeaux, son of the late Duke de Berri, who, after the Dauphin, stood next to the Crown. After a consultation with a commission of the Peers, they agreed to request the Duke of Orleans in the meantime to assume the Government under the title of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom. They accordingly waited on him at the Palais Royal, and urged him to accept this office. After a brief consulta-

tion with General Sebastiani and M. de Talleyrand, who advised him to comply with the invitation, the duke intimated his acceptance, which was at once announced in a proclamation inserted in the *Moniteur*. 'Inhabitants of Paris,' it said, 'the Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed to me the desire that I should repair to this capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom. I have not hesitated to come, and share your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and to exert all my efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and of anarchy. On returning to the city of Paris, I wore with pride those glorious colours which you have resumed, and which I myself long wore. The Chambers are going to assemble; they will consider of the means of securing the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. The Charter will henceforward be a reality.'

The politicians of the Faubourgs, however, were not satisfied with these vague and general protestations; and crowds began to assemble in a menacing manner in the vicinity of the Hotel de Ville. In order to avert the danger which threatened the public peace from this quarter, the deputies hastily prepared another proclamation, specifying the new privileges that were now to be conferred upon the people. 'The Duke of Orleans,' they said, 'is devoted to the national and constitutional cause. He has always defended its interests and professed its principles. He will respect our rights, for he will derive his own from us. We shall secure to ourselves, by law, all the guarantees necessary to liberty strong and durable—the re-establishment of the National Guard, with their intervention in the choice of the officers; the intervention of the citizens in the formation of the departmental and municipal administration; the trial by jury for the transgressions of the press; the regularly organized responsibility of the ministers and the secondary agents of the adminis-

tration; the situation of the military legally secured; the re-election of deputies appointed to public offices. We shall give at length to our institutions, in concert with the head of the state, the development of which they have need.'

In order to render the combination between the Chambers and the Provisional Council more marked and imposing, the deputies on the 31st repaired in a body, headed by their president, to the Palais Royal, the residence of the duke; and then walked in procession with him to the Hotel de Ville. Here they were formally received by Lafayette, and the proclamation of the deputies was read aloud in the hall. When this ceremony was finished, the new Lieutenant-general said, 'As a Frenchman, I deplore the evils inflicted on the country; as a prince, I am desirous of contributing to the happiness of the nation.' 'What is now necessary to the French,' observed Lafayette, 'is a popular throne surrounded with republican institutions.' 'That is just my opinion,' replied the duke. The general lost no time in making this statement public; and in his letter to the electors of Meaux, he affirmed that this mutual engagement rallied round the monarch men not disposed to monarchy, and men who wished any one but a Bourbon.

At this stage Colonel Cradock (afterwards Lord Howden) was sent to Charles X. by Lord Stuart, the British ambassador in Paris, at the request of the Duke of Orleans. The colonel had an audience of the king at Rambouillet, and submitted to him a proposal to the effect that the king and the Dauphin, having abdicated, should quit France with the princesses; but that Henry V. should be proclaimed king under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe offered to support this arrangement, and to carry on the Government as regent if Charles X. would sanction it. The king received the communication in bed, and appears not to have been unwilling to accede to it; but the Duchess of Angoulême vehemently opposed the scheme,

and the offer was in consequence rejected. These facts did not transpire till long afterwards; but it was known at the time that on the 2nd of August Charles X. formally abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson, and addressed the document, announcing this step, to the Duke of Orleans as Lieutenant-general of the kingdom. 'I am too profoundly grieved,' said the forlorn and unhappy monarch, 'by the evils which afflict or might threaten my people, not to have sought a means of preventing them. I have, therefore, taken the resolution to abdicate the Crown in favour of my grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux.'

'The Dauphin, who partakes my sentiments, also renounces his rights in favour of his nephew.'

'You will have, then, in your quality of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to cause the accession of Henry V. to the Crown to be proclaimed. You will take, besides, all the measures which concern you to regulate the form of the Government during the minority of the new king.'

'You will communicate my intentions to the diplomatic body, and you will acquaint me, as soon as possible, with the proclamation by which my grandson shall have been recognized King of France, under the name of Henry V.'

'Too late' had still to be inscribed on all the proposals of the old king. He was not aware that the prevailing party were now determined to be rid not only of him, but of his family, and that the crown was to be conferred on the Duke of Orleans, not so much from any regard to that prince, or for his connection with the royal family, as because, owing everything as he did to the popular choice, it was expected that he would be subservient to the popular will.

Not the slightest notice was taken publicly of the abdication of the old king; it was not even mentioned. But the conditions on which it was tendered became known in Paris, and the populace in great excitement prepared to march out to Rambouillet, to which the king and the royal

family had retired. The danger which might arise from the invasion of a tumultuous mob made the Government despatch three commissioners from Paris to communicate this intelligence to the king, and to urge him to take his departure before the arrival of the populace.

The king had still with him about 9000 men—a force quite sufficient to protect him against any attack of an undisciplined Parisian mob; but they had no heart to fight. They had not been cordially received when they retreated to St. Cloud, and the Dauphin had even called Marmont 'traitor,' and had taken from him his sword with his own hand, because he had made a truce with the insurgents, suspending hostilities till an answer was received from the king. So reckless and angry was he, that he wounded his own hand in seizing the marshal's sword. The king, however, reproved his son for these unwarrantable and unwise proceedings, and made an apology for them to Marmont, expressing at the same time his satisfaction with the conduct of the troops. Still, though prepared to defend their sovereign from indignity, they were not willing to carry on a civil war for the purpose of maintaining the claims of his family to the throne of France. The courtiers, now that his case was hopeless, fell off one by one, till only a few general officers and gentlemen in waiting remained. Even the dismissed ministers took their departure, with the exception of Polignac, who, however, kept out of sight. Finding that there was no other resource, the king at last consented to take his departure for Cherbourg along with his family, accompanied by the three commissioners of the provisional government. At Maintenon he dismissed the troops with tears in his eyes, recommending them to repair to Paris and submit to the authority they found established there. The soldiers seemed greatly affected as the aged and discrowned monarch passed between their ranks and bade them farewell; but these were the only marks of sympathy that he

received as he slowly journeyed towards his destination. No insult was offered to the royal party: they were everywhere treated with civility and respect; but it was impossible for them not to perceive that their departure was regarded with indifference, if not with satisfaction. The deportment of the king in these trying circumstances was composed and dignified. Believing, as he told Polignac, that his cause was that of God, of the throne, and of the people, he resigned himself to what he regarded as the divine will, and bore with exemplary patience the loss of his crown, and the destruction of his most fondly cherished hopes. At Cherbourg the exiled party embarked on board two American vessels, which had been prepared for their conveyance to England—their place of refuge for the second time; and on the afternoon of the 17th of August they anchored at Spithead. The dethroned monarch was received only as a private individual, bearing the title of the Count de Ponthieu. After a short residence at Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire, the exiled family proceeded to Scotland and took up their abode once more in the palace of Holyrood.

On the night of the 2nd of August the abdication of Charles X. was transmitted to the Duke of Orleans, and on the following day he formally opened the Chamber of Deputies, of which Casimir Pèrier was elected president. The Lieutenant-General recommended to their attention several questions which required immediate consideration, and on the 6th a select committee was appointed to revise the Charter, and adapt its provisions to the existing state of the country. They presented their report that night; but the debate on the proposed changes was adjourned till next day, when they were all adopted with slight modifications. The preamble of the Charter, which declared that the constitution was a gift from the king to his people, was deleted, and in its room was inserted a declaration that the throne had become

vacant by the forfeiture of Charles X. and the whole elder branch of the Bourbon family. The sixth article declared that the Roman Catholic faith was the religion of the state; but now all denominations of Christians were ordained to be supported by the Treasury, and on the 4th of December following it was decreed that the religious teachers of the Jews should also receive salaries from the national funds.

The censorship of the press was abolished, and it was decided that offences committed by the press should be tried by juries—that deputies who accepted office should require to be re-elected—that the expenses of the army should be voted annually—that laws would be presented to the Chambers on public education and the liberty of instruction, and on municipal and departmental institutions. The age of electors was fixed at twenty-five, and of deputies at thirty-one. No change was made respecting the electoral franchise, which was still vested in those who paid 300 francs or £12 of direct taxes. An important change was made on the fourteenth article of the Charter, which declared that the king had the prerogative of making regulations and ordonnances necessary for the safety of the state and the execution of the laws. This provision of the Charter had served as a pretext for the ordonnances of the late king overturning the constitution; and this danger was now provided against by the statement that the king had no power 'either to suspend the laws themselves or to dispense with their execution.' It was also declared that 'no foreign troops can ever be admitted into the service of the state without an express law'—a decree levelled at the employment of the Swiss mercenaries who had so long formed a kind of body-guard to the kings of France. An attack—which was fortunately unsuccessful—was made on the judicial establishments, and it was proposed that the judges should be 'submitted to a new organization,' or that they should 'cease their functions in six months, if before that time their nomination be not renewed.' A

'special provision' was made respecting the Chamber of Peers, and all the peerages created by Charles X. were abolished—an act which was quite unconstitutional, for whatever may have been the motive of the king in adding so largely to the members of the Upper House, these peerages had been created by the exercise of a legal prerogative of the crown. Two of the peers, however, thus denuded of their rank—Marshal Soult and Admiral Dupere—were immediately reinstated. The deputies manifested a strong inclination to call in question the propriety of continuing an Upper Chamber; and it was moved that 'the hereditary principle might be subjected to examination.' But though Lafayette threw his influence into this scale, other deputies had the courage to resist the attempt to induce the Chamber to usurp all the functions and powers of the state, and it was ultimately agreed that the question of a hereditary peerage 'shall be the subject of a fresh examination in the session of 1831.'

Nothing now remained except to fill the throne which had been declared vacant; and as this matter had already been virtually settled, there was no need for discussion. Several deputies were still inclined to support the claims of the Duke of Bordeaux, but they were few in number and disheartened, and wisely remained silent; and a motion was carried without debate, by an overwhelming majority, that 'the unusual and urgent interest of the French people calls to the throne His Royal Highness Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and his descendants in perpetuity in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.' In the Chamber of Peers Chateaubriand, while characterizing the resistance of the inhabitants of Paris as just and heroic—as a rising not against the law, but in support of the law—refused to consent to the transfer of the crown, and delivered an eloquent speech in support of the rights of the Duke of Bordeaux. But

the peers were well aware that they were powerless to resist the decree of the deputies supported by the people, who were bent on the exclusion of the whole elder branch of the Bourbons. These, indeed, were not times for a child to occupy the throne of a country like France, and the decision of the deputies in favour of Louis Philippe was adopted by the peers with only ten dissentient voices. Eleven, however, resigned their seats. A vigorous protest was signed by a large body of the members of the Upper House against the deed annulling all the peerages created by Charles X. as 'a measure illegal both in substance and form, and subversive of the constitutional charter and the laws of the kingdom.'

On the 9th of August the crown was formally tendered to the Duke of Orleans in the presence of the two Chambers; but all the royalist deputies were absent, as were the seventy-six peers created by the late king. The declaration of the deputies of the 7th of August, as adhered to by the peers, was first of all read and delivered to him. He then said, 'I have read with great attention the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the Act of Agreement of the Chamber of Peers. I have weighed and meditated all their expressions. I accept without restriction or reserve the clauses and engagements which this declaration contains, and the title of the King of the French which it confers upon me; and I am ready to swear to their observance.' Rising from the seat which he occupied in front of the throne, with his sons standing on either hand, the new king uncovered his head, and raising his right hand, pronounced the following oath in a firm voice: 'In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration; to govern only through the laws and according to the laws; to cause good and exact justice to be rendered to every one according to his right; and to act in all things with a single view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French nation.' He

was then invested by four marshals of France with the crown and the other insignia of royalty, and was escorted to the Palais Royal by the National Guard, followed by an immense multitude, who made the welkin ring with shouts of 'Long live the King of the French.'

The revolution was completed by the trial and punishment of the ministers of Charles X. D'Haussez, the Minister of Marine, Capelle, Minister of Public Works, and De Montbel, Minister of Finance, were fortunate enough to escape. But Polignac was apprehended at Granville in the disguise of a footman; and Peyronnet, who had been Minister of the Interior, Chantelauze, Minister of Justice, and De Renville, Minister of Public Instruction, were seized travelling in disguise at Tours, and were all committed to the castle of Vincennes. Their trial lasted from the 12th to the 21st of December, and terminated in their all being found guilty of treason under the fifty-sixth article of the Charter of 1814, by having countersigned the illegal ordinances of the 25th of July, having taken every means to enforce the execution of them, and having advised the king to declare the city of Paris in a state of siege, in order to subdue by arms the legitimate resistance of the people. The court condemned Prince Polignac to be imprisoned for life, and to be deprived of his titles, rank, and orders, and declared him to be civilly dead. His colleagues, Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Guernon Renville, were likewise condemned to imprisonment for life, and deprived of their titles, rank, and orders; but they were not visited with the penalties of civil death.

Louis Philippe, who was thus called to the throne of France, was the eldest son of Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the notorious 'Egalite' of the first French revolution. He was born at Paris on the 6th of October, 1773, and was consequently in his fifty-seventh year when he was invested with the crown. His life had been signally eventful for a prince of the blood-royal,

and the dangers and privations through which he had passed had given him an amount of experience which crowned heads rarely attain. At the age of eleven he was placed under the care of Madame de Genlis, who was already charged with the education of his sister, the Princess Adelaide. She trained her pupils on the system recommended in Rousseau's 'Emile,' and carefully attended both to their physical and intellectual culture; but their moral, not to say religious education, was almost entirely neglected—a most pernicious defect in the case of a precocious, spirited boy, with a father noted for his shameless profligacy. With such training and such an example, Louis Philippe naturally adopted revolutionary principles, and even enrolled himself in the Jacobin club. Fortunately for him his military duties called him away from the seductions and the dangers of the capital, and in his eighteenth year he became colonel of the 14th regiment of dragoons. He was sent, in the summer of 1791, to Vendôme to command his regiment, and there gave proofs of his courage, moral as well as physical, in saving some priests from the fury of a revolutionary mob, and in rescuing a local engineer from drowning. As a lieutenant-general he commanded a division at Valmy, where he displayed marked coolness and bravery. He distinguished himself greatly at the sanguinary conflict at Jemappes (6th November, 1792), and had a horse shot under him at Neerwinden (18th March, 1793). His father was guillotined at Paris on the 21st of January preceding; and when Dumouriez, suspected and summoned to the bar of Convention, sought refuge within the Austrian lines (5th April, 1793), he was accompanied by the young Duke of Orleans. The prince, however, refused to enter the Austrian service and to fight against his country, and proceeded to Switzerland, where for some time he taught mathematics and geography at the college of Reichenau. After a tour in the north of Europe, he visited the United

States in September, 1796, and then took up his residence in England. He proceeded to Messina in 1808, and in the following year was married at Palermo to the Princess Marie Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand IV., king of the Two Sicilies. On the downfall of Napoleon, the Duke of Orleans returned to Paris, where his military rank and family property were restored to him. On the escape of Napoleon from Elba, the duke was appointed by the king commander of the army in the north, but soon resigned his office and withdrew to Twickenham. After the battle of Waterloo, the duke returned to Paris, but was coldly received by Louis XVIII. He took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, was prominent in recommending a moderate policy, and was in consequence 'advised' to leave France. He retired once more to Twickenham, but returned home in 1817; and though he lived in comparative seclusion, he was regarded as the hope of the liberal and constitutional cause. The political and literary leaders of the moderate royalist and Opposition party enjoyed his countenance and support, though he remained on friendly terms with Charles X. and gave him good advice, which was well received though not followed. The prominence given to his character and career by journalists and pamphleteers, as a prince who had always professed the principles and defended the interests of the national and constitutional cause, directed public attention to him as the proper person to fill the throne on the abdication of Charles X. It must be admitted that he was endowed with eminent qualifications for the

responsible and difficult duty of governing a people like the French. He was undoubtedly possessed of excellent abilities, and had an extensive knowledge of life both in a high and a low estate; had known the depths of poverty and privation, and had shown skill in the management of men. He was both morally and physically courageous, had great self-reliance, liked to have his own way in all affairs, important and trivial, and was desirous to obtain a Ministry who would follow his dictates rather than one that would act on their own judgment. As Lord Brougham, who knew him well and liked him, expressed it, 'he wished to have ministers of sufficient ability to perform their official duties, but not of sufficient weight to have a will of their own.' His manners were easy and natural; he was entirely free from affectation; and though he took care to maintain the dignity of his station, he kept no unnecessary state. He was very good-natured, and bore contradiction with perfect composure. He was an excellent story-teller, was full of anecdote, and had a great talent for mimicry. One of his ministers said of him that, if he had not been a great king, he would have been a great comedian. Brougham remarked, in reply, that he excelled in both characters. Altogether, in the circumstances of the country, there is every reason to believe that in selecting the 'citizen king,' as he was called, to fill the throne rendered vacant by the ejection of the elder branch of the Bourbons, the French Chambers made the best choice within their reach at the time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The General Election unfavourable to the Government—Agricultural Riots and Rick-burning—O'Connell's renewed Agitation in Ireland—Death of Mr. Huskisson—Failure of the Duke of Wellington's attempts to strengthen his Ministry—Opening of the New Parliament—The Premier's Anti-Reform Declaration—The King advised not to Attend the Lord Mayor of London's Anniversary Festival—Brougham's Motion for Reform—Revision of the Civil List—Sir Henry Parnell's Motion—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—Earl Grey appointed Prime Minister—The New Administration.

THE British Parliament was dissolved on the 24th of July, and the new elections took place in circumstances peculiarly unfavourable for the Ministry. They had to encounter the fierce opposition both of the Whigs and the ultra-Tories. The popular feeling was hostile to them in the large towns and populous counties, and not a few of the great boroughmongers, on whose support the Tory Governments had always relied, were either hostile or indifferent. The spirit-stirring news from France contributed not a little to excite the English people against a Ministry believed to have been friendly to Prince Polignac and his arbitrary and unconstitutional measures; and the disturbed state of the country was regarded as a proof of the weakness of the Cabinet, and their inability to hold the reins of Government at this emergency. These combined feelings told powerfully against the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues in the election contests, and led to the defeat of many of their supporters. Mr. Brougham was invited to stand for the great county of York, and was returned second on the poll, which was headed by another Whig, Lord Morpeth. Mr. Joseph Hume was elected one of the representatives of Middlesex. Two of the brothers of Sir Robert Peel and his brother-in-law, Mr. George Dawson, lost their seats. Liverpool again returned Mr. Huskisson and General Gascoigne, both of them hostile to the Ministry, though on different grounds. Coke, of Holkam, obtained a Whig colleague (Sir W. B. Ffolkes) in Norfolk in place of Mr. Wodehouse, and Mr. Denison another in Surrey; Mr. Liddell gave way to Mr. Beaumont in Northumberland; Lord Ebrington, a staunch Whig, carried Devonshire, and brought in along with him a moderate Liberal in the person of Sir Thomas Acland, the leader of the Evangelical party in the House of Commons. Mr. Sandford succeeded Sir T. Lethbridge, a leading agricultural member, in Somersetshire. Mr. Long Pole Wellesley, nephew of the Duke of Wellington, was defeated in Essex after a fifteen days' contest. In Cambridgeshire, where the Rutland interest had long been supreme, the Duke, who was at one time a prominent opponent of the Roman Catholic claims, but turned with the Government, had the mortification to see his nominee signally defeated. Of the eighty-two members returned by the counties of England, only twenty-eight were steady and reliable supporters of the Government, forty-seven were avowed adherents of the Opposition, the remainder were neutral. Out of twenty-eight members returned by large towns, only three were decided Ministerialists, while twenty-four were Liberals. Of 236 candidates who were elected by English constituencies more or less open, only seventy-nine were pledged to support the Ministry, 149 were avowedly adherents of the Opposition, and sixteen professed to be neutral. The Duke of Newcastle and several other great borough proprietors returned members who, though professing

Tory principles, were decidedly unfriendly to the Government. The Duke of Richmond was equally hostile, so were influential county members like Sir Edward Knatchbull, who sat for Kent, and Sir Richard Vyvyan, who represented Cornwall, and had hitherto been among the most zealous and staunch supporters of every Tory administration.

To add to the difficulties of the Ministry, agricultural distress had led to great discontent among the farmers, and to riots and destruction of property on the part of the labourers. The working classes in the rural districts at this time were sunk in dense ignorance, and in their distressed condition were easily induced to believe that the low rate of wages and their consequent privations were caused by the introduction of machinery to supersede or abridge manual labour, and sought to revenge their imagined wrongs by breaking the thrashing machines and burning the ricks of the obnoxious farmers. The *Annual Chronicle* says, 'The disturbances began in the county of Kent. The rioters did not assume the character of disorderly mobs, nor did they profess to seek any political objects. They appeared at first as lurking incendiaries, and wreaked their vengeance on property, the destruction of which could only aggravate the causes of their misery. Night after night new conflagrations were lighted up by bands of incendiaries; corn stacks, barns, farm buildings, live stock, were consumed indiscriminately. Bolder bands attacked mills and demolished the machinery, and all thrashing machines in particular were condemned. Threatening letters, signed "Swing," were circulated, demanding the raising of wages or the disuse of machinery; and the nightly exploits of the masses insured attention to their demands. The evil spread and increased.' During October, November, and December, it made its way from Kent into the counties of Hants, Wilts, Bucks, Sussex, and Surrey. Throughout the whole of that district of country all protection for pro-

perty seemed to be at an end. 'Bands of rioters pillaged and destroyed during the day, and as soon as night fell simultaneous conflagrations, starting up in different quarters, spread over the country havoc and dismay.' The southern counties of England became the scene of incendiarism and pillage, approaching a state of anarchy, which the Government seemed powerless to prevent or punish. The military force in the rick-burning districts was increased; but though harassed with incessant nightly marches, the soldiers failed to discover the perpetrators of these outrages. Large rewards were offered, even so much as £500, for the conviction of any one person engaged in these fire raisings; and a special commission was ordered to proceed into the shires where the conflagrations and robberies abounded.

Ireland, as usual, added its full share to the difficulties of the Government. The abolition of the Roman Catholic disabilities had not, as was confidently predicted, restored peace to that unhappy country; and, indeed, at this period emancipation had only served to furnish unprincipled agitators with the means of increasing the factious feeling and bitter party feuds that had previously existed among Orangemen and Romanists. The Emancipation Act had scarcely become law when O'Connell, disregarding all his previous protestations and promises, commenced an agitation for the repeal of the Union; and by means of public meetings, violent speeches, and menaces, he speedily brought the country into a state of the utmost confusion and commotion. In the beginning of the year he established an association in Dublin, entitled 'The Friends of Ireland of all Religious Persuasions,' for the purpose of promoting repeal. The Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation, signed by his Secretary, Sir Henry Hardinge, forbidding the meeting of the association. O'Connell immediately issued his counter proclamation, denouncing in his characteristic style 'that paltry, contemptible little English soldier that had the audacity to put his

pitiful and contemptible name to an atrocious Polignac proclamation;’ and declaring the repeal of the Union was just at hand, and that ‘no power on earth could prevent it, except the folly or the crimes of some of the Irish themselves.’ This scandalous attack on the Irish Secretary led to a correspondence with Sir Henry, which reflected little credit on O’Connell’s honour or veracity, and was quite sufficient of itself to show that it was hopeless to expect honourable or truthful conduct from him as between man and man.

Ireland had no doubt still many grievances requiring redress; and remedies were especially needed for her miserable tenure of land and the increase of an ignorant, degraded, half-starving population. The misgovernment of centuries could not be redressed by one act of justice and sound policy. But if, at this turning point of the history of the country, when a better spirit had begun to operate in the Imperial Parliament, O’Connell had used his great influence with his Roman Catholic countrymen to induce them to unite in carrying practical measures for the redress of their social wrongs and the improvement of their social condition, there cannot be a doubt that much of the misery which Ireland has since endured would have been prevented, and the superabundance of the wretched population would have been reduced, not by famine and death, but by a well-arranged system of emigration. As life and property were rendered secure, agriculture would have steadily advanced, and the introduction of manufactures into the west and south would have taught the people industrious and provident habits, and rapidly improved their condition. But instead of acting the part of a genuine patriot and public benefactor, O’Connell set himself to exasperate the feelings of the Irish people against the Government and the people of Great Britain, denouncing the administration as ‘base, bloody, and brutal;’ putting a bad construction on every measure proposed for

the benefit of the Irish nation, and undervaluing its merits; fostering, in every way that he could safely adopt, the prevalent dislike which the Irish common people cherished against law and order, and teaching them to look for the redress of all their wrongs to a measure which he well knew was altogether unattainable.

In consequence of the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, the society of the ‘Friends of the People’ did not meet; but a new association was immediately formed by O’Connell for the same purpose, or rather he gave a new name to the former one—that of the ‘Association of Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union;’ the motto of the society to be ‘1782’ over the word ‘Resurgam.’ He exhorted the people to make a run upon the banks throughout Ireland, in order to show the danger of resisting their demands. Though on all other occasions he had been the partisan of the Bourbons, he now told the people in very significant terms to look at the insurrections of the French and the Belgians as examples of the manner in which they should work out the repeal of their own union with Great Britain; exhorted them to send up petitions from every country, city, town, parish, village, and hamlet in Ireland demanding this concession, so that England might be convinced that ‘it was absolutely necessary to repeal the Union.’ The meetings of the Volunteers were prevented by a new proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant—a step which, of course, provoked the agitators to pour out torrents of abuse upon the Government of the most rabid and, indeed, raving description. It had the effect, however, of inducing men of character and influence to make known their sentiments respecting the nature and object of the agitation for repeal. A numerous and highly influential meeting of noblemen and gentlemen, which was convened by the Duke of Leinster, adopted a series of resolutions expressing their determination to uphold, by all means in their power, the legislative union between the

two countries. This well-timed manifesto was so effectual, that during the general election every attempt to extort from a candidate a pledge to vote for the repeal of the Union completely failed; but in the county of Tipperary the magistrates found it necessary to call for military aid, and to apply for extraordinary powers to preserve the public peace.

The state of the country had naturally excited great anxiety and alarm among the upper classes, and the events which had taken place on the Continent had increased their uneasiness. Still the Tory magnates were not in the least reconciled to the Duke of Wellington for his repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, or less eagerly bent on revenge for the unfaithfulness of the Duke to the traditional policy of their party. It might have been expected that, when the elements of popular discontent and excitement were at work, the great landed proprietors and boroughmongers, who had so much at stake, would have strengthened the hands of a Ministry decidedly opposed to all changes in the constitution, and to parliamentary reform, especially as they must have been aware that if the Whigs came into power they would be compelled to carry into effect the pledges they had given while in Opposition. But the ultra-Tories were apparently blind to this danger, and were determined to eject the Duke and his colleagues from office, without taking thought of the consequences which might follow this short-sighted and spiteful procedure. The Whig journalists and pamphleteers of that day persistently taunted the Duke with his alleged desire to cling to office; but no charge could possibly have been more unfounded. His Grace was in reality sick of his office, and retained it solely from a sense of duty. As far back as the 10th of November, 1829, when writing to Sir William Knighton, he said, 'If I had known in January, 1828, one tithe of what I do now, and of what I discovered in one month after I was in office, I should never have been the king's minister, and

should have avoided loads of misery. However, I trust that God Almighty will soon determine that I have been sufficiently punished for my sins, and will relieve me from the unhappy lot which has befallen me. I believe there never was a man suffered so much, and for so little purpose.' In June, 1830, the Duke formally proposed, in a letter to Sir Robert Peel, and 'earnestly urged,' that he should be allowed to take advantage of the king's death to retire from office, and that Peel should undertake the government as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had long been of opinion, he said, that 'it is desirable that the power of the Government should be concentrated in one hand, and that hand that of the leader of the House of Commons.' Sir Robert, however, declined to accede to this proposal, being well aware that the Duke was the mainstay of the administration; and his Grace was, therefore, obliged to remain at his post.

The Duke was quite alive to the fact that his Government was feebly represented in the House of Commons, where Peel was the only minister to whom the House would listen. 'In Parliament,' Brougham wrote, 'the Ministry have no power, no debaters who can be heard, no certainty of carrying a question.' The death of Mr. Huskisson, which took place at this time, seemed to afford an opportunity of strengthening the administration by effecting a reconciliation with the remaining members of the Canning party. The accident which prematurely cut short the career of that distinguished statesman occurred on the 15th of September, at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway. The completion of that undertaking was deemed so important an event that it was resolved to celebrate it with due ceremony. The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Huskisson, who was member for Liverpool, and a large number of other distinguished individuals, were invited to witness the opening. They were conveyed along the line by eight

locomotive engines. Some of these were on the north line; but the eighth, named the *Northumbrian*, drew the train of three carriages conveying the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, and other distinguished persons along the south line of the railway. On the arrival of the procession at Parkside, near Newton, the *Northumbrian* stopped to take in water. The company had been repeatedly warned not to leave the carriages; but notwithstanding this injunction, when the stoppage took place Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Holmes, M.P., and several other gentlemen alighted, and Mr. Holmes availed himself of the opportunity to bring together Wellington and Huskisson, who had never met since their unfortunate difference in 1828. He led Mr. Huskisson round to that part of the carriage where the Duke was stationed. On seeing the approach of his former colleague, his Grace immediately held out his hand to him, which was taken in the most cordial manner. At this moment the *Rocket* was seen advancing on the other line, a space of only eighteen inches intervening between the ducal car and the engine. Huskisson attempted to get out of the way, but was overbalanced by the door of the carriage, and thrown on the railway. His right leg was crushed by the wheel of the engine, and the injuries he received were so severe that he died within twenty-four hours at the vicarage of Eccles, to which he was conveyed.

Huskisson was about sixty years of age at the time of his lamented death. He has been pronounced 'the single financier that England produced between the death of Pitt and the rise of Peel.' Melbourne said he was the 'greatest practical statesman he had known, the one who united theory with practice the most, but owned he was not popular, and not thought honest.' His judgment was certainly not equal to his abilities, and his fondness for office led him into several serious mistakes, especially his joining the Duke of Wellington's Government on Goderich's resignation, which

greatly injured his reputation and influence. Greville says: 'In society Huskisson was extremely agreeable, without much animation, generally cheerful, with a great deal of humour, information, and anecdote; gentleman-like, unassuming, slow in speech, and with a downcast look, as if he avoided meeting anybody's gaze. It is probably true that there is no man in Parliament, or perhaps out of it, so well versed in finance, commerce, trade, and colonial matters, and that he is therefore a very great and irreparable loss.'

The manner in which Mr. Huskisson had been dismissed from office made it highly improbable that he would ever again submit to serve under the minister who had subjected him to such humiliating treatment; and on the other hand the Duke of Wellington had repeatedly declared to his intimate friends that he could not sit again in the same cabinet with Mr. Huskisson, though it appears that he afterwards modified, if he did not change, this feeling. The friends of the statesman who had been cut off in such a lamentable manner would certainly not have taken office without him; but it seemed to have been fancied by the Premier that Mr. Huskisson's death had removed the only, or at least the main obstacle, to their rejoining the Government. He had previously made overtures to William Lamb, now Lord Melbourne, who had at one time held the office of Irish Secretary in his administration; but Melbourne would not join without Huskisson and Lord Grey. The Duke's reply was that he might perhaps consent to take back Huskisson, but that he could not act with Grey, who had spoken of him in such unmeasured terms both in Parliament and in private. Shortly after Huskisson's death, a similar proposal was made to Palmerston. Lord Clive wrote to him, saying that he had been requested by the Duke of Wellington to propose that he should return to the Cabinet. Palmerston replied that in no case could he join the Duke's Government singly. Clive was instructed to ask who were Palmerston's

friends, and was informed by him that they were Melbourne and Grant; but that he should be unwilling, and he believed they would be so too, to join the Duke unless Lansdowne and Grey were to form part of his Government. Clive protested against this as an unreasonable demand, amounting to a surrender on the part of the Duke. There would be no objection to Melbourne and Grant, but the Duke could not assent to the others, and instead of them suggested Goderich, whom Palmerston declined to accept as a substitute for Lansdowne and Grey. To cut the matter short, Palmerston says, and to avoid further communications, he set off immediately for Paris. A few days after his return, the Duke, who evidently still cherished hopes of obtaining Palmerston's co-operation, sent for him and renewed his overtures for assistance. But Palmerston, after mentioning Melbourne and Grant, added that even with them he should be disinclined to join His Grace unless his Cabinet were to be reconstructed. The Duke said he thought that for Melbourne and Grant he could find room, but that it was not so easy to get people out of a Cabinet as to put them in; and as to a larger change of his Cabinet, that did not enter into his intentions, and would be attended with too many difficulties. The interview, which lasted only six minutes, terminated with a statement on the part of Palmerston that he was flattered by the proposal, but that he adhered to his resolution not to join the administration unless it were reconstructed. Still, the Duke did not despair that Palmerston might be induced to accept office under him; but the astute Secretary at War had begun to perceive the progress of public opinion respecting Reform; and when, a few days afterwards, J. W. Croker was sent to persuade him to reconsider the Premier's offer, after talking for some time Croker said, 'Well, I will bring this question to a point. Are you resolved, or are you not, to vote for parliamentary reform?' Palmerston said, 'I am.' 'Well then,' said Croker,

'there is no use in talking to you any more on the subject. You and I, I am grieved to see, will never sit again on the same bench together.'

It was evident that the Government would have to encounter not only the difficulties arising out of the agricultural distress and outrages, and the commotions on the Continent, combined with the mutiny of the Tory boroughmongers and the distrust of the large constituencies; but in addition, with the demand for parliamentary reform raised by the Birmingham and other political unions, and countenanced by the Whigs and the Canningites. Strange to say, the ministers seem to have been quite unaware of their critical position. They imagined, as Lord Ellenborough states in his Diary, that the French revolution would strengthen them; and Mr. Brougham's election for Yorkshire was regarded as a matter of regret, but not of apprehension. Sir Robert Peel was an exception. He had grown daily more dejected at the state of the country, and more dissatisfied with the want of any settled policy in the Government. As rural crime and urban agitation increased, he became more and more desponding. Almost every day he received letters threatening his life, or putting him on his guard against some dangerous conspiracy, until at last it is said, that though by no means wanting in courage, he was afraid to open any letter of which the address seemed at all suspicious.

In these exciting circumstances the opening of the new Parliament was awaited with anxious expectation. It met on the 26th of October, and after several days had been occupied in swearing in the members, it was formally opened by the king on the 2nd of November. There had been reports widely circulated to the effect that ministers were prepared to make concessions to the popular wish, and that a moderate measure of reform would be promised and speedily brought in. But the speech from the throne proved that these expectations were wholly unfounded. It spoke coldly of the

French revolution and the recognition of the new sovereign, lamented that the 'enlightened administration of the king of Holland should not have preserved his dominions from revolt,' expressed an intention to recognize the Government of Don Miguel in Portugal, and declared that His Majesty was determined to employ all the means in his power for the punishment of sedition and the prompt suppression of outrage and disorder.

This speech, which failed to intimate either a desire for peace abroad or a willingness to reform at home, caused general anxiety and uneasiness; and the Funds fell three per cent. from an apprehension that an armed intervention was intended in the affairs of Belgium. In the House of Commons, though the address was agreed to without a division, the reference to the Belgian insurrection was loudly condemned. Lord Althorp felt bound to say that in his opinion His Majesty's ministers were not equal to the task of governing the country in such a critical situation. Mr. Brougham declared the Ministry to be 'the feeblest that had ever before been seen under any combination of circumstances.' The ultra-Tory, Sir Edward Knatchbull, reminded the House that on the first day of last session he had condemned the conduct of the Government, and his opinion remained unchanged; and O'Connell blessed the huge debt which incapacitated 'the British Government from interposing to crush the growing spirit of human freedom.'

In the House of Lords both the ultra-Tories and the Liberals expressed their dissatisfaction with the address. The Earl of Winchelsea and the Duke of Richmond insisted on the very urgent necessity of making some inquiry into the condition of the labouring poor. Earl Grey objected pointedly to that part of the address which spoke of the proceedings in Belgium as 'a revolt against an enlightened Government,' and deprecated any attempt to interfere between Holland and the Low

Countries. We ought to learn wisdom from what was passing before our eyes; when the spirit of liberty was breaking out all around, it was our first duty to secure our own institutions by a temperate reform. 'You see,' said his lordship, 'the danger around you; the storm is in the horizon, but the hurricane approaches. Begin then at once to strengthen your houses, to secure your windows, and to make fast your doors. The mode in which this must be done, my lords, is by securing the affections of your fellow-subjects, and—I will pronounce the word—by reforming Parliament.'

In reply to this explicit expression of opinion on the part of the Whig leader, the Duke of Wellington made the memorable declaration to which the downfall of his Government was in a great measure ascribed. 'The noble earl,' he said, 'has alluded to something in the shape of a parliamentary reform; but he has been candid enough to acknowledge that he is not prepared with any measure of reform; and I have as little scruple to say that His Majesty's Government is as totally unprepared as the noble lord. Nay, on my own part, I will go further, and say, that I have never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which could, in any degree, satisfy my mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at the present moment. I will not, however, at such an unseasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite discussion; but I shall not hesitate to declare unequivocally what are my sentiments upon it. I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. I will go further, and say, that the legislature and the system of representation possess the full and entire confidence of the country, deservedly possess that confidence, and the discussions in the legislature have a very

great influence over the opinions of the country. I will go still further, and say, that if, at the present moment, I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I would form such a legislature as we possess now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching it at once; but my great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. The representation of the people at present contains a large body of the property of the country, in which the landed interests have a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble lord. I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare, that as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the Government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.'

The effect of this speech, even on a body of men most of whom were interested in the maintenance of the existing system, was so marked that, when the Duke sat down, he in a whisper asked one of his colleagues (supposed to be Lord Lyndhurst), 'What was the cause of it?' 'You have announced the fall of your Government, that is all,' was the reply. 'He has thrown away the scabbard,' said Lord Dudley, as they left the House. 'No,' rejoined Melbourne, 'the sword with which he might have parried attack and maintained the position for a good while.' Greville says, 'The effect produced by this declaration exceeds anything I ever saw, and it has at once destroyed what little popularity the Duke had left. I came to town last night and found it ringing with his imprudence, and everybody expecting that a few days would produce his resignation.' On the following morning the Funds, which had already fallen to 84,

fell to 80. The declaration undoubtedly contributed not a little to strengthen the agitation for parliamentary reform. A meeting, which was held at Lord Althorp's rooms, a few days before the opening of Parliament, to consider Mr. Brougham's motion on the subject, was attended by only about twenty persons, while more than two hundred were present at a meeting held the following week. In the House of Commons, on the evening of next day, member after member expressed the strongest dissatisfaction with the Duke's statement. 'The Dictator of the Government,' said one, 'had declared that the people did not want reform, and should not have it. In the name of the people, he replied that they did want reform, and that they would have it.' Another member expressed his conviction, 'that it would not long depend on the behest of the Duke of Wellington whether reform were granted or not.' So strong and general was the feeling of dissatisfaction, that some of the Premier's own colleagues thought it necessary to declare that the Duke had expressed only his own individual opinion; and Sir George Murray, the Colonial Secretary, intimated his willingness to support a moderate measure of reform.

Another unfortunate mistake occurred at this time, to add to the embarrassments of the Ministry. The king and queen, attended by the Ministers, had agreed to dine with Alderman Key, the Lord Mayor elect, at the anniversary festival on the 9th of November. Preparations on an unusual scale of splendour had been made to celebrate the royal visit, and great expectations were formed as to the satisfaction which it would give to the citizens of the metropolis. But suddenly a report arose that some violent reformers intended to avail themselves of the opportunity to make an attack upon the Prime Minister on his road to the city. Francis Place, a well known and influential Radical in Westminster, in a letter to Hobhouse on the 8th of November, asserted that 'should the Duke go in procession with the

king to the Mansion House, there are many who would not shrink from shooting him.' A certain 'City Radical,' whose name has not transpired, made an alarming communication of the same kind to Sir Robert Peel. Then the Lord Mayor elect foolishly and officiously wrote to the Duke of Wellington on the 6th of November, that some of the 'desperate and abandoned characters' in London 'intended to make an attack on his Grace's person on his approach to the hall,' and therefore suggested that the Duke should come 'strongly and sufficiently guarded.' The Home Secretary had also received information that 'an attack was to be made on the Duke's house in the course of the night, when the police were at a distance.' It was well known that the lower orders and the criminal classes in the city were at this time in a state of great irritation against the new police,* established by Sir Robert Peel to replace the old and inefficient guardians of the public peace; and this circumstance added weight and credibility to the warnings given by the Lord Mayor elect and the other busybodies who had acted as alarmists. Thousands of printed handbills of the most inflammatory character were circulated in the city, denouncing the police, and calling the people to come armed on the 9th for revenging the wrongs they had so long suffered. The Cabinet met in haste on Saturday, the 7th, to consider these communications; and without taking the trouble to make any inquiry respecting the trustworthiness of the warnings which they had received, or to communicate with the Lord Mayor and aldermen, they unwisely resolved that the king and queen should not attend the City dinner. This resolution created the utmost consternation in the metropolis. The most alarming reports were in circulation as to the causes which had led the Ministry

to take such a step. On the Monday morning consols fell three per cent. in an hour and a half, and many of the citizens purchased arms and ammunition, and armed their clerks and barricaded their dwellings and warehouses, in dread of an insurrection on the part of the degraded and criminal classes of the community.

It was soon discovered that there was no real cause for alarm; and the conduct of the Ministers in postponing the banquet without having made careful inquiry into the real state of matters, and thus causing a general panic, was universally condemned. The Marquis of Wellesley termed it 'the boldest act of cowardice he had ever heard of.' 'Every sort of ridicule and abuse,' says Greville, 'was heaped upon the Government, the Lord Mayor elect, and all who had any share in putting off the king's visit to the City; very droll caricatures were circulated.' The poor alderman, whose officious letter had been the cause of all the mischief, had no expectation of such a result, and again and again expressed the deepest contrition for the act of which he had been guilty. The Court of Aldermen knew nothing of the letter, and declared that they had no apprehension of a riot. Alderman Waithman, one of the members for the City, stated in the House of Commons that the Ministry had acted with such thoughtless precipitation that it was not until twenty-four hours after they had formally postponed the dinner that they sent into the City to inquire whether the letter which had scared them was genuine or not. The dreaded anniversary after all passed off without any disturbance, except some trifling collisions between the mob and the police; but the incident tended not a little to weaken the Government, and in a week they were out of office.

The notice which Mr. Brougham had given at the opening of the session, of a motion for Reform, stood for the 16th of November. The Ministry were mustering all their strength to resist it, and confidently expected that they would be able

* The origin of this new and most efficient force for maintaining order in London is amusingly commemorated in the nicknames, "Peeler" and "Bobby," given by the mob to the police.

to defeat the motion by a large majority. They had up to this time been blind to their real position; but they now appear to have become all at once aware of their difficulties, and of their inability to meet them. 'The Duke,' says Greville, 'though he put on a good face, was in fact very low,' and had made up his mind to resign 'unless he carried the question by a large majority.' His knowledge that this was now impossible led him to court defeat on another and quite different question.

On the accession of William IV. the Civil List, as a matter of course, had to undergo revision. The late king had enjoyed a Civil List of £850,000, which the Irish and Scottish Civil Lists and the casual revenues had increased to £1,121,000. A considerable portion, however, of this large sum was not really applicable to the maintenance of the personal comforts and conveniencies, or even to the state and dignity of the sovereign, but was expended in allowances to the Lord Chancellor and judges, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, in salaries of ambassadors and other officers of state, and pensions to retired ministers. It was proposed that a Civil List of £970,000 should be granted to the new king, and that, in accordance with his own wishes, he should be freed from some of those charges which, he said, 'swell very largely the nominal and apparent amount of the king's expenditure, and therefore give a handle to a wicked and mischievous press to prejudice the public mind against the monarchy and the Government.' For some reason or other this judicious proposal was not carried into effect; and when the Civil List was submitted to the House by Goulbourn, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was found that he had persisted in keeping all its anomalous accounts confounded together in one, as if for the express purpose of preventing the people from understanding what the maintenance of the royal state costs the country. This was, indeed, admitted and defended by him in the course of the debate. It was at once objected that this

confused mode of making up the Civil List was most injurious to the monarchy; because by mixing with the money devoted to the proper support of the sovereign, for the payment of the expenses incident to his position, those expenses with which the monarch had no more to do than with the payment of the army and navy, it was made to appear that the royal dignity cost the country a great deal more than should in any fairness of calculation be placed to its account. It was pointed out that this inexcusable 'confusion,' for it could be called nothing else, had long been the subject of animadversion—that the use of Roman numerals in the Exchequer computations, or the employment of *tallies* in the same 'enlightened department,' were hardly deemed more exploded remains of the clumsiness of our ancestors than this method of constructing the Civil List.

Sir Henry Parnell, member for Queen's County, whose able and learned work on financial reform and banking had attracted attention to the evils of the bad method of keeping the public accounts generally, and who had been chairman of the Finance Committee of 1828, was put forward by Lord Althorp to suggest that the whole details of the Civil List should be referred to a select committee. He was vigorously supported by the leading members of the Opposition, who severely criticised the proposals of the Ministry as both extravagant and badly arranged, and, moreover, accused them of a breach of faith. In the royal speech at the opening of the Parliament, it was announced that the hereditary revenues of the crown would be placed unreservedly at the disposal of the House of Commons, and that along with these would be given up all casual sources of profit at home and abroad. This announcement gave general satisfaction, especially as it was understood that this unqualified surrender included the Duchy of Lancaster, which, 'with much exaggeration, had always been represented as a chosen nest of jobs for special favourites, and other secret and doubtful purposes.'

It turned out, however, that the king did not intend to give up the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster or the Duchy of Cornwall, and the crown lawyers alleged that these did not form a part of the hereditary revenues of the crown. The Government asserted that the terms of the speech were exactly the same in which similar surrenders had been made, when the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall were never meant to be included. A reference to the statute book, however, showed conclusively the inaccuracy of this assertion; for the words always before used were 'the hereditary revenues of the crown,' whereas on this occasion His Majesty, who of course is both Duke of Lancaster and King of England, and addressed his Parliament in both capacities, was made to say 'all my hereditary revenues without reserve.' No one doubted that the ministers did not really intend that the revenues of the duchies should be surrendered; but then every one said that they should not have expressed what they did not mean, and the mistake, when it came to be set right, naturally excited a good deal of dissatisfaction among the members, both with the ministry and the sovereign.

The discussion was postponed till the 15th of November, when Sir Henry Parnell formally proposed that 'a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and accounts presented by command of His Majesty regarding the Civil List.' The Ministry met the motion with a decided negative; but it was supported not only by Lord Althorp and Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Wynn, but by Mr. Bankes, Sir E. Knatchbull, Sir Richard Vyvyan, and Mr. Holme Sumner, staunch Tories, who had heretofore been among the firmest friends of the Government, and even by the Duke of Wellington's nephew, Mr. Long Pole Wellesley. On the division the Government were defeated by a majority of twenty-nine—the numbers being 233 to 204. A considerable number of members were shut out, who almost all declared that they meant to have voted with the majority.

Next day the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, announced that, in consequence of the adverse division of the previous night, they had tendered their resignations, and continued to hold office only until their successors should be appointed. There can be no doubt that the ministers preferred being defeated on the question of the Civil List rather than on Mr. Brougham's motion for parliamentary reform, which was certainly a judicious choice. 'Our resignation,' wrote the Duke of Wellington, on the 17th of November, 'prevented the discussion of parliamentary reform yesterday. Indeed it was with that view that I thought it best to lose no time in sending it. The new Government will now have that question on their hands. Lord Grey can take it to himself if he should think proper.'

On the resignation of the Duke of Wellington the king at once sent for Earl Grey, and commissioned him to form a new administration. The veteran reformer was now sixty-six years of age. Three years before, in his speech against Canning, he spoke of his political career as terminated; and though he had now attained the great object of his life, the prize had been too long deferred. He was extremely reluctant to quit his retirement, and earnestly entreated Lord Althorp to take the position of head of the new Ministry. But to this proposal Lord Althorp would not listen; it was indeed with the greatest difficulty that he was persuaded to accept the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the lead of the House of Commons, and this only on condition that Earl Grey should be placed at the head of the Government. Palmerston waited on the new Premier the same afternoon, and offered himself for the leadership; but on the intimation that it was reserved for Lord Althorp, he expressed himself perfectly satisfied. There is reason to believe that without the Canningites it would have been impossible to form a Government, and they were all appointed to important offices. Palmerston was

placed at the head of the Foreign Office, Melbourne became Home Secretary, Goderich Secretary for the Colonies, Charles Grant President of the Board of Control. Sir James Graham was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, the Marquis of Lansdowne became President of the Council, Lord Holland Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Earl of Durham (Lord Grey's son-in-law), Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Carlisle accepted a seat in the Cabinet without office. The High Tory Duke of Richmond, who had contributed greatly to the overthrow of the Wellington Ministry, was rewarded with the office of Postmaster-General and a seat in the Cabinet, Lord Auckland was appointed President of the Board of Trade, Lord John Russell Paymaster of the Forces, Charles Wynn, a Grenvillite, Secretary at War, Denman Attorney General, the Marquis of Wellesley Lord Steward, and the Duke of Devonshire Lord Chamberlain. The Marquis of Anglesea was re-appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Plunket was nominated Lord Chancellor, and Edward Stanley (grandson of the Earl of Derby), who was only thirty-one years of age, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland.

So far the formation of the new Government had proceeded without difficulty; but there remained one man, in some respects the most powerful member of the party, for whom no suitable place had yet been found—Henry Brougham. Lord Grey told Lord Althorp that the Government, in order to be strong, must be a comprehensive one, or in other words, a coalition with parliamentary reform as its basis; and it was on this principle that he invited the Duke of Richmond and Sir Edward Knatchbull, two leaders of the High Tory party, to accept seats in his Cabinet. For the same reason, strengthened by his personal liking for Lyndhurst, he wished to retain that very able, but not very high-principled peer as his Lord Chancellor; and proposed that Brougham should accept the office of Attorney-General. 'Most certainly not,'

was the decided, if not indignant reply. He wished to have no office whatever, he said. He was member for Yorkshire, and desired to keep by that and by his profession. In intimating his intention, whoever should be minister, to bring forward his motion on reform, which at Althorp's request had been delayed till the 25th, he took occasion to declare openly in the House of Commons that he had 'nothing to do' with the new Government, and that the change of Ministry could not 'by any possibility affect' him. It appears from his autobiography that he wished to be Master of the Rolls and to remain in the House of Commons; but to this arrangement the king peremptorily refused his consent. His Majesty had been warned against it by the Duke of Wellington, who, on taking leave of the king, said, 'If I may be permitted to give your Majesty one piece of advice it is—on no account to allow Mr. Brougham to be Master of the Rolls; for such a position, coupled with the representation of Yorkshire, would make him too powerful for any Government.' Lord Althorp was of a similar opinion. 'If Brougham is left in Parliament,' he said to Lord Grey, 'with an irremovable office, the Ministry will not last three months, and I certainly will not belong to it.' In these circumstances there was no alternative but to offer the Great Seal to Brougham. He alleges that he refused to accept the Chancellorship, dwelling on the sacrifice which he would have to make in relinquishing his position in the House of Commons and his profession, while his fortune was not sufficient to support a peerage; and that he only consented to waive his objections when he was informed by Lord Althorp that, if he persisted in his refusal, Lord Grey would relinquish the attempt to form a Government, and on Brougham would rest 'the responsibility of keeping the Whig party for another twenty-five years out of power, and the loss of all the great questions which will follow, instead of their being carried.' Brougham's mother

had the judgment to perceive that in accepting office he was 'giving up the substance of power for a name.' 'If, as is probable,' she wrote him, 'office is offered you in the new Government, pause before you accept it; do not be tempted to leave the House of Commons. As member for Yorkshire, backed by all you have done for the country, you are more powerful than any official that ever existed, however high in station or in rank. Throw not away the great position you have raised yourself to—a position greater than any that could be bestowed by king or minister.' Brougham says the folly of the step which he took, 'as a selfish one, was abundantly evident.' 'I took a peerage,' he adds, 'and £4000 a year for life. I gave up an income of more than double, and which the first change at the bar would raise to above £10,000 a year; I gave up a profession of which I had become extremely fond; and I gave up the finest position in the world for an ambitious man like me—a man who loved real power, cared little for any labour however hard, and less for any rank however high. But I made this sacrifice, for which the gratitude of the party at first knew no bounds, and afterwards was reduced to less than nothing.' Meanwhile, however, there can be no doubt that Brougham's acceptance of the Great Seal added largely to the popularity and influence of the Government. The accession to office of the most powerful supporter of the great questions which formed the strength of the party, such as Law Reform, Negro Emancipation, and National Education, was regarded as a pledge that social as well as political reforms would be vigorously carried out by the new administration.

There was one omission in the list of the Ministry which excited general animadversion and regret. Sir James Mackintosh, the eloquent and disinterested reformer of the penal code, was virtually passed over by the Premier, notwithstanding his vast attainments and the sacrifices he had made in adhering to the party when it was at its lowest ebb. His claims were earnestly advocated by Lansdowne and Althorp; but Grey entertained a decided prejudice against him, and appointed him only a commissioner for the affairs of India, the very office which eighteen years previously Sir James had refused. In thus preferring rank and wealth to talent and attainments, the Premier was only following the traditional policy of the Whigs. During Lord Rockingham's administration, in 1782, they had in the ranks of their party the greatest orator, and one of the greatest statesmen this country has ever produced, in the person of Edmund Burke; but he was only the son of an attorney, he had no ancestral estate, and had therefore to be contented to fill the subordinate and uninfluential office of Paymaster of the Forces. In the same spirit, while the Cabinet of Earl Grey contained more than one titled nobody, there was no place in it for the man whom Sydney Smith terms 'the great and benevolent Mackintosh,' a philosopher and historian as well as an orator. 'How,' says Earl Stanhope, 'must the heart of Sir James Mackintosh have swelled within him when the Cabinet door, close shut against himself, was opened wide from time to time to men who might have been his children, and who should have been his pupils—the sons, or the sons-in-law, the cousins, or the nephews of the ruling families.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Reform Ministry—Excitement throughout the Country—Riots in Hampshire and Wiltshire—Measures taken by the Government for Repression of Acts of Outrage—Trial of the Rioters by Special Commission, and of Carlile and Cobbett—Renewal of Agitation in Ireland—Vigorous Measures of Repression adopted by the Government—Processions in Ireland—Arrest of O'Connell for Sedition—Corrupt State of the Parliamentary Representation of the Country—Introduction of the Reform Bill by Lord John Russell—The Debate—Bill read a second time by a majority of one—Defeat of the Government in Committee—Exciting Scene at the Prorogation—Dissolution of Parliament.

THE Reform Ministry entered upon their official duties at a period when the country was in a state of social perplexity and confusion, as well as political alarm. Incendiary fires continued to light up the darkness of December nights throughout no fewer than thirteen of the southern counties. Organized bands of rioters, sometimes 1500 strong, attacked and burned the farmhouses of unpopular farmers, and broke their thrashing machines, levying contributions at the same time on every gentleman's house. The magistrates were quite unable to suppress outrages carried out on such a formidable scale, and the military and yeomanry had to be called on to their assistance. A regular battle took place in Wiltshire at the seat of Mr. Benett, one of the members for the county, between a body of 500 rioters and a troop of yeomanry, in which one man was killed and several others severely wounded. The Duke of Wellington wrote the Home Secretary that a mob of 300 or 400 persons had done a great deal of mischief in the neighbourhood of Kington; but the magistrates contrived to inclose them between two detachments of troops of only twenty each, and the whole body of rioters were taken prisoners.

The offences committed by these poor ignorant, half-starved peasants admitted of some extenuation; but no excuse can be made for the conduct of men like Cobbett and Richard Carlile, who strove to convince these misguided men that they were acting judiciously and properly in destroying the property of their employers. The former

in his 'Political Register' said, 'It is unquestionable that these acts have produced good, and great good too. They have been told that their acts of violence, and particularly their burnings, can do them no good, but add to their wants by destroying the food that they would have to eat. Alas! they know better; they know that one thrashing machine takes wages from ten men; and they also know that they should have none of this food, and that potatoes and salt do not burn. Besides they see and feel that the food comes, and comes instantly too. They see that they get some bread in consequence of the destruction of part of the corn; and while they see this, you attempt in vain to persuade them that that which they have done is wrong.' Carlile, who some years before had been punished for a blasphemous publication, issued an address 'To the Insurgent Agricultural Labourers,' in which he informed the rioters that he admired them for every thing they were known to have done during the last month. 'In war,' he said, 'all destructions of property are counted lawful, upon the ground of that which is called the law of nations. You have more just and moral cause for it than any king or faction that ever made war had for making war. Yours is a state of warfare, and your ground of quarrel is the want of the necessaries of life in the midst of abundance. Neither your prudence nor your silence has obtained for you the least respectful attention. It is only now that you begin to display your physical as well

as your moral strength, that your cruel tyrants treat with you and offer you terms of pacification.'

Lord Melbourne, the new Home Secretary, found it necessary to deal with these acts of outrage and violence, and their instigators, with a firm hand. He promptly issued a proclamation stating the determination of the Government to take vigorous measures for the repression of tumult, the preservation of the public peace, and the protection of the lives and properties of His Majesty's subjects; and he assured the Lord-Lieutenants of the disturbed districts of every possible assistance in suppressing unlawful assemblies and all acts of outrage. Early in December a Special Commission was issued to try the rioters in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, with whom the gaols were full. No fewer than 1000 prisoners were tried, in groups of twelve and twenty at a time, before the Special Commission, which was opened at Winchester on the 18th of December. Those who were found guilty were sentenced to different degrees of punishment; and in consequence of this vindication of the law the rick-burning and machine-breaking outrages speedily ceased.

The Government very properly resolved to make a strenuous effort to bring to justice the several incendiaries who had encouraged the ignorant and wretched labourers in their lawless proceedings. Carlile was tried at the Old Bailey on the 10th of January, 1831. The jury found him guilty of 'addressing inflammatory language to the labouring classes,' and he was sentenced to pay a fine of £200 and to be imprisoned for two years. Cobbett's trial was postponed till the following July, and it took place at a time when the whole country was violently agitated by the rejection of the Reform Bill, and juries were not inclined to judge severely inflammatory exhortations addressed to the labouring classes eight months before. He defended himself in a long speech, arguing

against the criminal intent and tendency imputed to the publication, but mainly devoted to abuse of the Government, and especially of the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Denman, who, he said, had not ventured to prosecute the *Times* for its libels on the unreformed House of Commons, or the *Morning Chronicle* and other Whig papers for their attacks upon the judges who had presided at some recent political trials. The jury could not agree upon a verdict, two of their number, who were in Cobbett's favour, obstinately holding out against the other ten. The Lord Chief Justice discharged them after they had been locked up for fifteen hours, and Cobbett thus escaped the punishment which his conduct well deserved.

Ireland, as usual, was the source of great difficulty and anxiety to the Government. Earl Grey unfortunately allowed the Lord-Lieutenant to select all the subordinate officials in the viceregal executive, and the Marquis of Anglesey, who was by no means a judicious statesman, made his choice from personal feelings and predilections rather than from a regard to the public service. Before quitting London he intimated to O'Connell his intention of retaining the law officers of the previous Government as well as the Under-Secretary, and thus persisting in the same system of religious exclusion which had existed before the Emancipation Act had passed. Men of the highest legal ability and learning were practically told to stand aside and to allow inferior men to take precedence. O'Connell did not fail to express his surprise and indignation at the course thus followed by the Whig Lord-Lieutenant, aggravated by his conferring the office of Attorney-General on Mr. Blackburne, a keen Tory. He was dissatisfied also with the elevation of Mr. Doherty—an able lawyer, and a man of the highest honour and integrity, who had been Solicitor-General—to the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, which it was believed O'Connell himself regarded with longing

eyes. The alleged ground of complaint was the fact that Mr. Doherty, who had belonged to the party of Mr. Canning, had taken office under the Duke of Wellington, and now accepted an appointment from Lord Grey and Lord Anglesey. But the main reason was, that he had incurred Mr. O'Connell's enmity by the upright and independent course he had pursued, and especially his fearless exposure of the agitator's calumnies. The restless and unscrupulous agitator, enraged beyond measure by Anglesey's foolish and unfair proceedings in the disposal of his patronage, was evidently bent on the most determined efforts to keep the country in a state of constant excitement. He affirmed that the Premier had threatened Ireland with new coercive laws, that 'the English pension list is half a million (the sum being only £70,000), that the abolitionists of slavery are tools and jobbers for ministerial favour, and far less liberal than their West India adversaries.' He declared that the Relief Act was a cheat, which it was not intended to carry into operation; and as the Whigs were every whit as untrustworthy as the Tories, there was nothing left but to insist on the repeal of the Union and the institution of a separate Parliament for Ireland.

The Government were compelled to accept the challenge which O'Connell had thrown out; and the Lord-Lieutenant issued a proclamation prohibiting a meeting of trade societies to march in procession through the streets of Dublin, which had been summoned to promote the repeal of the Union. The 'Liberator,' as he was termed, sent out an invitation to his adherents to attend a similar meeting under a different name. The Viceroy issued a second proclamation forbidding this renewed attempt to evade the law. It would be tedious to follow the great agitator through all his doublings, and windings, and subterfuges to keep within the letter of the statute while violating its spirit. He even recommended the people to attempt to destroy public credit, and throw the country into

confusion, by making a sudden run upon the banks for gold. The result was most injurious to the public interests. A panic ensued in every part of Ireland. The banks restricted their discounts, or refused them altogether. There was an instant stagnation in trade. An immediate decline took place in the value of all articles of consumption, including agricultural produce, on which Ireland is largely dependent. Merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, artizans, and labourers were equally involved in the same difficulties. The Irish people, though not easily made to see the folly of the recommendations of their leaders, were made to feel practically the absurdity as well as the mischievous character of O'Connell's policy, and to see that it had injured the people rather than the banks. In the course of ten days the panic had passed away. Confidence was restored, and trade began to resume its usual channels.

The arch-demagogue then proposed another scheme of a similar character, that the Irish people should compel the Government to yield to their demands by refusing to consume excisable articles; but the egregious failure of his previous experiment on political economy was too fresh in the minds of his dupes to permit this recommendation to produce any effect. Agitation of a similar kind was, however, continued till the patience of the Government was at length exhausted; and on the 18th of January, 1831, O'Connell and half a dozen of his subordinates were arrested on the charge of exciting to sedition, and true bills were brought against them. He made use of all the pleas and subterfuges which his legal ingenuity could devise, to prevent the case being brought to trial. After his pleas and demurrers, which were simply intended to waste time and obtain delay, had been all overruled, he at last offered to plead guilty to the first fourteen counts of the indictment, and to allow judgment to go by default on condition that the remaining counts charging him with conspiracy should be withdrawn.

This arrangement was agreed to by the Attorney General, Blackburne, and the case was then allowed to stand over till the first day of Easter term.

Lord Althorp expressed the feelings of the most judicious members of his party respecting these proceedings when he wrote confidentially to his father, 'I cannot say that I am satisfied with what is doing in Ireland. Notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of our law authorities there, I entertain some doubts of the legality of O'Connell's arrest. But as our law appointments are already censured by many, and perhaps approved by none very much, we shall be considered responsible for any blunders they may have made.' Lord Althorp, however, was of opinion that 'O'Connell must be put down, whatever may be the means necessary to put him down;' but the position of the Ministry with reference to the Reform question made it inexpedient at this juncture to press matters to extremity against him. On the 9th of March O'Connell supported the Reform Bill in a speech of great power; and when Easter arrived the Irish Attorney General consented that judgment should be postponed till an early day in May. But on the 19th of April the Ministry were defeated on General Gascoigne's motion, and two days later Parliament was dissolved. The Act under which O'Connell had been indicted expired with the dissolution, and no further proceedings could be legally taken against him.

When the Parliament met, after its adjournment to afford time for the re-election of those members of the Government who had seats in the House of Commons,* the first business taken up was the question of the Regency, which brooked no further delay. It was provided that if the Princess Victoria should succeed to the throne during her minority, the Duchess of Kent, her mother, should be

Regent. If a posthumous child should be born to the king, the queen was to be Regent during the minority. With regard to the question of the Civil List, which had proved fatal to the Wellington administration, it was referred to a committee in accordance with Sir Henry Parnell's motion. But the new Chancellor of the Exchequer transferred to the Consolidated Fund the salaries of the ambassadors and other charges which had hitherto been placed in the Civil List, and fixed the sum devoted to the sovereign's own use at £510,000. A difficulty arose in connection with the Pension List, which caused no small annoyance to the Government. Sir James Graham had moved the previous year for a return of all privy councillors who had more than £1000 a year; and in the hope of smothering the motion, Goulbourn thought fit to substitute for it a return of *all persons* enjoying more than £1000 a year from the State. The publication of this list in the celebrated 'Black Book,' as Greville predicted, 'removed no obloquy from those Goulbourn meant to save, but drew down a great deal on hundreds of others and on the Government.' 'It struck terror into all who are named, and virtuous indignation into all who are not.' A vehement demand arose for the withdrawal of these pensions, which the new Ministry found it difficult to resist. The king himself felt very keenly on the subject; and while quite ready, he said, to submit to any checks upon himself, he deprecated 'the idea of being called upon to visit the sins of his forefathers upon the objects of their favour and benevolence.' The Premier's own feelings on the subject were so strong that he said, 'If the House of Commons decides upon reducing the pensions, I should be very much inclined to retire from the Government.' And Lord Althorp told the Chancellor, who recommended that the pensions should be withdrawn, that 'he was perfectly ready to resign upon it.' The storm, however, blew over; and the House agreed, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

* They were all re-elected except Mr. Stanley, who was defeated by Hunt at Preston—the only place in England where popular suffrage existed.

to appoint a Select Committee to inquire what reductions could be made in the salaries and emoluments of offices held by members of either House of Parliament during the pleasure of the Crown. After these affairs had been settled, the House adjourned on the 20th of December till the 3rd of February, in order to allow the Government time to prepare the Reform Bill, which they had pledged themselves to lay before Parliament.

The task which the new Ministry had undertaken was one of no ordinary magnitude and responsibility. The representation of the country at this time was in a state which nowadays it is extremely difficult to realize. The House of Commons, indeed, represented the peers rather than the people. Out of 658 members, of whom the House consisted at that time, no fewer than 371 of the representatives of England and Wales, 71 of the Irish members, and the entire 45 Scottish members owed their seats to nomination, not election in the proper sense of the term; and 245 of these were returned by the influence of 128 peers. A considerable number were nominated direct by the Treasury, and a great many more by its influence. The representatives of England were very unequally distributed, for while the ten southern counties, with a population under 3,000,000, returned 237 members to Parliament, the thirty other counties, with a population of nearly 8,500,000, were represented by 252 members. The single county of Cornwall returned forty-four members, only one less than the whole number of the representatives of Scotland. One great peer (Lord Lonsdale) returned nine members. Seven peers returned six each, two, five each; seven, four each; four, three each. A number of boroughs, returning two members each, had scarcely any electors at all. Old Sarum was a green mound; Gatton a nobleman's park; Dunwich had long been submerged beneath the sea; Beeralston contained only one house rated at over £10 a year; the borough of Corfe Castle was a cluster of

cottages round a ruined tower. The borough-mongers made no secret that they disposed of the seats in their hands exclusively for their own advantage. Some of them openly sold their boroughs to the highest bidder, without any respect to political opinions, and two seats generally brought £10,000 during a single Parliament. Others limited the sale to members of their own party. The prominent men, both Whigs and Tories, either nominated their own relations and friends, or employed their patronage to bring forward promising young men belonging to their party. Thus Horner was brought into Parliament for St. Ives by Lord Kinnaird, and Macaulay for Calne by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

In the large towns, such as Liverpool, Bristol, and Hull, bribery prevailed to a very wide extent, and an election generally involved a saturnalia of riot and drunkenness. In Liverpool the freemen and lower class of electors openly sold their votes to the highest bidder. 'By long-established custom,' said Wilberforce, 'the single vote of a resident elector at Hull was rewarded with a donation of two guineas, four were paid for a plumper; and the expenses of a freeman's journey from London averaged £10 a-piece.' 'The price of votes at Maidstone was as regularly fixed as the price of bread—so much for a single vote, so much for a plumper.' These cases were not exceptions, but only examples of the general custom. In some of the smaller boroughs which had escaped the dictation of a patron, the corporation sold the representation; in some cases the electors themselves advertised the seats for sale.

Among the highest grade of borough proprietors titles, places, and pensions were expected from the Government, and usually received in return for the support of their nominees. As in Burke's day, Indian nabobs, who had returned home with colossal fortunes, found that the purchase of a borough or of a seat in Parliament was the readiest and best way to obtain a good position in society and social influence; and

as the trade and commerce of the country increased, merchants and manufacturers, bankers, brewers, and distillers, animated by a similar ambition, adopted the same course to gain the object of their desire. The price of boroughs, in consequence, rose largely in the market. But persons of far higher standing than these self-made men followed a similar course, though in a more covert way. Rank, office, and pensions were the rewards of the boroughmongers who gave their unhesitating support to the Ministry of the day. Satirical observers remarked how barons in this way wrought their way up to higher grades in the peerage, and to lucrative and permanent offices in the Government; how Lord Buckingham, who nominated six members, had become, first a marquis, and then a duke; and how Lord Darlington, who had purchased seat after seat until he had six, or some say seven, at his absolute disposal, had, as Greville remarked, 'got his boroughs to be made a marquis, and got rid of them to be made a duke.'

Sydney Smith has left a picture of the 'borough market' of these days, and its effects, as true as it is witty. 'So far,' he says, 'from the Reform Bill being a merely theoretical improvement, I put it to any man, who is himself embarked in a profession, or has sons in the same situation, if the unfair influence of boroughmongers has not perpetually thwarted him in his lawful career of ambition and professional emolument? "I have been in three general engagements at sea," said an old sailor; "I have been twice wounded; I commanded the boats when the French frigate, the *Astrolabe*, was cut out so gallantly." "Then you are made a post-captain?" "No, I was very near it; but Lieutenant Thompson cut me out, as I cut out the French frigate; his father is town-clerk of the borough for which Lord F—— is member, and there my chance was finished." In the same manner all over England you will find great scholars rotting on curacies, brave captains starving in garrets, profound lawyers decayed and

mouldering in the Inns of Court, because the parsons, warriors, and advocates of boroughmongers must be crammed to saturation before there is a morsel of bread for the man who does not sell his votes and put his country up to auction; and though this is of everyday occurrence, the borough system, we are told, is no practical evil. . . . But the thing I cannot bear, and will not, is this—What right has this lord or that marquis to buy ten seats in Parliament, in the shape of boroughs, and then to make laws to govern me? And how are these masses of power redistributed? The eldest son of my lord has just come from Eton; he knows a good deal about Æneas and Dido, Apollo and Daphne, and that is all; and to this boy his father gives a six-hundredth part of the power of making laws, as he would give him a horse, or a double-barrelled gun. Then Vellum, the steward, is put in—an admirable man; he has raised the estates—watched the progress of the family Road and Canal Bills—and Vellum shall help to rule over the people of Israel. 'A neighbouring county gentleman, Mr. Plumpkin, hunts with my lord, opens him a gate or two while the hounds are running, dines with my lord, agrees with my lord, wishes he could rival the South Down sheep of my lord; and upon Plumpkin is conferred a portion of the government. Then there is a distant relation of the same name in the county militia, with white teeth, who calls up the carriage at the Opera, and is always wishing O'Connell was hanged, drawn, and quartered; then a barrister, who has written an article in the *Quarterly*, and is very likely to speak and refute M'Culloch; and these five people, in whose nomination I have no more agency than I have in the nomination of the toll-keepers of the Bosphorus, are to make laws for me and my family—to put their hands in my purse, and to sway the future destinies of this country; and when the neighbours step in, and beg permission to say a few words before these persons are chosen, there is a universal cry of ruin,

confusion, and destruction; we have become a great people under Vellum and Plumpkin; under Vellum and Plumpkin our ships have covered the ocean; under Vellum and Plumpkin our armies have secured the strength of the Hills—to turn out Vellum and Plumpkin is not reform, but revolution.’

Indefensible as the existing system was in England, it was incomparably worse in Scotland. The Scottish people had no share whatever in the parliamentary representation of their country. Of the forty-five members returned to the imperial parliament by Scotland, thirty were sent by the counties, fifteen by the boroughs. The county voter required to be either the actual proprietor of a portion of land, or the feudal superior of it. A freehold qualification could only arise from land which, when valued several centuries ago, was then found to be worth forty shillings Scots a-year, or which, in 1830, was valued by the Commissioners of Supply as worth yearly £400 Scots, equivalent to an annual rent of from £100 to £200 sterling. In other words, a qualification to vote in a Scottish county was more than £100 above the general qualification in England. The qualification was attached merely to land, and was not conferred upon property in houses. It was not attached even to land, whatever might be its extent, unless it was holden of the Crown. A landed proprietor might possess an estate worth £20,000 a year and yet have no vote, because he held it of a subject.

The result of this state of matters was, that the whole freeholders in Scotland were, at the time the Reform Bill was introduced, fewer in number than those in any English county, except one or two of the very smallest. The total number on the register was about 3253; but the real number of voters was considerably less, for there were a great many cases in which the vote belonged to a proprietor, but was lent for life to another person, and there were a considerable number who had votes in more counties than one. After these deductions

were made, it was very doubtful if the total number of county voters in Scotland exceeded 2500. Some were of opinion that they were not more than 2000.

The county franchise, as might have been expected in such circumstances, was a valuable property for personal purposes, and was frequently purchased as an investment. The average price of a qualification, comprising nothing but a right to vote, was £500, and its market price was not unfrequently double that sum. On one occasion, six of these qualifications, exposed to public sale in one day, yielded a total of more than £6000. It was not unusual for proprietors to convey such qualifications to friends, but only during their lives, and, of course, with the distinctly understood, if not expressed condition, that they were to be used solely in support of the person from whom they were derived, or in accordance with his wishes. And lest these qualifications should be lost to the family, it was lawful to entail them along with the family estate, ‘so that,’ as Lord Cockburn remarked, ‘a great landed proprietor may first be surrounded by his own satellites, while his attraction lasts; after which the lesser stars return and are lost in their parent luminary, who, again, sends them periodically forth to perform the same evolutions.’ Sir Walter Scott, who knew well the mode in which this system was worked, and the purposes to which it was turned, describes how the legal agent of Bertram of Ellengowan ‘went to work as any Scottish lawyer knows how, by splitting and subdividing the superiorities upon this ancient and once powerful barony. These were so extensive, that by dint of clipping and paring here, adding and eiking there, and creating overlords upon all the estate which Bertram held of the Crown, they advanced on the day of contest at the head of ten as good men of parchment as ever took the oath of trust and possession.’ Wilberforce states, that up to 1780, the member for Yorkshire had always been elected in Lord Rockingham’s dining-room, but

county elections in Scotland were conducted in a manner even more private and secluded. The electors generally met in a room, and their proceedings attracted so little attention, that if it had not been for the casual mention of the circumstance in the local newspaper, the very fact that a member had been elected would not have been known to the public. On one occasion, at an election for the county of Bute, the sheriff, who was a freeholder, was the only elector present. He took the chair, administered to himself the official oath, read the writ, nominated the candidate, declared him duly elected, signed the official return, and sent it off to London, all without the slightest assistance from any individual legally qualified to take part in the proceedings.

Fifteen members were returned by the sixty-six royal boroughs. Of these Edinburgh was the only borough which returned a member for itself. All the others were arranged in groups of four or five, which returned one member among them. Not a few of these privileged boroughs were mere hamlets, insignificant in every respect except in their possession of this valuable share of political representation. Glasgow had only a fifth share in the election of a member, and its vote had no more weight than that of Renfrew or Dumbarton, which belonged to the same group. Greenock, Paisley, Leith, and other large towns, were entirely unrepresented, because they were not royal boroughs.

The mode of election was so arranged as to completely exclude the great body of the people from any share in the choice of a member. The town council of each royal borough elected a delegate, and these delegates from each group of four or five boroughs chose the member. It was distinctly understood that each delegate was bound to vote in accordance with the views of those who appointed him. But he was under no legal obligation to do so, and it is well known that a liberal bribe sometimes induced him to take a different course. The people had

no voice in the appointment of this limited constituency, for the town councils of Scotland were all self-elected, and the councillors and magistrates were chosen mainly for their political subserviency, and did not always belong to the most influential or respectable classes of society.

The system exercised a most injurious influence on the electors and the members, as well as on the community at large. The electors were so few in number that it was not difficult to gain their support by corrupt or sinister means. Their interests were often quite distinct from, if not hostile to, those of the nation; and there was no publicity or public opinion to check them in the use they thought fit to make of their peculiar privilege. Hence the professed opinions both of the freeholders and of the town councils usually presented a marked contrast to those of the public, and in the exercise of the franchise the welfare of the community was rarely if ever thought of. The influence either of the Government or of some local magnate was always paramount in the choice of representatives. It is an undisputed fact that hardly a single instance is known of a candidate obtaining a seat for a Scottish county or borough, except in the interest of the Government, or of some peer or other landed proprietor of great local influence. It was confidently asserted at the time of the Reform Bill that no member was ever returned by any body of electors in Scotland solely in consequence of his abilities or services, and that the man who had nothing but his public services or character to recommend him, never dreamed of obtaining a seat for any Scottish county or borough.

Such was the system, deep-rooted in the interests and prejudices of the most powerful section of the community, which Earl Grey and his colleagues had undertaken to reform and to accommodate to the existing state of public feeling and expectation; with the certainty that, on the one hand, they would have to encounter the determined hostility of the Tory aristocracy, and,

on the other, to be annoyed by the unreasonable and extravagant hopes of the ignorant masses, who expected that the reform of the Parliament 'would feed and clothe them, and bring work and good wages, and a removal of all the taxes.'

Parliament re-assembled on the 3rd of February, and the Premier intimated that the promised Reform Bill was ready, and would be brought forward in the House of Commons. The work had been laborious; but he believed that the Government had succeeded, as they had desired, in preparing a scheme 'which should be effective without exceeding the bounds of a just and well-advised moderation.' It was necessary, however, in the first instance to bring forward the budget, of which great expectations had been formed. The Select Committee on the Civil List had been able to recommend a reduction of a few of the salaries of the officers of the household, which amounted only to the sum of £11,000 a year—much to the disappointment of the economists. It was hoped, however, that the failure to effect any material retrenchment in the Civil List would be redeemed by ample reforms in the budget. Althorp himself was well aware that, though he was resolved to carry out his 'firm determination to enforce the most rigid economy, and to effect a thorough retrenchment in every department of the State,' it was quite impossible to effect any material reduction on the estimates prepared by the late Government. The ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer had placed the expenditure of 1830 at £47,810,000. Althorp's estimate of the expenditure of 1831 was £46,850,000. The available income of the year was estimated at £47,150,000, leaving a surplus of only £200,000. Althorp, however, resolved to attempt to relieve the public burdens by altering the mode in which the revenue was to be raised. He proposed to repeal the heavy duties on printed calicoes, tallow candles, glass, sea-borne coals, timber, tobacco, the auction duty on the sale of land, and a great number of petty duties which, though

burdensome to the public, were productive of little profit to the Treasury; and to reduce by one half the duty on tobacco and the tax on newspapers and advertisements. In order to make up for the loss to the Exchequer of between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000 a year, which these remissions of taxation would involve, he proposed to lay a tax of one-half per cent. on the transfer of all real and funded property, to equalize the wine and timber duties, and to impose a duty on raw cotton, the export of coals and passengers in steam-vessels. By these arrangements he expected to relieve the poor and the industrial classes, and to shift the public burdens to the shoulders of the wealthier portion of the community; to give wider scope to commercial enterprise, and to promote the increased employment of the people.

There can be no doubt now that Althorp's budget would have effected a considerable reform in the financial system of the country; but it met with strenuous opposition from the parties interested in the maintenance of the existing duties. The proposed tax on the transfer of funded property was denounced as 'involving as gross a violation of public faith as had ever been permitted by any revolutionary Government,' and had to be withdrawn. This modification of his budget made it necessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to retain the duties on tobacco and glass. The Opposition next assailed the proposed alteration of the wine duties, which they professed to regard as a violation of the Methuen Treaty with Portugal, and they were especially violent in their attacks on the alteration of the timber duties, as unjust to Canada and injurious to the shipping interests. In the hope of conciliating the Protectionists, Althorp offered to modify his proposals—to reduce gradually the duty on Baltic timber, and to leave the duties on Canadian timber unaltered; but this concession failed to satisfy the Opposition, and the scheme was rejected by 236 votes to 190. The budget, in short, was

brought forward before its day. Neither the Parliament nor the public were prepared to advance so far on the road to the abolition of protective duties, and the adoption of free-trade principles.

The mode in which the budget had been received and treated by the House of Commons had undoubtedly injured the credit of the Government, and materially weakened its influence; but it was speedily forgotten amidst the excitement produced by the Reform Bill. The preparation of that important measure had been intrusted to a committee consisting of Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, Lord Durham, and Lord Duncannon, only two of whom, Graham and Durham, were members of the Cabinet. Duncannon was the oldest son of the Earl of Bessborough, and had for many years acted as 'whipper in' to the Whig party. An outline of a plan of reform which had been prepared by Lord John was submitted to the committee, and with some alterations adopted by them. 'Durham proposed the ballot, and Graham assented from a feeling that the bill would all seem flat without it, rather than from choice;' but he did so mainly in consequence of Lord Althorp's recommendation. 'I was against it,' said Lord John, 'and thought, if adopted, it would be necessary to modify our plans respecting the suffrage. Duncannon asked Althorp's advice as to what he should do, and the latter said by all means vote for the ballot. The report to the Cabinet was accordingly in that sense if there was to be a £20 franchise.' On this important point wide differences of opinion existed among the Ministers. Lord Melbourne said, 'I am for a low figure. Unless we have a large basis to work upon, we shall do nothing.' Althorp, Durham, and Duncannon, on the other hand, would have consented to a £15 or £20 franchise, if accompanied by the ballot, which drew out the shrewd remark of the Lord Chancellor, that the bill would then create many more nomination boroughs than it destroyed. He obtained returns which proved this to demonstration. One

town with 17,000 or 18,000 inhabitants had not twenty persons who would have been entitled to vote. In many boroughs there were not over ten persons rated in a £20 house.

Lord Grey was strongly opposed to the ballot, as was the king himself, and on no terms could he be prevailed upon to accept it. Neither did he think that the country would be satisfied with a small constituency, however elected. Brougham, Graham, and Russell were in favour of a £10 franchise, and this was ultimately adopted by the Cabinet. A proposal of the committee to limit the duration of each Parliament to five years was rejected, though the Premier himself was in favour of it.

The measure, as ultimately submitted to the House, proposed the disfranchisement of all boroughs—sixty in number—with less than 2000 inhabitants. There were other forty-six boroughs with more than 2000, but less than 4000 inhabitants; and it was resolved that in future they should return only one member instead of two. The franchise was to be conferred upon leaseholders paying £50 of rent, and £10 copyholders in counties. It was proposed that every person possessing a beneficial interest in lands or houses in a Scottish county, either as a freeholder or copyholder to the amount of £10, or a leaseholder to the amount of £50, should be entitled to a vote; and that in the boroughs the franchise should be assimilated to that of England. In order to diminish the enormous expense of elections various reforms were proposed respecting residence, the registration of votes, an increase in the number of polling booths, the shortening the duration of the poll, and the taking the poll in the hundreds or divisions of counties. The disfranchisement of the sixty boroughs, and the semi-disfranchisement of forty-six, with two members taken from Weymouth, which had previously returned four, placed 167 at the disposal of the Government. It was resolved to allot forty-four members to large unrepresented towns in England, to

give fifty additional members to counties having 150,000 inhabitants, to add five members to the number of the Scottish representatives, five to Ireland, and one to Wales. These arrangements reduced by sixty-two the existing number of members.

Lord John Russell says he entreated Lord Grey to impose upon his colleagues the necessity of secrecy, in order that the plan might come with all the freshness of novelty upon the public ear, and deprive the opponents of reform of the advantage of making adequate preparations to resist the first assault upon the well-fortified intrenchments of the enemy. Absolute secrecy was indeed necessary to give the measure any chance of success with the country and with Parliament. A week or ten days, as the Chancellor remarked, would have sufficed to raise objections in all quarters, even among its friends, and discontent would have prevailed among many because of the reform going too far, among many more because of its not going far enough; besides that, every one would have had a plan of his own, and not a few must have rejected it from ignorance of the subject and being led by no weighty authority. In short, the keeping the whole of the measure secret until the moment of promulgation with the full weight of Government appeared absolutely necessary, if the bill was to have fair play. Notwithstanding the number of persons to whom the plan had to be confided, there never was a secret more perfectly kept. Even on the very day that the measure was to be brought forward there was a general apprehension among the supporters of the Ministry that their bill would not go far enough to satisfy the country. And so little were the Tory party prepared for such a sweeping measure, that Sir Robert Peel a few days earlier predicted that when the plan of Reform should be developed, it would occasion disappointment by the meagreness of its proportions and the trifling nature of the changes recommended. Lord Lowther (the prototype of Lord Esk-

dale in 'Coningsby'), a remarkably shrewd and very adroit intriguer, contrived almost at the last hour to learn some of the leading provisions of the bill; but when he mentioned them, no one believed him. The effect, therefore, of the revelation of the real nature and extent of the measure was astounding.

The introduction of the bill had been intrusted to Lord John Russell, Paymaster of the Forces, principally because he had for more than ten years identified himself with the cause, though no doubt partly from the fact that his brother, the Duke of Bedford, a great Whig leader, was a proprietor of nomination boroughs, and his support was therefore likely to obtain a favourable hearing for a measure which had for its chief object their abolition. As the 1st of March—the day on which the ministerial scheme was to be made known—approached, the excitement throughout the country increased. When the day arrived the long avenue to the House of Commons was blocked at an early hour by claimants for admission to the gallery, and the House itself was crowded in every corner. 'Lord John,' says an eye-witness, 'looked very pale and subdued. He cast an occasional glance at the immense array of the Opposition in front of him, which presented a disagreeable contrast to its appearance when the Whigs sat there.' Amid breathless silence he began in a low voice to unfold the plan of the Government. He spoke for nearly two hours. His speech was purposely plain and simple, omitting, as he said, the arguments in favour of Reform which he had stated at length in 1822, and with which the country was now familiar. The most memorable passage in his lordship's speech was his sketch of the anomalies of the existing system of representation. 'A stranger,' he said, 'who is told that this country is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and more enlightened than any country was before it—that it is a country that prides itself on its freedom,

and that once in every seven years it elects representatives from its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom—would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed, and how the people choose their representatives, to whose faith and guardianship they intrust their free and liberal institutions. Such a person would be very much astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound, and told that that mound sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a stone wall, and told that three niches in it sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a park, where no houses were to be seen, and told that that park sent two representatives to Parliament. But if he were told all this, and were astonished at hearing it, he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines of every species of manufactures, and were then told that these towns sent no representatives to Parliament. Such a person would be still more astonished if he were taken to Liverpool, where there is a large constituency, and told, “Here you will have a fine specimen of a general election.” He would see bribery employed to the greatest extent, and in the most unblushing manner; he would see every voter receiving a number of guineas in a box as the price of his corruption; and after such a spectacle, he would no doubt be much astonished that a nation, whose representatives are thus chosen, could perform the functions of legislation at all, or enjoy respect in any degree. I say, then, that if the question before the House is a question of reason, the present state of representation is against reason. The confidence of the country, which is the construction and constitution of the House of Commons, is gone. It would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Leeds and Manchester to Gatton and Old Sarum, than to re-establish confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it calls its

constituents. If, therefore, the question is one of right, right is in favour of reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency are in favour of reform.’

Lord John then proceeded to give a clear and intelligible statement of the nature of the proposals which he had to make in the name of the Government. They amounted, as he frankly admitted, if carried, to a revolution. The intimation that 150 seats were to be taken from the nomination boroughs came on both parties with an absolutely electrifying shock, said an eyewitness. Loud cheers burst at once from the Ministerial benches, and were answered by equally loud shouts of derision from the Opposition. These conflicting expressions of opinion and feeling lasted through the whole enumeration of the boroughs in the two schedules. It is a significant fact that Lord John sat down amid a profound silence. Mr. John Smith, himself the proprietor of a nomination borough which was to be abolished, said the proposal took away his breath, so surprised and delighted was he to find the Ministers so much in earnest. Sir Robert Peel’s features, during the introductory part of Lord John’s speech, expressed only astonishment and contempt; but as the plan was unfolded he looked more and more cast down, and at last he held his hands before his face as if unable to control his emotions. ‘He turned black in the face,’ said Lord Althorp. His followers, who were blind to the imminent danger of the party, which their leader clearly foresaw, were confident that such a measure would never pass. Sir Henry Hardinge told Sir James Graham that he supposed the Ministry should all go out of office next morning. Many even of the moderate Whigs thought it impossible that the Government could succeed in carrying the bill, either in the existing House of Commons or by an appeal to the people.

The most prominent feeling in the House, on hearing the details of the measure, was incredulity and astonishment. Some even of

the advanced Liberals thought the Ministry had gone too far, and no one of mark was unreservedly in favour of the bill. Mr. Baring Wall, a shrewd observer who sat next Hobhouse during Lord John's statement, exclaimed, when the long list of boroughs to be disfranchised was read, 'They are mad! they are mad!' Mr. Hudson Gurney, a very clever and original thinker, who could not be counted on by either party beforehand, said, 'I consider it an honour to the age for any administration to have proposed this bill; not that there is a chance of these men carrying it; only Oliver Cromwell could do that. But if the bill should pass, I ask where are the men to govern the country?'

It was the opinion of Lord Brougham, in which Lord Althorp and some other shrewd observers concurred, that if Sir Robert Peel had risen when Lord John Russell concluded his speech, and said that he would not discuss so revolutionary and so mad a proposal, and had insisted on immediately dividing the House, the bill would have been rejected. This notion of the ablest members of the Government shows how little they were aware of the state of popular opinion and feeling when they imagined that the question of Reform, or even the proposed measure, could have been disposed of in such a manner. The bill introduced by Lord John Russell might, no doubt, have been thrown out in the way indicated; but such a daring and contemptuous disregard of opinion would have been highly dangerous to the Tory party, and would certainly have led to the introduction of a much more sweeping measure of reform.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis, who ejected Peel from the representation of Oxford, was the first speaker against the bill. His high character and scholarship, and his position as the representative of a university, gave great weight to his opinion, and entitled him to speak in the name both of the country gentlemen and the clergy. He spent two hours in an elaborate

attempt to prove that at no period of English history could the House of Commons be said to have more completely represented the people than at that time, and that the constitution would be revolutionized, not reformed, by the bill. 'I for one am quite sure,' he said, 'that if this measure be carried it will sweep the House of Lords clean in the course of ten years.'

The member for Oxford was the first to employ against the bill an argument on which the changes were afterwards constantly rung, and which undoubtedly had considerable weight. 'The great benefit of the constitution of the House of Commons,' he said, 'as it now exists (though if the noble lord's plan is adopted that benefit will cease), is that it represents all interests and admits all talents. If the proposed change takes place it will be almost entirely confined to one interest, and no talent will be admitted but the single one of mob oratory. Many of those who sat for "close and rotten boroughs," as they have been designated for the first time by a member of the Government, have constituted the chief ornaments of the House and the support of the country, but would, if this plan had been adopted in their days, never have been received into the House. I ask the noble lord by what means the great Lord Chatham came into Parliament? By the bye, the first borough for which that great man sat was Old Sarum itself. Mr. Pitt sat for Appleby. Mr. Fox came in for a close borough; and when rejected for a populous place, he again took refuge in a close borough. Mr. Burke first sat for Wendover; and when by that means he became known, he was transposed in his glory to Bristol, as Mr. Canning who also first sat for Wendover was transposed to Liverpool. When their talents became known they were the honoured representatives of large towns; but would such places ever have thought of selecting Mr. Canning, Mr. Burke, or Lord Chatham, if they had not previously had an opportunity of showing their talents in the House? It

is only by this means that young men, who are unconnected by birth or residence with large towns, can ever hope to enter this House unless they are cursed—I will call it cursed—with that talent of mob oratory which is used for the purpose of influencing the lowest and most debasing passions of the people.’ Mr. Horace Twiss, who followed Sir Robert, declaimed vehemently against the principles embodied in the measure, and their ruinous consequences. A brief but weighty speech from Lord Althorp concluded the debate for that night, and the House adjourned before midnight.

The debate on the motion for leave to introduce the bill lasted for seven nights, and all the leading members on both sides of the House took part in the discussion. The speeches of Mr. Macaulay and Sir Robert Peel were pronounced magnificent. One of the most felicitous parts of the speech of the former was his exposure of the fallacy that virtual representation rendered direct representation unnecessary. But these great cities, says my honourable friend the member for the university of Oxford, are virtually, though not directly, represented. Are not the wishes of Manchester, he asks, as much consulted as those of any town which sends members to Parliament? Now, sir, I do not understand how a power which is salutary when exercised virtually, can be noxious when exercised directly. If the wishes of Manchester have as much weight with us as they would have under a system which should give representatives to Manchester, how can there be any danger in giving representatives to Manchester? A virtual representative is, I presume, a man who acts as a direct representative would act; for surely it would be absurd to say that a man virtually represents the people of Manchester who is in the habit of saying No, when a man directly representing the people of Manchester would say Aye. The utmost that can be expected from virtual representation is, that it may be as good as direct representation. If so, why not grant

direct representation to places which, as everybody allows, ought by some process or other to be represented?’

With respect to the oft-repeated assertion, that the system, notwithstanding its admitted anomalies, worked well, Mr. Macaulay said, ‘I deny it. I deny that a system works well which the people regard with aversion. We may say here that it is a good system and a perfect system, but if any man were to say so to any six hundred and fifty-eight respectable farmers or shopkeepers, chosen by lot in any part of England, he would be hooted down and laughed to scorn. Are these the feelings with which any part of the Government ought to be regarded? Above all, are these the feelings with which the popular branch of the legislature ought to be regarded? It is almost as essential to the utility of a House of Commons that it should possess the confidence of the people as that it should deserve that confidence. Unfortunately that which is in theory the popular part of our Government, is in practice the unpopular part. Who wishes to dethrone the king? Who wishes to turn the Lords out of their House? Here and there a crazy Radical, whom the boys in the street point at as he walks along. Who wishes to alter the constitution of this House? The whole people.’

‘It is natural,’ he adds, ‘that it should be so. The House of Commons is, in the language of Mr. Burke, a check not on the people, but for the people. While that check is efficient, there is no reason to fear that the king or nobles will oppress the people; but if that check requires checking, how is it to be checked? If the salt shall lose its savour, wherewith shall we season it? The distrust with which the nation regards the House may be unjust. But what then? Can you remove that distrust? That it exists, cannot be denied; that it is an evil cannot be denied; that it is an increasing evil cannot be denied. . . . You are at the end of your palliations. The evil remains. It is more formidable

than ever. What is to be done? . . . Under such circumstances a great plan of reconciliation, prepared by the Ministers of the Crown, has been brought before us; it is founded on a great and sound principle. It takes away a vast power from a few; it distributes that power through the great mass of the middle order. Every man, therefore, who thinks as I think, is bound to stand firmly by the Ministers who are resolved to stand or fall with this measure.'

Referring to the assertion made by Sir Robert Inglis and others, that it is by means of close and rotten boroughs that the ablest men have been introduced into Parliament, Mr. Macaulay said, 'It is true that many distinguished persons have represented places of this description. But, sir, we must judge of a form of government by its general tendency, not by happy accidents. Every form of government has its happy accidents. Despotism has its happy accidents. Yet we are not disposed to abolish all constitutional checks to please an absolute master over us, and to take our chance whether he may be a Caligula or a Marcus Aurelius. In whatever way the House of Commons may be chosen, some able men will be chosen in that way who would not be chosen in any other way. If there were a law that the hundred tallest men in England should be members of Parliament, there would probably be some able men among those who would come into the House by virtue of this law. If the hundred persons whose names stand first in the alphabetical list of the "Court Guide" were made members of Parliament, there would probably be able men among them. We read in ancient history that a very able king was elected by the neighing of his horse; but we shall scarcely, I think, adopt this mode of election. In one of the most celebrated republics of antiquity, Athens, senators and magistrates were chosen by lot, and sometimes the lot fell fortunately. Once, for example, Socrates was in office. A cruel and unjust proposition was made by a demagogue. Socrates

resisted at the hazard of his own life. There is no event in Grecian history more interesting than that memorable resistance. Yet who would have officers appointed by lot because the accident of the lot may have given to a great and good man a power which he would never have attained in any other way. We must judge, as I said, by the general tendency of a system. No person can doubt that a House of Commons chosen freely by the middle classes will contain many very able men. I do not say that precisely the same able men who would find their way into the present House of Commons, will find their way into the reformed House; but that is not the question. No particular man is necessary to the State. We may depend on that if we provide the country with great men.' The Speaker (Manners Sutton) said, that in all his prolonged experience, he had never seen the House in such a state of excitement as when Macaulay sat down. 'Portions of the speech,' said Sir Robert Peel, 'were as beautiful as anything I ever read or heard.'

Sir Robert's own speech was one of the most powerful delivered in the course of the debate. After replying to some charges which Lord Palmerston had brought against the late administration, and giving a sarcastic enumeration of the proceedings of the present Government, he employed against the bill an argument which would have come more appropriately from Orator Hunt than from the leader of the Tory party. The inevitable tendency of the bill, he said, was to sever any link of connection between the poorer classes and that class from which their representatives are usually chosen. It deprived the freemen of Coventry and the pot-wallopers of Preston of their franchise, and thus affixed a political stigma on those not eligible to vote under the £10 qualification. Sir Robert was more successful in his reply to Mr. Macaulay's argument respecting the mode in which young men of great ability, but not possessed of wealth or rank, should obtain

admission to Parliament. 'It is usually and as it appears to me most convincingly argued that these boroughs are advantageous by affording the means of access to the House to men who have no claims beyond their ability. Two objections have in course of this debate been urged against that argument. The one, which I must say came with a very bad grace from the hon. member for Westminster (Mr. Hobhouse), himself a man of great ability, was that it is by no means desirable that men of splendid talents should be members of this House, that in a reformed Parliament solid sense and integrity will be more highly valued. Now, I on the other hand maintain that nothing tends more to foster the public respect for the House than its being the great arena of talent and eloquence, and that nothing would lower it more in public estimation than that it should be below the average ability of educated gentlemen. But, says the hon. member for Calne, "Yes, let us have men of ability by all means, but let us select other means for their obtaining seats than close boroughs. Give us a purer and more extensive franchise, and they will get at least as much as they do at present. But what, said he, is your test of ability? Take every hundred men you meet in the street, and one of them will be a man of ability. Take one hundred names in the Red Book, and one may be a man of ability, and so of one hundred men of tawny complexion; but are these men to get in by the accident of close boroughs?" And then the hon. member asked, "Was it fair to judge by the accident instead of the general tendency of a system?" Now, I am content to judge by the tendency, and not by the accident, of the close-borough system; and I maintain that that tendency is essentially favourable to the entrance of men of ability into this House. I have this morning turned over a list of from twenty to twenty-five of the most distinguished men that have graced this House for the last thirty or forty years, men of whom it

might be said, in the glowing language of Lord Plunkett, that they were possessed of that buoyancy of genius which would float them down the stream of posterity; and I found that with three exceptions they were all returned for boroughs which the noble lord's bill would wholly disfranchise. There was Mr. Gunning, Lord North, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Burke, Mr. Flood, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, the Marquis Wellesley, Mr. Perceval, Lord Plunkett, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Hume, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Brougham, Sir S. Romilly, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Tierney, Sir W. Grant, Lord Grey, and the late Lord Liverpool, all first returned for close boroughs, and but three of them ever members for counties. Nor is this, the mere facility of admission, the only benefit. The introduction by affording them an opportunity, the essential condition of successful talent, for displaying their legislative ability on a larger scale, recommended them to more extended franchise at a more mature age; and again, when they by caprice, or want of money, or otherwise, were deprived of their larger seats, those close boroughs which the noble lord's bill would destroy altogether, received them and secured their invaluable labours to their country. Such was the case when Mr. Sheridan was defeated at Stafford. He found shelter at Ilchester. Mr. Wyndham, having failed at Norwich, took refuge at Higham Ferrars; and Lord Castlereagh, in like manner, having lost his election in the county of Down, was returned for Oxford. Mr. Tierney, also, when he lost Southwark, was returned for Knaresborough, and Lord Grey for Tavistock, when defeated in Northumberland. All this proves that the tendency and not the mere accident of the close-borough system is to facilitate the entrance of men of ability, who otherwise could not obtain a seat in this House.'

Mr. Stanley, the 'Rupert of Debate,' replied to Sir Robert Peel, in a spirited speech which Sir James Mackintosh classed with

Macaulay's, as 'two of the finest speeches ever spoken in Parliament.' One of his most telling hits was his reference to those statesmen who were now expressing their willingness to support a moderate measure of reform, while up to this time they had resisted all reform, and would not even permit the forfeited franchise of a corrupt borough like Grampound to be transferred to great towns like Manchester and Birmingham. 'I was in hopes,' he said, 'that a gradual reform would have been effected in Parliament by selecting, one after another, the most notorious cases of delinquency. If a determined desire to reform by degrees the abuses of the present system had been manifested, then the public would have been satisfied with a less sudden change than that which is now contemplated. But let the House look back for the last few years and mark the time, the money, and the talents which have been wasted in discussing useless questions respecting boroughs charged with malpractices; inquiring, for instance, whether one voter received one guinea and another five, when it is as notorious as the sun at noonday that boroughs are commonly bought and sold in the market by the proprietors; and after all this labour, after all this investigation, after all this minute inquiry, what has been gained for the cause of reform? Not one great town, not one great district, has been added to those represented in this House. Not one corrupt borough has been deprived of the means of corruption. My honourable friend (Sir R. Peel) talked of the advantages to be derived from nomination. He contended that it afforded an opportunity of admitting very clever men into the House who might not be able to find a seat in any other way. Whatever advantage might be derived from this mode of admission would be more than balanced by this disadvantage that the class of persons thus introduced would, whatever may be their talents and acquirements, not be looked upon by the people as representatives.'

The 'powerful talk' of O'Connell, as it

was termed by the Opposition, had a great effect both on the House and the country. His reference to the practical working of the system which the anti-reformers had so highly eulogized was one of the most effective parts of his speech. 'It is said that the system has worked well. I would ask you to inquire from your agricultural population whether such is the case—whether such a fact is reflected from the fires which lately blazed through the counties, and whether such would be the statement we should receive, if we inquired, from the unfortunate men who fill our gaols on account of the late disturbances in the country. Does the Wilful Trespass Act, which gives the magistrates such dominion over the poor, evidence the well-working of the system? Are the game-laws a proof of such a fact? Has the House listened to the complaints of the people? I will give specimens to show how the boroughmongering representatives have voted upon questions of retrenchment as an exemplification of the working of the close-borough system. From returns which have been made with regard to divisions on questions of retrenchment in 1822, it appears that of nineteen representatives for boroughs, with a population under five hundred, all voted against retrenchment—that of the representatives of boroughs, with a population above five hundred, and not exceeding one thousand, twelve voted for retrenchment and thirty-three against it—that of the representatives of boroughs with four thousand inhabitants seventeen were for retrenchment and forty-four against it—and that of the representatives of boroughs, with a population beyond five thousand, sixty-six voted for retrenchment and sixty-seven against it! It was the boroughmongering Parliament which saddled the country with a debt of £800,000,000 or £900,000,000.'

Mr. Baring Wall, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Baring, Mr. J. T. Hope, and Mr. Attwood, all men of weight, strongly denounced the principles on which the bill was based; while Sir Thomas Denman, the Attorney-General, Mr. Hobhouse, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Robert

Grant, Mr Hume, and Lord Ebrington vindicated them. Sir Charles Wetherell delivered an able, but rambling and vituperative speech against the Government scheme, which he compared to Colonel 'Pride's purge' of the House of Commons in the time of Cromwell, and, to the great amusement of the House, he nicknamed the bill 'Russell's Purge of Parliament.'* Francis Jeffrey, the Lord-Advocate for Scotland, delivered a speech which, though remarkable both for argument and eloquence, and most convincing as regarded the principles and necessity of the measure on general grounds, was yet not 'quite debating and parliamentary,' as Mackintosh remarked, and was alleged to be an article rather than a speech. Croker, the ex-Secretary of the Admiralty, who followed him, entered into a minute criticism of the details of the bill, to which Sir James Graham replied.

The general tenor of the arguments against the measure was the assertion that the existing system worked well; that it had brought together a body of men eminently fitted for the government of the country; that the close and nomination boroughs had afforded admission into the House of Commons of the most distinguished statesmen of both parties, including Fox, and Pitt, and Burke, Plunkett, Canning, Windham, Horner, Huskisson, Brougham, and Sir Samuel Romilly, who would not have been chosen by large constituencies; that the bill would have the effect of placing the whole power of the Government in the hands of the mob; would be destructive of the constitution; would be productive of violence, confusion, and misery, and fatal to the security both of person and property.

The supporters of the bill, on the other hand, dwelt on the numerous anomalies of the existing system of repre-

sentation—its injustice to the great body of the people, whom it excluded from all share in the choice of their representatives; the corruption and bribery by which it was degraded. Its injurious influence on the public welfare; and in opposition to the gloomy prognostications of its opponents, they predicted that if the bill became law, the just desires of the people would be satisfied, the public peace preserved, and both property and person rendered secure from revolutionary violence. It is noteworthy that 'Orator Hunt,' as the worthless demagogue who represented Preston was usually called, was at first a grumbling supporter, and became ultimately one of the most abusive opponents of the Reform Bill, and was in consequence 'lauded to the skies by the whole Tory party, more especially by the country gentlemen, to whom formerly he had been a terror and an abomination.' In the end leave was given, without a division, to bring in the bill, much to the dissatisfaction of the more extreme members of the Opposition, who were of opinion that it should have been resisted at the very first stage. The bill was ordered to be brought in on the 9th of March; and on the same evening leave was granted, after a short discussion on the motion of Lord John Russell, to bring in bills to amend the representation of Scotland and Ireland.

The protracted debate which took place on the introduction of the Reform Bill afforded time to the people to become acquainted with its provisions and to recognize its merits. Resolutions in favour of the measure were passed in all the large towns, both at public meetings and by municipal bodies, and an immense number of petitions that the bill should pass were presented in the fortnight's interval between the first and second reading. The enthusiasm displayed by all classes of people in support of the measure encouraged its friends and dispirited its opponents, and hopes were now entertained that the House of Commons, which at one time was con-

* The famous caricaturist H. B., in allusion to this *soubriquet*, after the defeat of Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Charles Grant in 1834, designated one of his cleverest sketches 'The Russell Purge beginning to operate on three Secretaries in search of a close seat.'

fidently expected to throw out the bill, would now, at least, take its provisions into consideration.

The second reading of the English Reform Bill was moved by Lord John Russell on the 21st of March, when Sir Richard Vyvyan, one of the members for Cornwall, moved as an amendment that it be read a second time that day six months. The debate lasted only two days. There were several new speakers, prominent among whom were Mr. Sheil, Mr. Charles Grant, and Sir Edward Sugden, the eminent lawyer; but there were no new arguments. The subject had indeed been already exhausted, not only by the protracted debates on the bill, but by the continued discussion of the whole question on the presentation every night of petitions for or against the measure. There was the greatest uncertainty respecting the result; but when the division took place on the 22nd of March, the second reading was carried by a majority of one—the numbers being 302 for the motion, and 301 for the amendment. Mr. Calcraft, who had made a clever speech against the bill, had been prevailed to vote for it, and thus gave the ministers their majority.*

Macaulay, who, it is admitted on all hands, made the best speech delivered on the occasion, gives in a letter to Mr. Ellis a vivid description of the prodigious excitement of the House at the close of the debate. 'Such a scene,' he says, 'as the division of last Tuesday I never saw, and never expect to see again. It was like seeing Cæsar stabbed in the senate house, or seeing Oliver taking the mace from the table—a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. The crowd overflowed the House in every part. When the strangers were cleared out and the doors locked, we had

608 members present—more by fifty-five than ever were in a division before. The eyes and noses were like two volleys of cannon from opposite sides of a field of battle. When the Opposition went out into the lobby, an operation which took up twenty minutes or more, we spread ourselves over the benches on both sides of the House; for there were many of us who had not been able to find a seat during the evening. When the doors were shut we began to speculate on our numbers—everybody was desponding. "We have lost it. We are only 280 at most. I do not think we are 250. They are 300. Alderman Thompson has counted them; he says they are 299." This was the talk on our benches. As the tellers passed along the lowest row on the left hand side the interest was insupportable—291, 292, we were all standing up and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At 300 there was a short cry of joy, at 302 there was another—suppressed, however, in a moment; for we did not yet know what the hostile force might be; we knew, however, we could not be severely beaten. The doors were thrown open and in they came. Each of them as he entered brought some different report of their numbers. We were all breathless with anxiety when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried out, "They are only 301." We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands. The tellers scarcely got through the crowd, for the House was thronged up to the table, and all the floor was fluctuating with heads, like the pit of a theatre. But you might have heard a pin drop as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears.'

* Sir Denis le Marchant states, however, on the authority of Lord Halifax, that Mr. Calcraft's determination to vote for the bill was known some time before to Mr. Edward Ellice, Secretary to the Treasury, and that it was Sir Andrew Agnew who, contrary to the general expectation, at the last moment joined the Reformers and gave them the victory.

This division, however, made it evident that the bill was in the hands of its enemies. The majority contained not a few members who, while they voted for the second reading, had expressed their determination not to

support all the provisions of the bill, and a number of moderate reformers who, though favourable to the principle of the measure, were bent on modifying it greatly in committee. Some of the Whigs expressed their readiness to make large concessions if the Tories would abstain from factious opposition, and allow the bill to pass; and a general impression prevailed that the king would not consent to dissolve a Parliament scarce six months old, and that consequently the Ministry would be compelled to resign. It was evident that the Government could not carry the bill with the present House of Commons, and the public clamoured for an immediate dissolution. All classes of Reformers united strenuously in support of the measure. Many were the petitions previously presented to Parliament for vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, and universal suffrage; but the more extreme partisans of reform now laid aside their peculiar opinions and wishes, and took up the watchword which originated with Lord Brougham, 'The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!' The sentiments expressed by the operatives of Glasgow may be taken as a fair specimen of the feelings and desires of the great body of the Reformers throughout the country.

'Your petitioners,' they said, 'hail with heartfelt satisfaction the plan of reform now brought forward by His Majesty's ministers as an earnest of the sincerity and firm determination on the part of the legislature to meet the rising wishes of the country. Your petitioners, though not included in the present mode of elective franchise, and although they are conscious of their capability to exercise this indisputable right, yet, taking into view the corrupt and distracted state of parties whose exclusive monopolies are about to be wrested from their grasp, the difficulties which Ministers have to encounter in meeting so many conflicting interests, and sacrificing their own prejudice and pride of rank on the altar of public opinion, your petitioners humbly conceive that the present measure

is best calculated to allay party turbulence, recall the country from the brink of inevitable revolution, and place the representation on a principle which carries with it a progressive improvement which must ultimately relieve the country from many grievous embarrassments, and secure to the labourer an ample and just share in the production of his own hands, and protect him in future from all vicious and galling restrictions.'

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that, because the great body of the people were in favour of Reform, the anti-Reformers were either few in number or uninfluential. A decided majority of the wealthy and educated classes of the community were on their side. They had in their ranks the House of Lords, the clergy, the army, the navy, most of the landed proprietors, the universities, the lawyers, and the permanent officials in all the public departments both in London and throughout the country. A fair and complete, though condensed statement of the views of this class, is given in a declaration which was issued at this stage, with the signatures of several hundreds of merchants, bankers, and influential citizens of London. They said, 'While we should have been far from opposing ourselves to the adoption of any proposition so recommended, of a temperate character, gradual in its operation, consistent with justice and the ancient usages of this realm, and having for its object the correction of acknowledged abuses or any amelioration in the administration of public affairs which might seem to be called for by the changes or necessities of the times, we feel it impossible to regard in that light a measure which, by its unprecedented and unnecessary infringement on the rights and privileges of large and wealthy bodies of people, would go far to shake the foundations of that constitution under which our sovereign holds his title to the throne, his nobles to their estates, and ourselves and the rest of our fellow-subjects to the various possessions and immunities which we enjoy by

law; a measure which, while it professes to enlarge the representation of the kingdom on the broad basis of property, would in its practical operation have the effect of closing the principal avenues through which the moneyed, the funded, the commercial, the shipping, and the colonial interests, together with all their connected and independent interests throughout the country or dispersed throughout our vast empire abroad, have hitherto been represented in the legislature, and would thus in reality exclude the possessors of a very large proportion of the national wealth from all effectual voice and influence in the regulation of the national affairs. The silence which the opponents of this project have hitherto felt to be imposed on them by their respect for the authority from which it emanates, so long at least as it was not before them in a defined and tangible shape, having been misconstrued by the ill-informed into a universal acquiescence in its principles and provisions, we deem it a duty which we owe to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, at the earliest practical period after the printing of the bill, to protest against it by this public declaration, and to invite our fellow-citizens of all classes, participating in our sentiments, to unite with us in every practical and lawful effort of temperate but determined resistance to the further progress of a measure which in our consciences we believe to be rash and inexpedient in its origin, and tending to consequences equally pernicious and irretrievable, menacing to the peace of the country, fraught with alarm and peril to public and private credit, and calculated eventually to undermine and destroy all those venerable institutions and establishments under whose influence and protection England has hitherto enjoyed a prosperity and maintained a station unexampled among the nations of the world.'

Although the Ministers were quite well aware of the critical position in which they were placed, they proceeded with their measures as if they were resolved to continue their efforts to pass the bill. They

brought forward and carried their Civil List, and their army and naval estimates. On the 24th of March, Mr. Stanley moved the first reading of the bill to amend the representation of Ireland. A long and violent debate ensued, not on the bill before the House, but on the whole question of Reform. These tactics, however, were a mistake on the part of the Opposition, and only served to keep up and increase the public excitement.

When the House reassembled on the 12th of April, after the Easter vacation, the Government intimated their intention to make several alterations on their measure; and when the bill was brought into committee, Lord John Russell specified these modifications, which were neither few nor unimportant. Five boroughs, which it was proposed to disfranchise, were each to be allowed to return one member; eight, which were to be deprived of one member, were to retain both, as it was found that their population had increased so much since the census of 1821 as to take them out of the categories in which they had been respectively placed; an additional member was to be added to each of eight counties having a population of from 100,000 to 150,000 inhabitants; and seven members to as many large towns not included in the original bill. The borough of Halifax was to be restricted to the township, and to return only one member instead of two. It was also proposed to diminish the whole number of representatives by thirty-one only, instead of sixty-two. It was provided in the bill that the rights of electors should be preserved in places which sent members to Parliament. The Ministers now announced that they were prepared to extend the same privilege to the sons of these electors, provided they were born before the introduction of the bill; and apprentices who had entered into indentures before that time were to retain the franchise on taking out their freedom, provided they were resident and were registered under the provisions of the bill.

These modifications, however, had no effect in conciliating the Opposition; for as soon as they were announced General Gascoigne, one of the members for Liverpool, moved that the following instruction should be given to the committee, 'That it is the opinion of this House that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be diminished.'

The arguments employed in support of this motion referred not to the question whether the members of the existing House of Commons were too many or too few, but to the alleged injustice and inexpediency of depriving England of any part of her representation in order to increase the number of members allotted to Ireland and Scotland; and similar arguments will probably be reproduced on every occasion when the re-adjustment of the representation of the three kingdoms comes before Parliament.

'My motion,' said General Gascoigne, 'is directed against the proposed reduction of the numbers of this House, and is not founded on any superstitious attachment to a particular number, but on an anxiety to prevent the aggrandisement of the Irish and Scotch at the expense of the English representation. The proposed spoliation of the English representation is indefensible on any ground of justice or expediency. It cannot be defended on the ground of the population of Ireland having increased so much as to warrant an increase in the relative number of its representatives in this House. At the time of the legislative union the population of Ireland amounted to 4,200,000 persons, and the taxation to £4,600,000; while the population of England was 10,700,000, and the taxation £27,700,000. At present Ireland does not contribute more than one-tenth of the taxes in proportion to its population as compared with this country, so that if the population is to be taken as the ground for adding to the representatives of the country, it ought

also to be made the basis of a more equal taxation. Ireland may obtain her five additional members, and Scotland hers; but let it not be at the expense of the people of England.'

General Gascoigne proceeded to enforce his motion by asserting that England was much more heavily taxed than Ireland and Scotland—a statement which, as far as Scotland is concerned, is precisely the reverse of the truth. He called on the House to consider the dangerous influence which the Irish representation would place in the hands of any minister who chose to court it at the expense of this country. By conciliating it he might carry any measure he pleased, no matter how much it might affect the interests of the people of England. Lord Stormont enlarged on this injudicious, and indeed dangerous argument, and insisted that the bill in its present shape would give too great a preponderance to the Irish Roman Catholics.

Mr. Stanley repelled these assertions in a spirited and indignant manner, warning the Opposition to consider well the arguments which they were thus putting into the hands of those who were clamouring for the repeal of the Union.

'For my part,' he said, 'I am not inclined to attach any great importance to the strict maintenance of the present relative proportion between the three countries; and as long as I find large, wealthy, and populous places unrepresented in any of those three countries, I care little whether those places are to be found in England, Scotland, or Ireland. I thank God that this is now a united empire, and I am for meting out the same measure with strict impartiality to all. I caution honourable members who strive so pertinaciously for the maintenance of the proportion of members between the three countries, and who grudge to Ireland any increase of representatives beyond the number given to her at the period of the Union, to consider well the arguments which they are thus putting into the hands of those who are contending for a measure which, I

conceive, would be most mischievous, both to England and Ireland—I mean the repeal of the Union—and who put forward the doctrine that Ireland is not adequately represented in this House, and is therefore entitled to have a domestic legislature of her own. Where, I would ask, is the danger of giving the proposed additional members to Ireland? Surely they are not afraid that the half-stifled ashes of religious dissension will break forth again? Surely they are not afraid that religious feelings and religious prejudices will be brought into play? Or, if they do entertain such unfounded apprehensions—if they do fear to give any more members to “Catholic Ireland,” as it is called—why did they pass the relief bill? Why did they grant the Catholic Emancipation?

‘It is said that we propose to diminish far too much the proportion as it already exists in favour of England. Now, the boroughs which it is proposed to disfranchise do not, in fact, form a portion of the real representation of England; they are the property of the first man who chooses to buy them; and the members who are sent to this House from them are subject either to the man who has bought the borough, or the patron of the borough. It is expected that the disfranchisement of such boroughs will take from England its first proportion of representatives. But what is the fact? That, in many instances, the boroughs are represented by Scotchmen and Irishmen. The boroughs, therefore, at present, can be employed to incline the balance in favour of Scotland and Ireland; and if we are to have a united Parliament, we ought not to adhere too strictly to the existing scale of proportion between the representatives of the three kingdoms.’

The tenor of the arguments put forth by General Gascoigne and his supporters respecting Ireland naturally roused the indignation of O’Connell, whose opinions on the question before the House were looked for with no ordinary expectation. As might have been expected, he turned it

to show that Ireland had been most unjustly treated by the British legislature. ‘One great objection to the union,’ he said, ‘is the gross partiality of the arrangement by which Ireland has only 100 members to watch over her interests, whilst England, with only twice its population, has five times the number of representatives. England, Scotland, and Wales are combined in an attempt to prevent an addition of members in Ireland. The honourable member for Liverpool, in calling on the House to retain all the English members in the House, told them that Irishmen could get seats for places in England and Scotland. Do those who say this believe it themselves? There is not an individual in Ireland who will believe it. I will remind the House of another thing. No person has pointed out a place in England fit to have representatives which is not found on the Ministerial list; but has any one place in Ireland been so treated? In Ireland there are thirty-two counties, and if there was a real union between England and Ireland there would be an increase of thirty-two members for Ireland. Only two of the counties have less than 100,000 inhabitants; twenty counties have above 150,000; twelve have above 200,000; four above 300,000; and one about 600,000. Why should not Tyrone, with 200,000 inhabitants, be equally represented with Glamorgan? and Down, with 313,000, with Oxford only 100,000? . . . I have not stated half the case of Ireland. I have not referred to the towns; there are fourteen towns in Ireland which, if they had been in England, would have had representatives. I believe, however, that the bill is for the benefit of England, and no mean rivalry shall prevent me from supporting it.’

The ostensible object of General Gascoigne’s motion was to prevent ‘the aggrandisement of the Irish and the Scottish at the expense of the English representation;’ but its real intention was to defeat the bill. It was confidently expected that,

if it were carried, the king would have a plausible reason for refusing to dissolve the Parliament, the Ministry would be compelled to resign, and the bill would be lost. The tactics of the Opposition were easily seen through. 'I know,' said Lord John Russell, 'that this motion is only the first of a series which it is intended to bring forward, with a view to defeat the bill.' Lord Althorp made a similar declaration, almost in the same words, and warned members 'not to be deceived as to the consequences of the motion now submitted to the House. If it is carried it will so damage the bill that it must be fatal to its success.' The House divided about four o'clock in the morning, and General Gascoigne's motion was carried by a majority of eight—299 having voted for it, against 291 who supported the Government. Lord Advocate Jeffrey expressed deep indignation at the conduct of the Scottish Tory members, who were warned emphatically that, by supporting General Gascoigne's motion, they extinguished all hope of obtaining additional members for Scotland. 'Ireland was far more true to duty,' he said; 'but the Opposition Scottish members all voted for the motion, and, in fact, decided the question.'

The defeat of the Ministry made it necessary that some decision should be come to respecting the dissolution, for it was now evident that the present House of Commons and the Government could no longer go on together. Rumours immediately arose that a dissolution was at hand, and would take place as soon as the ordnance estimates should be finally passed; and Lord Althorp in the Commons and Earl Grey in the Lords refused to answer any question on the subject. It was determined, therefore, by the Opposition, on the 21st of April, that they would prevent the House from taking into consideration the question of supply. They wasted the evening by raising a long and violent discussion, nominally on the report of the Committee on the Liverpool election, but diverging into a confused and desultory debate on Reform, and on the

propriety of a dissolution. A good deal of recrimination took place. At length the adjournment of the House was moved by Mr. William Bankes, a keen Tory; and though the Chancellor of the Exchequer strenuously resisted the motion, and gave significant warnings of the consequence if it should be carried on a division, the Ministry were left in a minority of twenty-two, the votes being 164 to 142.

This vote was regarded as an undeniable proof of the determination of the Tories to stop the bill at all hazards; and of their confident belief that the king would not consent to a dissolution. If it did not cause the vote, it certainly hastened and justified that step. On the 21st the Premier, in answer to Lord Wharncliffe's inquiry whether Ministers had advised a dissolution, and whether such a course had been resolved on, declared that the question was one of a very unusual nature, and that his lordship could not have expected an answer. Lord Wharncliffe on this gave notice that he would next day move an humble address to the king, praying that His Majesty would be graciously pleased not to exercise his undoubted prerogative of dissolving Parliament. The Opposition peers were anxious to carry this address, with the hope that it might induce the king to refuse his assent to the threatened dissolution. The Ministry were equally bent on preventing its adoption; but they were aware that if Parliament were prorogued by commission it would be impossible to prevent the Peers from discussing and adopting Lord Wharncliffe's motion. It was, therefore, most important that Parliament should be prorogued at once by the king in person. His Majesty, though originally averse to so decided a measure, had already, after some correspondence with Earl Grey, given his consent, though the Opposition were not aware of the fact; and provoked at the attempt about to be made to interfere with his prerogative to dissolve, he expressed his readiness to do so at once. It was reported that he

declared he would go in a hackney coach if his carriages were not ready. The royal carriages, however, through the energetic exertions of Lord Durham, were speedily got ready, and His Majesty drove at an unusually rapid pace to the House of Lords.

The two Houses had meanwhile assembled—the Peers at two, the Commons half an hour later. The Lower House was crowded with members eager and excited, and even the Speaker was in a state of agitation and anxiety. Sir Richard Vyvyan took occasion, in professing to speak on a Reform petition, to inveigh with extraordinary vehemence against the Government and the threatened dissolution. He was repeatedly called to order, but persisted in his speech amidst great confusion and clamour. Sir Robert Peel and Sir Francis Burdett rose together; and as neither would give way, Lord Althorp moved that Burdett should be heard. Sir Robert Peel said he would speak to that motion, or according to another account he was called upon by the Speaker to do so, unfairly, as the other side alleged, and proceeded, quite irregularly and amidst great uproar, to make a general speech against the Government. In a most violent passion, which presented a marked contrast to Peel's usual calm and self-possessed manner, he complained of the interruption to which he had been subjected, and exclaimed, 'If that is the way in which we are to proceed for the future, let the people of England beware of the consequences. If your reformed Parliament is to be elected, if the bill and the whole bill is to be passed, it does appear to me that there will be established one of the worst despotisms that ever existed. We shall have a Parliament of mob demagogues, not a Parliament of wise and prudent men. . . . Ministers have come down here, and have called on the sovereign to dissolve Parliament in order to protect themselves. But they have first established the character of having shown during their short reign of power more incapacity, more unfitness for

power, more ignorance of their duties, than ever was exhibited by any set of men who have at any time been called on to rule the proud destinies of this country.' While Sir Robert was proceeding in this strain, the noise of the guns announcing the approach of the king was distinctly heard in the House, the Ministerial members greeting each discharge with triumphant shouts. Sir Henry Hardinge crossed the floor, and said to Hobhouse, 'The next time you hear these guns they will be shot, and will take off some of your heads.' The excitement and the noise continued to increase until the Usher of the Black Rod knocked at the door of the House, and the Sergeant-at-Arms summoned the Commons to attend His Majesty in the House of Peers. Sir Robert, still continuing to speak in the same excited tone, was compelled by main force, exerted by his friends, to resume his seat.

While this scene was taking place in the Commons, the excitement in the Upper House was, if possible, still greater, and indeed baffles all description. The Opposition Lords had mustered in great force, and the House was full in every part. A large number of peeresses and members of the House of Commons crowded the gallery. The Chancellor, who had been hearing appeals all morning, on coming to the end of his list of causes retired for the purpose of preventing Lord Wharncliffe from bringing forward his motion. But the Opposition were not to be balked by this transparent manœuvre. On the motion of Lord Mansfield the Earl of Shaftesbury was appointed to preside in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Wharncliffe rose to propose his motion for an address to His Majesty against the dissolution. He had uttered only a few words, when the Duke of Richmond—a member of the Government—moved that the standing order which required the peers to be seated in their proper places should be enforced. 'I rise to suggest this,' he said, 'because I see a noble earl sitting next to one of the junior

barons of the House.' The evident object of this interruption was to prevent Lord Wharncliffe's motion from coming on, and a number of the Opposition peers rose together in great anger. Lord Londonderry started up in a violent rage, shook his fist at the Duke of Richmond, and cried out, 'I rise to order;' while Lord Wharncliffe appealed to the House to be allowed to proceed with his motion. Lord Lyndhurst attacked the Duke of Richmond, declaring the course he had taken to be most uncalled for. Another peer was heard to say that the Ministers were taking the crown off the king's head. The Duke on this said he would move another standing order, 'that against the use of abusive language.' Lord Londonderry exclaimed, with angry gesticulation, 'I challenge the noble lord opposite (meaning the Duke of Richmond) to point out any offensive language used by the noble baron (Lord Lyndhurst).' Lord Clanricarde then complained that the Marquis of Londonderry was himself out of order, and thus the noise and altercation continued, until the spectators were apprehensive that their lordships would come to blows. Something like order was at length restored, and Lord Wharncliffe began to address the House on his motion, but was interrupted by the Chancellor, who at this stage suddenly resumed the woolsack and remarked with strong emphasis, 'I never until now have heard that the sovereign has not a right to dissolve the Parliament when he sees fit to do so, more particularly when the House of Commons have considered it proper to take the extreme and unprecedented step of refusing the supplies'

—a statement which, though widely reported and believed at the time, was certainly not correct. Hearing the shouts which intimated the approach of the king, the Chancellor again quitted the woolsack and rushed out of the House to receive His Majesty. Lord Shaftesbury having been a second time appointed to preside, Lord Mansfield commenced an angry speech, denouncing the Ministry, the Reform Bill, and the dissolution as pregnant with danger to the country, the House, and the Crown; but his harangue was cut short by the entrance of the king, and he was with difficulty induced to be silent and resume his seat. The members of the House of Commons having been summoned to the bar, His Majesty in a loud and firm voice commenced his speech, which began with the words—

'My Lords and Gentlemen, I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution.

'I have been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people in the way in which it can be most constitutionally and authentically expressed on the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances may appear to require, and which, founded on the acknowledged principles of the constitution, may tend at once to uphold the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, and to give security to the liberties of the people.'

Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on the following day, and the new writs were made returnable on the 14th of June.

CHAPTER XXV.

Enthusiasm throughout the Country at the Dissolution of Parliament—Return of a great majority of Members in favour of the Reform Bill—Meeting of the New Parliament—The Second Reform Bill—The Debates—Bill carried in the Commons—Extraordinary Obstructive Tactics—The Bill Rejected by the Lords—Great Excitement against the Anti-Reform Peers—Lord Ebrington moves a Vote of Confidence in the Ministry—Violence of the London Mob—The Bristol Riots—Trial of the Nottingham, Derby, and Bristol Rioters—Violent Proceedings of the Political Unions—Proclamation against the Unions—Prorogation of Parliament—The Bill again introduced to the Commons—Proposed creation of New Peers—Lord Althorp's letter to Earl Grey—Critical Position of the Government—Appearance in England of Asiatic Cholera.

THE dissolution of Parliament was welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm throughout the country. London was illuminated on the 27th of April, and the other large towns followed the example. As usual on such occasions, the windows of prominent Anti-reformers, who naturally refused to profess their satisfaction with a step of which they strongly disapproved, were broken by the mob. It is matter for great regret that the eminent services and reputation of the Duke of Wellington did not protect his house from injury. But a London mob has very seldom any respect of persons. The new elections took place in the midst of unparalleled excitement, and the popular feeling everywhere ran strong in favour of 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.' Popular violence and intimidation were freely employed in its support; and in various places, especially in the northern counties of England and in Scotland, the Anti-reform candidates and their supporters were very roughly handled by the populace and exposed to considerable danger. Bribery, intimidation, and other sinister influences were resorted to on both sides. The improper use made of the king's name by the ministerial candidates was not less deserving of condemnation. A number of the nomination boroughs were purchased with money subscribed by the leading Whigs, and the whole country was in a state of perilous commotion.

The great majority of the contested elections, both in the boroughs and in the counties, terminated in favour of the

supporters of the Government and of the Reform Bill. Printed lists of the majority and minority on General Gascoigne's motion were circulated throughout the country, and every candidate who had voted in its favour was denounced as an enemy of reform. Gascoigne himself, who had represented Liverpool for thirty years, was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Sir Robert Wilson, though a tried and staunch Reformer, was rejected by Southwark on account of his support of Gascoigne's motion against the reduction of the number of members of the House of Commons. Sir Edward Knatchbull retired from Kent without venturing to risk a contest. Mr. Ward was compelled to withdraw from London, which returned four Reformers. Sir William Heathcote and Mr. Fleming were defeated in Hampshire. Mr. Bankes, the Nestor of his party, met with a similar fate in Dorsetshire. Mr. Duncombe retired from the great county of York, for which four Reformers were returned without a contest. The great wealth and influence of Lord Lonsdale failed to carry his nominees in Cumberland and Carlisle, and he succeeded in returning only one member even for Westmoreland. The Duke of Newcastle's candidates were defeated at Newark, at Bassetlaw, and in Nottinghamshire; and the Dukes of Buckingham and Rutland were not more fortunate in Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire, or the Earl of Egremont in Sussex. Sir Thomas Acland, though a Reformer, refused to pledge himself to vote for the whole bill, and was in

consequence forced to retire from Devonshire, which sent up Lord John Russell and Lord Ebrington. Mr. Pendarves and Mr. Charles Lemon easily carried Cornwall, and Sir Richard Vyvyan was compelled to take refuge in the small borough of Oakhampton. Cumberland returned Sir James Graham, Middlesex George Byng and Joseph Hume, Lancashire Mr. Stanley. Sir Edward Sugden was defeated at Weymouth; Mr. Twiss at Newport; Sir James Scarlett at Malton; Mr. Sturgess Bourne at Milbourne Port; and Sir J. R. Reid at Dover, which used to be regarded as the nomination borough of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports—an office at this time held by the Duke of Wellington. Even some of the small boroughs which had been hitherto regarded as the strongholds of Toryism, made a successful effort to throw off the yoke of their patrons. Somewhat unexpectedly Messrs. Herries and Dawson, the Tory representatives of the ministerial borough of Harwich, retained their seats in spite of the influence of the Government; and the University of Cambridge, mainly through the exertions of the rural clergy, ejected Lord Palmerston and Mr. Cavendish, and replaced them by Messrs. Goulbourn and William Peel. In Northamptonshire, after a severe contest—the poll being kept open for fourteen days—Lord Althorp obtained Lord Milton for his colleague instead of the veteran Tory, Mr. Cartwright. Out of eighty-two English county members, seventy-six were pledged to support the bill; and the half dozen Anti-reformers were returned by the comparatively small counties of Westmoreland, Huntingdon, Bucks, Shropshire, and Monmouth. Public opinion in short, like an irresistible torrent, swept away all opposing obstacles, and left the field open to the ministerial and popular forces to carry their scheme into effect.

The new Parliament met on the 14th of June, and its first act was to re-elect Mr. Mannes Sutton as Speaker; for though he was known to entertain opinions hostile to

those of the great majority of the members respecting the question of reform, it was thought desirable that an experienced official should occupy the chair of the House in a new Parliament largely composed of inexperienced members. Several days were spent in the usual preliminary ceremonies, and on the 21st the Parliament was formally opened by the king in person. His Majesty was received with unparalleled enthusiasm by a greater crowd, it was believed, than was ever assembled before on such an occasion. ‘The speech,’ Greville said, ‘was long, but good.’ With reference to the great question which was to absorb the attention of the House the king said, ‘My Lords and Gentlemen, I have availed myself of the earliest opportunity of resorting to your advice and assistance after the dissolution of Parliament. Having had recourse to that measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people on the expediency of a reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that question to your earliest and most attentive consideration, confident that in any measure which you may propose for its adjustment you will carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject are equally secured.’

‘The Marquis of Lansdowne,’ Greville wrote, ‘said to the king, “I am afraid, sir, you won’t be able to *see* the Commons.” “Never mind,” was the reply; “they shall *hear* me, I promise you;” and accordingly he thundered forth the speech, so that not a word was lost.’

On the 21st of June the second Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, who had meanwhile been promoted, along with Mr. Stanley, to the Cabinet. It was noticed by more than one of the spectators that there was a marked contrast between Lord John’s manner and bearing on this occasion, and his anxious look and diffident, deprecating tone on introducing

his first bill. He now confidently felt that, supported by the great body of the people, he could venture to defy the opposition of the territorial magnates and boroughmongers, who had hitherto been supreme in both Houses of Parliament. Referring to the shouts of laughter and derision with which the original measure had been received, he said, 'I trust now, gentlemen, you will favour me so far as not to repeat those gestures and their convulsions, and that demeanour from which it would seem they thought the measure was not to be seriously entertained for a moment, but that it was to be scouted out of the House by jeers, and taunts, and ridicule. Whatever may be the reception of the measure, honourable gentlemen may be assured that Government will not yield one iota in consequence of the opposition that has been raised against them. Neither the taunts nor the jeers which marked the first reception of the measure, nor the misrepresentations and the libels by which it had been sought to disfigure it, nor the firm, and able, and manly opposition which men of talent and honour had thought it their duty to give it, nor those more dangerous weapons—those unwarrantable and slanderous imputations, that the sovereign had an opinion on it different from his constitutional advisers—none of these obstacles have prevented the sovereign, the ministers, and the people from steadily pursuing an object which they considered ought to be dear at once to all those who loved the ancient ways of the constitution, and to all those who are sincerely attached to the liberties of the people.'

After this manly introduction, which made a very favourable impression on the House, Lord John proceeded to obviate some objections which had been brought against the bill, and to explain some modifications which the Ministry proposed to make in its details, the most important of which was the addition of the boroughs of Downton and St. Germain's to the list of those that were to be disfranchised.

But they had resolved, he said, to make no concessions except in compliance with the demand of the country; and they had decided that the bill should be re-introduced without any material alteration.

The second reading was fixed for the 4th of July. The debate upon the motion was continued for three nights, and was to a great extent a repetition of the same opinions, arguments, and prognostications which had been stated at wearisome length when the first bill was brought before Parliament. Lord-Advocate Jeffrey says 'the debate consisted of a curious series of prepared speeches by men who do not speak regularly, and *far* better expressed than nine-tenths of the good speeches; but languid and insufficient from the air of preparation, and the want of nature and authority with which they were spoken. There was but one exception, and it was a brilliant one. I mean *Macaulay*, who surpassed his former appearance in closeness, fire, and vigour, and very much improved the effect of it by a more steady and graceful delivery. It was prodigiously cheered, as it deserved, and puts him already at the head of the great speakers, if not the debaters of the House.' Lord Althorp pronounced it the best speech he had ever heard, and Lord John Russell, Graham, and Stanley, expressed a similar opinion of its extraordinary merits.

On a division the second reading was carried, on the morning of the 8th of July, by a majority of 136, the numbers being 367 against 231; and the committee was fixed for the 12th.

The minority, however, were by no means inclined to relinquish the struggle or to allow a measure to pass unaltered, which they believed to be destructive of the constitution, and fraught with the most disastrous consequences to the best interests of the country. They therefore avowed their determination to avail themselves of all the forms of the House to delay the progress of the bill, in the hope that the excitement in its favour

would cool, and a reaction take place in the public feeling. Accordingly, when Lord John Russell moved that the House should go into committee on the bill, Lord Maitland, one of the members for Appleby, moved that counsel should be heard against the disfranchisement of that borough, on the ground that there was a mistake in the return of its population. The real object of the motion was, of course, delay; and if it had succeeded, each of the boroughs in the two schedules would have claimed the same privilege, and years might have been consumed by the proceedings. Lord Althorp urged that the evidence furnished by the population returns was more trustworthy than any that could be given by witnesses at the bar of the House; and the motion was negatived by a majority of ninety-seven—the ayes being 187, the noes 284.

It was now hoped that the House would at once go into committee; but the minority were irritated by their defeat, and though it was hardly eleven o'clock they insisted on an adjournment. Lord Althorp, who felt that on his firmness in resisting this unreasonable proposal the future progress of the bill would largely depend, refused to yield. Sir Robert Peel, who had agreed to raise no further opposition, left the House; but a small and dwindling body of old Tories, headed by Sir Charles Wetherell, continued the contest for upwards of eight hours by repeated alternate motions for the adjournment of the House or of the debate, on each of which a discussion followed and a division took place. It was not until half-past seven in the morning that the band of obstructives, now diminished to twenty-four, relinquished the struggle; the Ministerial forces still numbering 187. It was believed that what caused them at last to give way was the knowledge that the Ministerial whips were about to send out for a fresh relay of Liberal members, who had had the advantage of a night's rest. 'Towards eight in the morning,' says Macaulay, 'the Speaker was almost fainting. The Ministerial

members, however, were true as steel. "If the noble lord yields," said one of our men, "all is lost." Old Sir Thomas Baring sent for his razor, and Benett, the member for Wiltshire, for his nightcap; and they were both resolved to spend the whole day in the House rather than give way. If the Opposition had not yielded, in two hours London would have been in Old Palace Yard.'

The next day the respectable members of the Opposition felt humiliated at the conduct of the small knot who, under Wetherell's headstrong and injudicious guidance, had behaved in such a discreditable manner. Lord Althorp said of their conduct, 'The enemy have injured themselves very much; they will certainly quarrel one with another, for Peel acted very shabbily by them. He cannot lead an Opposition, partly because he has not decision enough, and now he has lost all hold on them. The consequence will be that their opposition will be vexatious, but unskilful and inefficient. There never was such a blunder as their fighting last night's battle. They had no case for it; and the proceeding itself, however good the case may be, is always unpopular.'

When the House at length went into committee, every clause, almost every letter of the bill, was 'strenuously cavilled at, criticised, and abused.' Every borough, included either in Schedule A or Schedule B, was warmly defended and eulogized both on general and special grounds, evidently for the purpose of protracting the discussions on the measure with the hope that 'something might turn up' to bring about its defeat. Mr. C. W. Wynn proposed, on the 13th of July, that the disfranchising clauses should be delayed until the House should decide what places hitherto unrepresented should obtain members. The amendment was supported by Sir Edward Sugden, Mr. Croker, and Sir Robert Peel; but after a long debate it was negatived by a majority of 118. A similar result attended an amendment of Sir Robert Peel

on July 14, aimed at Schedule A, for the purpose of testing the question whether all boroughs containing fewer than 2000 inhabitants should be disfranchised; but again a whole evening was spent in discussing it. On the 15th Sir Andrew Agnew, in order to save the boroughs marked for disfranchisement, proposed in effect that several of them should be united, as in Scotland, in the election of a representative. But this amendment also, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of 111. Then on the 19th, Mr. Mackinnon, member for Lymington, renewed a discussion on the principles of the bill, by proposing that disfranchisement should be based, not on the population as given in the census of 1821, but on the census of 1831, which could not be ready for some time. This proposition was negatived by a majority of only seventy-five, and it was subsequently adopted by Ministers in the preparation of the third Reform Bill. In this way, step by step, the Ministers fought their measure through the Committee with an amount of firmness, patience, and perseverance worthy of the highest commendation. It was calculated at the time, that between the 12th and the 27th of July, when Schedule A was under consideration, six leading members of the Opposition, Sugden, Peel, Praed, Pelham, Croker, and Wetherell, had delivered among them no less than 231 speeches, for the most part a mere repetition of the same statements and arguments. Lord Althorp might well say, 'the progress of the Committee is truly slow, and the people, I hear, are becoming very impatient. Their fury will be directed against the Opposition; but they are also beginning to blame me for not doing that which is impossible—for it is absolutely impossible to expedite the bill.'

On the 27th of July the Committee entered upon the consideration of Schedule B, which comprised the boroughs that should in future return only one member each, because their population did not

exceed 4000. Sir Robert Peel proposed that the word *two* should be substituted for the word *one*, and supported his motion in a remarkably able and ingenious speech. He said 'a line drawn from the Severn on the west to the Wash on the east would divide with tolerable accuracy the agricultural from the manufacturing districts of the country, and would show that the bill would give an immense preponderance to the latter. The northern or manufacturing districts were to lose only five boroughs out of fifty-six included in Schedule A; the agricultural district to the south of the line would lose fifty-one. The district to the north of the line was to lose ten members—the district to the south 101. Out of the fifty-one boroughs included in Schedule B eight are to the north of the line, and thirty-three to the south. By the combined operation of the two disfranchising schedules, the manufacturing district loses eighteen members and the agricultural district 134. With regard to the constructive clauses:—Of twelve new boroughs, each of which is to return two members, every one, with the exception of the metropolitan district and the town of Devonport, is in the northern district, and the return of the members of the metropolitan district will be an injury instead of an advantage to the agricultural district. The bill creates twenty-six new boroughs with one member each, and of these twenty-four are to the north of the line, and two to the south. The result of the whole of these arrangements is, that the southern division of the kingdom sustains a loss of 134 members, whilst the northern division sustains a loss of only eighteen. On the other hand, the southern district gains seven members, and the northern district thirty-three. If, then,' said Sir Robert, 'the House will accede to my proposition, and give two members to the boroughs contained in Schedule B, the agricultural interest will possess its due weight in the representative system.'

On the other hand, Lord John Russell

contended 'that the last charge which ought to be made against Ministers was that of neglecting the interests of the southern or western counties, or overlooking the agricultural districts. The Bill would give four additional members to Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire, and to several other counties in the south and west of England. Ministers had been accused of unduly and unfairly enriching Durham in comparison with Cornwall; but how stands the fact? Cornwall contains 257,000 inhabitants, and Durham 205,000. The former returns thirteen members, and the latter will send nine to Parliament. Lancashire, which contains more than a million of inhabitants is allowed nineteen members, while Dorset, which has a population of only 140,000, will send nine! It was the wish of Ministers to give to those vast dépôts of manufacturing wealth, which, during the last thirty years have been constantly increasing, the importance to which they are entitled. The individuals connected with them are in the habit of trading with every quarter of the world. They keep up the relations of this country with every quarter of the globe; wherever they go they are admired for their mechanical skill, and envied for their increasing and secure prosperity. And yet, strange to say, they had never found admittance into the House of Commons, where they ought to have been assisting in the representation of the people of England, and in legislating for a great, powerful, and commercial country.' Sir Robert Peel's amendment was rejected by a majority of 67, there being 115 for, and 182 against it. But he had not long to wait for the total failure of his prognostications. Lancashire became the stronghold of the Conservative party; and at one time the whole of its county members, and even the representatives of nearly all its boroughs, were enrolled in the ranks of that party, while three out of the four county members of Cornwall remained firm supporters of the Liberal cause.

At length, after these wearisome discussions had been protracted over forty nights and the members were completely exhausted, Lord John Russell on the 7th of September proposed, amid much cheering, that the bill should be reported to the House. A few unimportant changes had been made in Committee in regard to minor matters, and one—conferring the franchise on fifty-pound tenants at will, proposed by the Marquis of Chandos—had been carried against the Ministry by a majority of eighty-four, through the assistance of Joseph Hume and other Radical members who, in their eagerness to enlarge the constituencies of the counties, were obstinately blind to the fact that tenants at will were at the mercy of their landlords, and could not give an independent vote. Their admission to the franchise, therefore, served only to increase the influence of the landowners, and very speedily destroyed the independence of the county representation.

The third reading of the bill took place on the 19th of September, and was carried by a majority of fifty-five, when only 171 members were present, in consequence of the division taking place unexpectedly. But on the motion that the bill do now pass a debate arose, extending over the 19th, 20th, and 21st of September, in which Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Croker, Mr. Stanley, Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, and other leading members on both sides took part. Sir Robert's speech was declared by an opponent to be the best he had ever made on this or any other subject. The House at length divided at five o'clock in the morning of the 22nd September, when the motion was carried by a majority of 106—the ministers mustering 345 votes against 239 given for the amendment. The wearied, worn out, and, indeed, sickly countenances of members present showed how completely both parties were exhausted by the protracted contest.

On the evening of the same day the bill was carried up to the House of Lords by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell,

attended by upwards of a hundred of its most staunch supporters in the Lower House. An unusually large attendance of peers, besides a great crowd of strangers, showed the deep interest taken in the proceedings, though of a mere formal nature. Amid profound silence Lord John Russell delivered the bill at the bar to the Lord Chancellor, and said, with a firm voice, 'This, my lord, is a bill to amend the representation of the people of England and Wales which the House of Commons have agreed to, and to which they desire the concurrence of your lordships.' The Lord Chancellor communicated the message to the House with the greatest solemnity of tone and manner. 'These words of mere form and ceremony,' Hansard observes, 'which no one ever thought of listening to before, were on this occasion heard with breathless attention.' The second reading was fixed for the 3rd of October.

Meanwhile the passing of the bill by the Commons was celebrated in London by a general illumination, and by a banquet given by the Reform members to Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell, which was attended by almost every supporter of the bill in the House. Similar manifestations of delight took place throughout the provinces, and the people generally seemed to take it for granted that the measure was now safe. In order to impress the peers with the conviction that there was no abatement of the zeal of the great body of the nation, or of their attachment to the cause of Reform, meetings were held throughout the country, at which strong resolutions in favour of the bill were passed, and petitions adopted, praying the Upper House to carry through the measure, unmutated, with all possible speed.

The Ministry, however, did not share the sanguine expectations of the people. They were well aware that Parliamentary Reform had few friends in the Upper House. Not a few even of the old Whigs, like Lord Granville and Lord Carnarvon, were averse to great constitutional changes. The pro-

prietors of boroughs were naturally unwilling to be deprived of a power which they had inherited along with their estates, and regarded as equally their lawful and sacred property; and the whole body, with very few exceptions, had a great dread of the increase of popular and democratic ascendancy. The Duke of Wellington, whose influence with the peers was almost unbounded, was still strangely blind to the signs of the times, and was firmly resolved to throw out the bill; and old High-Tory peers, like Lord Eldon and the Duke of Newcastle, who regarded the measure as destructive of the best interests of the country, had now become reconciled to his Grace, and cordially supported his anti-reforming policy. In these circumstances, the strenuous and resolute opposition which the bill encountered in the Upper House did not take the Ministers by surprise.

On the arrival of the anxiously expected 3rd of October, the House was crowded in every part. Great numbers of the wives and daughters of the peers were present, for whom seats were placed below the bar, while the space around the throne was thronged with distinguished foreigners and members of the House of Commons. The second reading of the Reform Bill 'was moved by Earl Grey, whose emotion on rising to address the House was so great, that he was obliged to resume his seat until he recovered his composure. The recollection of his past struggles in the cause—from the time, forty-five years before, when he had voted with Mr. Pitt for shortening the duration of parliaments, and for Mr. Flood's measure of Parliamentary Reform, and his thorough appreciation of the vast issues which hung upon the settlement of the question—could not fail to excite deep feeling on the part of the veteran Reformer.

'In the course of a long political life,' he said, 'which has extended to half a century, I have had the honour of proposing to this and the other House of Parliament, amidst circumstances of much difficulty

and danger, in seasons of great political convulsion and violence, many questions affecting the government of the political interests of this country, as well as the government of its domestic concerns. If at such times, speaking as I did in the presence of some of the greatest men that have ever graced this country, I experienced awe and trepidation, it was, as your Lordships will readily believe, nothing to the emotions which affect me now, when I am about to propose to the consideration of your Lordships a question involving the dearest interests of the nation—a question for the consequences of which I am more responsible than any man—a question which has been designated as subversive of the constitution, as revolutionary, as destructive of chartered rights and privileges, and as tending to produce general confusion throughout the empire; but which I solemnly and deliberately feel to contain changes that are necessary to be a measure of peace and conciliation, and one on the acceptance or rejection of which I believe depends, on the one hand, tranquillity, prosperity, and concord—on the other, the continuance of a state of political discontentment, from which those feelings must arise which are naturally generated by such a condition of the public mind.’

His Lordship, after referring to the agitation which prevailed throughout the country when he took office—the general distress and discontent, society almost disorganized—proceeded to vindicate the extent to which the Government proposed to carry the measure of Reform. The nomination and corrupt boroughs, he maintained, were incapable of correction, as it was impossible to extend their constituency. ‘Some of them consisted only of the sites of ancient boroughs; in others the constituency was insignificantly small, and from their local situation incapable of receiving any increase, so that upon the whole this gangrene of our representative system bade defiance to all remedies but that of excision.’ Earl Grey’s memorable warning to the bishops

excited a good deal of attention at the time, and gave them great offence. ‘Let me respectfully entreat,’ he said, ‘these right reverend prelates to consider, that if this bill should be rejected by a narrow majority of the lay peers—which I have reason to hope will not be the case; but if it should, and that its fate should thus, within a few votes, be decided by the votes of the heads of the church, what will then be their situation within the country? These right reverend prelates have shown that they were not indifferent or inattentive to the signs of the times. They had introduced measures for effecting some salutary reforms in matters relating to the temporalities of the church. Let them be implored now to follow the same prudent course. The eyes of the country were now upon them. I call upon them to set their house in order and prepare to meet the coming storm. They are the ministers of peace; earnestly do I hope that the result of their votes will be such as may tend to the tranquillity, to the peace and happiness of the country.’

A notion was entertained by a number of the peers that, if the present Bill were rejected, the ministers would remain in office and bring forward another and more moderate measure. The Premier emphatically disclaimed any such intention. ‘I have said—and I am not the man to recall what I have said—that by this measure I am prepared to stand or fall. The question of my continuing in office for one hour will depend on the prospect of my being able to carry through that which I consider so important to the tranquillity, to the safety, and to the happiness of the country. I must repeat that no danger which might be attendant on the rejection of this measure, could be obviated by the introduction of one of less efficiency. At all events, if such a measure is introduced, it will not be by me. I am convinced that the people will not cease to urge their rights; and if your Lordships should reject this bill, it is more than probable that you will hereafter

have to consider a measure in which much greater concessions will be demanded. Most fervently do I pray that the Almighty Being will so guide and direct your Lordships' counsels, that your ultimate decision may be for the advancement of His glory, the good of His church, the safety, welfare, and honour of the king and the people.'

The debate which followed is universally admitted to have been one of the highest excellence, distinguished for the eloquence and wit, as well as constitutional knowledge displayed on both sides. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Lord Wharncliffe, a descendant of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. His lordship was not possessed of superior abilities, but he was 'a spirited, sensible, zealous, honourable, consistent country gentleman,' and his high character, moderation, and integrity, gave him great weight in the House. He defended nomination boroughs, on the ground that they acted as a check on popular representation, prevented the ebullitions of popular feeling from having too great an influence on the decisions of a deliberative body, and saved it from being merely an assembly of delegates. He objected to the proposal to give to so many large towns the privilege of electing representatives, as increasing too much the popular element in the legislature, and contended that the Bill would give an undue preponderance to the manufacturing and the agricultural interests. He had the candour, however, to admit that the admission of tenants at will to the franchise was anything but an improvement. It would, he said, place a great number of the new-made voters entirely at the mercy of their landlords; and the exercise of such a power on the part of the landlords would lead almost instantly to the vote by ballot—a prediction which came true, though not till after the lapse of nearly half a century.

The debate, which sustained a high character throughout, and presented more uniform excellence than that in the Commons, was continued from the 2nd to the

7th of October. The principal speakers in support of the Bill were Lords Lansdowne, Goderich, Plunket, and the Lord Chancellor. On the other side the most distinguished, in addition to Lord Wharncliffe, were Lords Harrowby, Carnarvon, Dudley, Wynford, and Lyndhurst. 'The Duke of Wellington's speech was exceedingly bad,' says Greville. 'He is, in fact, unequal to argue a great constitutional question. He has neither the command of language, the power of reasoning, nor the knowledge requisite for such an effort.' His Grace strongly repudiated the notion that the downfall of his administration was owing to his declaration against Reform, and declared emphatically that if the present measure passed it would render it absolutely impossible to conduct the government of the country, except by force or something like it. Greville says, 'Lord Harrowby's speech was amazingly fine, and delivered with great effect;' but by universal assent the palm in this magnificent display of oratory was awarded to the speeches of the Chancellor and Lord Lyndhurst, both delivered on the last night of the debate. Greville notes in his Diary, 'The Chancellor is said to have surpassed all his former exploits; Lyndhurst to have been nearly as good.' Lord Althorp wrote, a few hours after the debate, 'All agree that the Lord Chancellor's speech was the best he ever made. Grey and Holland both say it was superhuman—that it united all the excellencies of the ancient with those of modern oratory, and that the action and delivery were as much applauded as the speech itself.' Lord Holland observed that he had not heard so fine a speech even from his uncle, Charles Fox, and this was his idea of the perfection of public speaking. The passage descriptive of the events in Ireland which preceded the grant of Roman Catholic emancipation, called forth special admiration.

'These portentous appearances,' he said, 'the growth of latter times, those figures that stalk abroad, of unknown stature and

strange form, unions and leagues, and musterings of men in myriads, and conspiracies against the Exchequer—whence do they spring, and how come they to haunt our shores? What power engendered those uncouth shapes? What multiplied the monstrous births till they people the land? Trust me, the same power which called into frightful existence, and armed with resistless force the Irish Volunteers of 1782—the same power which rent in twain your empire and conjured up thirteen republics—the same power which created the Catholic Association and gave it Ireland for a portion! What power is that? Justice denied, rights withheld, wrongs perpetrated, the force which common injuries lend to millions, the wickedness of using the sacred trust of government as a means of indulging private caprice, the idiocy of treating Englishmen like the children of the South Sea Islands! the frenzy of believing, or making believe, that the adults of the nineteenth century can be led like children or driven like barbarians! This it is that has conjured up the strange sights at which we now stand aghast. And shall we persist in the fatal error of combating the giant progeny instead of extirpating the execrable parent? Good God! will men never learn wisdom, even from their own experience? Will they never believe, till it be too late, that the surest way to prevent immoderate desires being formed—ay, and unjust demands enforced—is to grant in due season the moderate requests of justice? You stand, my Lords, on the brink of a great event—you are in the crisis of a whole nation's hopes and fears. An awful importance hangs over your decision. Pause, ere you plunge. There may not be any retreat. It behoves you to shape your conduct by the mighty occasions. They tell you not to be afraid of personal consequences in discharging your duty. I, too, would ask you to banish all fears; but, above all, that most mischievous, most despicable fear—the fear of being thought afraid. If you won't take counsel

from me, take example from the statesman-like conduct of the noble Duke (Wellington), while you also look back, as you may with satisfaction, upon your own. He was told, and you were told, that the impatience of Ireland for equality of civil rights was partial, the clamour transient, likely to pass away with its temporary occasion, and that yielding to it would be conceding to intimidation. I recollect hearing this topic urged within this House in July, 1829; less regularly I heard it than I have now done, for I belonged not to your number—but I heard it urged in the self-same terms. The burthen of the cry was—"It is no time for concession; the people are turbulent, and the Association dangerous." That summer passed, and the ferment subsided not. Autumn came, but brought not the precious fruit of peace—on the contrary, all Ireland was convulsed with the unprecedented conflict which returned the great chief of the Catholics to sit in a Protestant Parliament. Winter bound the earth in chains, but it controlled not the popular fury, whose surges, more deafening than the tempests, lashed the frail bulwarks of law founded upon injustice. Spring came, but no ethereal mildness was its harbinger, or followed in its train—the Catholics became stronger by every month's delay, displayed a deadlier resolution, and proclaimed their wrongs in a tone of louder defiance than before. And what course did you, at this moment of greatest excitement, and peril, and menace, deem it most fitting to pursue? Eight months before you had been told how unworthy it would be to yield when men clamoured and threatened. No change had happened in the interval, save that the clamours were become far more deafening, and the threats beyond comparison more overbearing. What, nevertheless, did your lordships do? Your duty—for you despised the cuckoo note of the season, "Be not intimidated." You granted all that the Irish demanded, and you saved your country. Was there in April a single argument

advanced that had not held good in July? None, absolutely none, except the new height to which the dangers of longer delay had risen, and the increased vehemence with which justice was demanded—and yet the appeal to your pride, which had prevailed in July, was in vain made in April, and you wisely and patriotically granted what was asked, and ran the risk of being supposed to yield through fear. But the history of the Catholic claims conveys another important lesson. Though in right, and policy, and justice, the measure of relief could not be too ample, half as much as was received with little gratitude, when so lately wrung from you, would have been hailed twenty years before with delight; and even the July preceding, the measure would have been received as a boon, freely given, which, I fear, was taken but with sullen satisfaction in April as a right long withheld. Yet, blessed be God, the debt of justice, though tardily, was at length paid, and the noble Duke won by it civic honours, which rival his warlike achievements in lasting brightness—than which there can be no higher praise. What if he had still listened to the topics of intimidation and inconsistency which had scared his predecessors? He might have proved his obstinacy, and Ireland would have been the sacrifice!’

When the Lord Chancellor sat down, amidst the most enthusiastic applause, Lord Lyndhurst, whom Earl Grey had appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the expectation that he would withdraw from politics, rose to reply. His speech was a model of persuasive oratory, set off by every advantage of voice and manner. ‘He argued the case of the Tories against the Bill much better than Sir Robert Peel,’ says Sir Denis le Marchant, who was present. ‘He was, indeed, a complete master of his argument, his premises being so skilfully laid that his conclusions were almost irresistible: nothing could be more clear, distinct, and logical than his handling of a subject—at least according to his own

view of it; but he grappled with no difficulties that he was not sure to overcome.’*

He resisted the Bill, he said, because it appeared to him not consistent with the prerogative of the Crown; not consistent with the authority of their Lordships’ House; but above all, because it was detrimental to the rights and liberties of the people. He insisted that the responsibility for the excitement that prevailed rested upon the ministers, who had put the tranquillity of the country in peril, and had made the most unjustifiable use of the king’s name. He believed that the effect of the Bill would be to convert the House of Commons into an unmanageable democratic assembly—too much for the Lords, and too much for the Crown. From the moment this Bill came into operation, the government of England would be essentially a republic. It was impossible, after it had passed, that the Church of Ireland could exist, and its overthrow would be followed by attacks upon the Church of England and on funded property. Indeed, a demand had already been made for the application of church property to the payment of the public debt, and for an ‘equitable adjustment with the public creditor; or in other words, a scandalous and flagrant violation of public faith.’ The noble lords who opened the flood-gates of insurrection would be swept away by the torrent, not even excepting his noble and learned friend on the wool-sack, who though he might be enabled by his peculiar dexterity, elasticity, and vigour, to float for a time upon the tide and play

* It is greatly to be regretted that Lord Lyndhurst’s reputation for political and moral principle was not equal to his extraordinary abilities. Sir Denis le Marchant, who was present when Lyndhurst indignantly repudiated Lord Grey’s charge of his formerly holding opinions favourable to Reform, adding emphatically, ‘I never was a Whig,’ says that the Attorney-General (Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Denman), who stood next to him, pressed his arm tightly, saying, ‘Villain! No, he was a Democrat. When I was a young man he took me to a dinner of the Friends of the People. The violence of the speeches startled me, and I could not help observing that I thought his friends went too far, for there must be some honest Tories. “No,” he answered, “it is impossible; an honest Tory is a contradiction in terms.”’

his gambols upon its surface, would at last sink with the rest.

‘But all these objections vanish into insignificance when compared with the aggregate consideration I am now about to mention. The Bill takes 157 members from the aristocratic part of the House of Commons. It gives back 65 in the shape of county members; but it gives also 50 members to the populous towns, to be elected by such a constituency as I have described. What would the representatives of such places be? We may judge by the persons who are at present the favourite candidates. The difference is not a difference of 50 members, but a difference of 100, for 50 are taken from the aristocratic part and given to the democratic part of the House. But then there are 35 more to be taken away, so that, in fact, the aristocratic part of the House will lose 135 members. The same consequences will result in Scotland, where the democratic part of the members will utterly overwhelm the aristocratic part. Then look at Ireland. Three-fourths of the representation of Ireland will be in the power of the Catholics. I must say that I think the whole will form what the noble Duke near me has described—namely, a fierce and democratic assembly.’

Their Lordships, he proceeded to say, were threatened in all imaginable ways in newspapers and pamphlets, and by hypocritical advisers, who in the garb of anonymous publications, vented their menaces, their insults, and their malice. If he thought their Lordships capable of bending to the ignoble motive of fear, he would be ashamed of the dignity he had acquired, would bury himself in obscurity, and avoid showing his face within these desecrated walls. Their Lordships were placed there as a barrier against the Crown, and bound to protect it against its own imprudence and folly, if such qualities should unfortunately ever be exhibited. They were placed there as a barrier against the ministers of the crown, in case they should betray the sovereign, or seek to subvert

the liberties of the people, or attempt the invasion of the rights of any other order of the state. They were placed there as a barrier against rash, dangerous, and hasty legislation whenever attempted by the other House of Parliament.

‘This,’ he concluded, ‘is the crisis of your Lordships’ fate; if you now abdicate the trust reposed in you, you will never be able to resume those trusts; your rights, your titles, and the liberties of the country will be trampled in the dust. The guardianship of the constitution has been intrusted to you; and if it should be despoiled while in your custody, the blame will rest with you, and with you only. But if, on the contrary, you preserve it unimpaired, you will receive the thanks of all reasonable men of the present generation, and your memory will live in the gratitude of posterity, to whom by your instrumentality the invaluable blessings of the British constitution will have been transmitted uninjured and undiminished.’

‘Lord Grey was very great in reply,’ says Greville. ‘All his wonted fire glowed in his reply,’ wrote Sir Denis le Marchant, ‘which was generally admitted to be magnificent.’ The speech, indeed, both as regards eloquence and deep feeling, was every way worthy to close this momentous debate.

After pointing out that the opposition to the measure seemed to be carried on less with a view to defeat the Bill than to drive its advocates from office, the Premier proceeded to say:—‘The noble and learned lord has asserted, that if I were to resign office, it would be a culpable abandonment of the king. It is my duty to consider what course I shall follow under the circumstances in which I may be placed. I certainly will not abandon the king as long as I can be of use to him. I am bound to the king by obligations of gratitude, greater, perhaps, than subject ever owed to a sovereign, for the kind manner in which he has extended to me his confidence and support, and for the indulgence with which he has

accepted my humble but zealous exertions in his service. Therefore, so long as I can be a useful servant to him, I trust that it never will be a reproach to me that I abandoned so gracious a master. But I can only serve him usefully by maintaining the character which belongs to a consistent, conscientious, and disinterested course of public conduct; this character I should deservedly forfeit if, by any consideration, I should desert principles which I believe to be just, or give up, for any consideration whatever, measures which I believe to be essential to the security, happiness, and honour of my sovereign and of my country. If I could fall into such disgrace, I should be at once disqualified from rendering to His Majesty any useful service. As to abilities, I am too sensible of my own deficiency, which is not less in those other qualifications which long habits of office give. All that I can pretend to is an honest zeal, an anxious desire to do my duty in the best way I can; as long as he is content to accept my services on these terms, no personal sacrifice shall stand in the way of my performing the duty which I owe to a sovereign whose claims upon my gratitude and devotion can never be obliterated from my heart, whatever may happen, to the last moment of my existence.

'I had no desire for place, and it was not sought after by me; it was offered to me under such circumstances, that nothing but a sense of duty could have induced me to accept it. To such as have observed my public conduct, I think I need make no such professions, for I can appeal to the history of my whole life to prove that I have not been actuated by an unworthy desire for office. But I found myself placed in a situation in which, to shrink from the task imposed upon me by the too partial opinion of a benevolent master, would have been the dereliction of a great public duty. I have lived a long life of seclusion from office—I had no official habits—I possessed not the advantage which those official habits confer. I am fond of retirement and

domestic life, and I lived happy and contented in the bosom of my family. I was surrounded by those to whom I am attached by the warmest ties of affection. What, then, but a sense of duty could have induced me to plunge into all the difficulties, not unforeseen, of my present situation? What else in my declining age?—

What else could tempt me on those stormy seas,
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?

I defy my worst enemy, if he has the most moderate share of candour, to find ground for charging me with any other motive. I have performed my duty as well as I am able—I shall still continue to do so, as long as I can hope to succeed in the accomplishment of an object which I believe to be safe, necessary, and indispensable; but should this hope fail me, and should the Parliament and the public withdraw the confidence with which I have been hitherto supported, as in that case I could no longer prove a useful servant to my king or to my country, I would instantly withdraw from office into the retirement of private life, with the consoling reflection that, whatever were my other defects, I had not been wanting, according to the best of my ability and judgment, in a faithful, conscientious, and zealous discharge of what I felt to be my duty.'

The conclusion of Lord Grey's speech was greeted with loud cheers of assent and approval not only from the Liberal peers, but from the Duke of Wellington and many of his followers; and the Premier resumed his seat amid enthusiastic applause, clapping of hands, and stamping of feet—marks of approbation very rarely witnessed in the House of Lords. The group of young members of the House of Commons collected behind the throne were, in the warmth of their admiration, with difficulty restrained from taking part in the cheering.

The House divided about six o'clock in the morning, at the end of five days and nights of debate. The 'Contents,' including proxies, were 158; the 'Non-contents,' 199; giving a majority of 41 against the second

reading. Special attention was called to the fact that the representatives of most of the great historic houses of England and Scotland—the Norfolks, Hamiltons, Douglasses, Cavendishes, Campbells, Grosvenors, Seymours, Stanleys, Paulets, St. Johns, Russells, Cliffords, Fortescues, Spencers, Maules, Napiers, Pelhams, Hastings', and many more of the same class—supported the bill; while the great majority of the peers who threw it out had been elevated to the Upper House since the Revolution of 1688, and mainly during the reign of George III. Of the Irish peers, by far the oldest and most influential—such as the Duke of Leinster and the Marquises of Downshire, Donegal, Clanricarde, Sligo, Headfort, and Ormonde—were in favour of the measure. So with regard to the possession of extensive estates, the Dukes of Bedford, Portland, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Hamilton, the Marquises of Westminster, Cleveland, and Breadalbane, Lords Derby, Durham, Dundas, Fife, Panmure, Burlington, Yarborough, &c., could well compare with any equal number of the Anti-reforming nobles.

In one section of the Upper House, however, the opponents of the bill possessed an unquestionable superiority. Only two of the spiritual peers—Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, and Maltby, bishop of Chichester—voted for the bill; while twenty-one, including the Primate (exactly the number that would have turned the scale) voted against it. This procedure on the part of the prelates, as Earl Grey had hinted, and they might have foreseen, was for a time highly injurious to the prelatical order. It was everywhere proclaimed that it was the bishops who threw out the bill; and the *Times* and other newspapers made a fierce assault upon them, and marked them out for special reprobation. The people, who in spite of themselves could not but make allowance for the lay peers resisting a measure that deprived them of property and influence which for centuries had been

the patrimonial possessions of their families, had no sympathy with the spiritual peers, most of whom had sprung from the people, and had neither hereditary associations nor family or personal interest to sway their opinions against a measure which was intended and fitted to limit the power of the aristocracy, and to extend the rights and influence of the people. For many months the appearance of an apron or a shovel hat in public was certain to be followed by insults from the populace; and it was hardly safe for a bishop to appear in the streets in his professional costume. Though the Bishop of London was absent from the second reading, he could not venture to fulfil an engagement to preach at St. Anns, Westminster, from an apprehension that he would be maltreated by the congregation. Dr. Ryder, bishop of Lichfield, a man of eminent piety and generosity, after preaching a charity sermon at St. Brides, was grossly insulted, and in danger of being killed by the infuriated populace. Even the saintly and venerated Dr. Howley, the Primate, was most shamefully insulted, spit on, and maltreated by a brutal mob at Canterbury. In many of the towns the bishops were substituted for Guy Fawkes, on the 5th of November, and the bishops of Winchester and Exeter were hanged and burned in effigy close to their own palaces. Sydney Smith says, in his humorous way, that he bought a blue coat, and hoped in time to pass for a layman. On the final reading of the Reform Bill a few months after this, though the bishops in a body withdrew from the House, and not one of the prelatical order appeared among the twenty-two staunch Anti-reformers who to the last opposed the measure, the public ascribed the withdrawal of the bishops not to their love of peace or their deference to the national will, but to the lack of courage; and years elapsed before the Church recovered from the injury thus inflicted upon it by its own hierarchy.

The news of the rejection of the Reform

Bill by the Lords, which spread through the country like lightning, excited great indignation and anxiety. A large number of the Liberal newspapers, on announcing the result, appeared in mourning edges. In London, and several other large towns, the shops were closed next day, and the bells of the churches muffled. Great crowds assembled in the streets leading to Palace Yard and greeted the Anti-reforming peers, and especially the bishops, with hootings, groans, and execrations; and a strong party of the police was required to protect them from personal violence. Several of the more obnoxious of their number, like the Dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle, were roughly handled by the mob, and the Marquis of Londonderry was knocked senseless off his horse by a shower of stones, and severely wounded. A mob, composed of the lowest rabble, pickpockets and thieves, availed themselves of the opportunity to assault and pillage respectable persons whom they met in the streets, and to break the windows of several peers who were known to be hostile to the Bill. The whole aspect of affairs, as Lord Eldon expressed it, was 'tremendously alarming.'

The great body of Reformers, however, were calm as well as firm. About two hundred members of the House of Commons assembled at once, at the Thatched House Tavern, and unanimously agreed that Lord Ebrington, eldest son of Earl Fortescue, and member for Devonshire, should move a vote of confidence in the Ministry on the following Monday. The Cabinet met the same afternoon to consider whether they should remain in office or throw upon their opponents the entire responsibility of carrying on the government in the midst of the dangerous excitement that prevailed. They agreed that they would come to no formal decision as to the course they should pursue until the result of Lord Ebrington's motion was known. Meanwhile the Common Council of London met and expressed their confidence in Earl Grey and his colleagues, their undiminished attachment

to reform, and their earnest desire that Ministers should firmly adhere to the Bill.

Lord Ebrington's motion was brought forward as soon as the House of Commons met, on Monday the 10th of October. Its object was to induce the Ministers to remain firm at their post; and with this view it declared that the House 'feels itself most imperatively called upon to re-assert its firm adherence to the principles and leading provisions of the Bill, and to express its unabated confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those Ministers who, in introducing and conducting it so well, consulted the best interests of the country.' A violent debate ensued. Lord Ebrington's own speech, indeed, was most temperate, firm, and judicious; but the speeches of Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Shiel, and O'Connell, who followed, though able and eloquent, were very inflammatory. Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Croker, on the other side, spoke in somewhat the same strain; but Mr. Goulbourn and Sir Robert Peel, who argued that the motion was unnecessary and fitted to do mischief, expressed themselves in a moderate and rather subdued tone. Lord Althorp, the only member of the Cabinet who, according to arrangement, took part in the debate, delivered what was regarded as one of his best speeches. Believing it to be necessary that he should speak frankly and freely on the question before the House, he said, 'For myself, I declare that unless I felt a reasonable hope that a measure as efficient as that recently passed in this House might be secured by our continuance in office, I would not continue in office an hour. Whenever that hope ceases, I will cease to hold office. Both my colleagues and myself owe too much to our sovereign—we are too deeply indebted for the kindness, the candour, the frank sincerity, which we have uniformly experienced from him, to desert the service of the king while His Majesty thinks our services valuable, and we ourselves think we can advantageously serve His Majesty. But we can no longer

serve His Majesty advantageously if we sacrifice our character. We owe also a great deal to the people. We have been supported by the people in the most handsome manner. The people have a right to demand that we should not desert them while our stay in office can conduce to their benefit. I will further state that I will not be a party to the proposal of any measure less efficient than that lately passed in this House. I do not mean to say that, after the discussion and consideration which the measure underwent, some modification may not be made in it which, without diminishing its efficacy, may render it more complete. But what I mean to say is, that I will be no party to any measure which I do not conscientiously believe will give the people a full, free, and fair representation in Parliament, and secure all the objects which we hoped to effect for them by the late Bill.'

Lord Althorp then, after expressing his confident belief that the measure was only postponed, proceeded to give a much needed warning to the people at this crisis. 'There is,' he said, 'one, and only one chance of failure and disappointment; I mean any occurrence that may lead the people to break out into acts of violence, or into any unconstitutional conduct. If I have any influence with the people—if they put any trust in my sincerity—I implore them, for the sake of the great cause in which we are engaged, to be patient and peaceable, and to do nothing illegal or unconstitutional. I would say to them—Be as firm, be as determined, be as persevering as you please; but never break through legal and constitutional restraints; never place yourselves in a situation in which the law must be put in operation against you, whoever are Ministers. By temperance, steadiness, and perseverance, the cause of Parliamentary Reform must ultimately triumph.'

This speech made a great impression both on the House and on the country, giving, as it did, full assurance that the Ministers would resolutely adhere to the

great measure which they had brought forward, and at the same time making the rabble aware that their excesses would be repressed and punished with a firm hand. A majority of 131 (329 votes against 198) gave the Ministers confidence in the fidelity of their supporters, and encouraged them to persevere in the policy which they had adopted.

The position of the Government, however, continued to be encompassed with serious difficulties. The course adopted by the majority of the peers led some of the extreme Radicals to make violent speeches, urging the abolition of the House of Lords. On the 12th of October, a procession of delegates from the several parishes of London, said to have consisted of 60,000 persons, marched with flags to St. James', to present an address to the king. The leaders were introduced to the Home Secretary, who informed them that notice of their intention not having been given they could not be received in person by the king; and he recommended them to deliver the address to the county members, Messrs. Byng and Hume, who would no doubt willingly present them to His Majesty. This was accordingly done; and after an interval of about an hour Mr. Hume returned, and informed the deputies that His Majesty had given a gracious reception to the address, had authorized him to say that he had the highest confidence in his present Ministers, and that every effort should be made by him to insure the success of the Reform Bill. Mr. Hume, after making this announcement, which was received with great cheering, exhorted the assemblage to disperse quietly with all speed.

The greater part of the crowd at once followed this advice; but a number of the London rabble and thieves, who had joined the procession, set about breaking the windows of the Marquis of Bristol, Lord Dudley, and the Duke of Wellington. They next assailed the police, and any respectable persons whom they encountered

in the streets. The Duke of Cumberland, on his way back from the House of Lords, was dragged from his horse, and was with difficulty rescued from the hands of a mob of ruffians; and Lord Londonderry was a second time attacked and severely wounded on the head by a stone, and compelled to take refuge in the Horse Guards. A similar riot broke out at Derby, where the populace, provoked by a noisy demonstration of some Anti-reformers in the market place, assailed the houses, and smashed the windows of some of the principal inhabitants, whom they suspected to be opposed to the Bill. They next attacked the borough jail, and broke open and released the prisoners. Encouraged by this success they proceeded to assail the county jail, which was, however, successfully defended with fire-arms, and several of the rioters were killed and wounded. A much more serious outrage took place at Nottingham, where the mob set fire to the castle, at one time a royal residence, but now the property of the Duke of Newcastle, and burned it to the ground. Detachments of the rioters marched against the seats of several of the neighbouring Anti-reform peers and gentry; and they sacked and pillaged Colwick Hall, the seat of Mr. Musters, who was absent at the time. His wife, Mary Chaworth, Lord Byron's first love, fled in terror from the house, and took refuge among the bushes in the shrubbery on a cold and rainy October evening. The exposure and the fright brought on her an illness, which terminated fatally a few months after.

These and other popular excesses in various parts of the country alarmed the public and injured the cause; but the Ministry were much more seriously embarrassed by the proceedings of the Political Unions which had been formed in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other large towns. At a monster meeting of the Birmingham Union, presided over by Mr. Attwood, a banker, and said to have been attended by 150,000 persons, the

House of Lords was assailed in very violent terms, and a resolution was unanimously adopted, that, 'if all constitutional modes of obtaining the success of the reform measure should fail, they would refuse the payment of taxes.'

At the same meeting a vote of thanks was passed to Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell for their services in carrying the bill through the Commons. Lord Althorp, in acknowledging the compliment to Mr. Attwood, said, 'The unanimous approbation of 150,000 of my fellow-countrymen is no trifling honour. I feel sincerely thankful for it, and I beg to assure you that it gave me the highest gratification. The large majority by which the bill has been lost in the House of Lords, is, I fear, a very serious calamity. It can, however, only postpone the success of our cause; but I beseech you to use all your influence, not merely to prevent any acts of open violence, but any such resistance to the law as is threatened by the refusal to pay taxes.'

This letter would probably have passed unnoticed, for, as Lord Grey said, 'it could do no harm;' but unfortunately Lord John Russell, in his letter of thanks, used the expression, 'It is impossible that the whisper of a faction should prevail over the voice of a nation.' The irritation not unnaturally produced by these improper and imprudent words, led to an animated discussion in the House of Commons on both letters. Sir Henry Hardinge, on the 12th of October, denounced the phrase employed by Lord John Russell as insulting to the House of Lords, and asserted that 'it completely identified the Cabinet with all the Political Unions, and encouraged the passions and feelings by which such masses of men were unfortunately actuated. Sir Richard Vyvyan, Sir Charles Wetherell, and Mr. Trevor attacked the conduct of the two members of the Government referred to in still more violent terms, charged them with conniving at the dastardly attacks that had been made that very day on the persons of Anti-reforming peers, and affirmed that the

opinion of the public was that the Government connived at these disturbances, and at illegal combinations, as a means of carrying the Reform Bill.

It must be admitted that the defence made by Lord John against these attacks was lame and unsatisfactory. He denounced the attack made that day for the second time on the Marquis of Londonderry as cowardly and disgraceful; and added that such an attack was doubly base and disgraceful when made on the Duke of Wellington, to whom the country was so deeply indebted. But he denied that he intended to apply the phrase, 'the whisper of a faction,' to the determination of the whole majority of the House of Lords, but only to a small self-interested portion of that majority. Lord Althorp, on his part, affirmed that he had not written a letter to a body known under the name of the Birmingham Political Union, but only to the chairman of a meeting held at Birmingham, consisting of 150,000 persons, expressing his sense of a vote of thanks with which so large a number of his fellow-countrymen had thought fit to honour his public conduct. These excuses could scarcely be deemed satisfactory, even by the most thorough-going supporters of the Government; but in the excited state of the public mind, the great body of the people were not disposed to scrutinize very closely or to judge very severely the proceedings of the two members of the administration on whom the burden of pressing the Reform Bill through Parliament had chiefly devolved.

The Ministry, in fact, were as much annoyed and embarrassed by their friends as by their enemies. Busybodies, demagogues, vain, presumptuous, narrow-minded, and intolerant politicians of all grades, were continually thrusting their advice on the Ministers, and especially on the Premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and threatening all sorts of evil consequences if their counsels were not followed. One night, after eleven o'clock, a Dr. Carpue,

and seventeen other persons of the same class, representing themselves as delegates from metropolitan parishes, intruded themselves on Earl Grey on his return from the House of Lords, to inform him that it was their opinion that Parliament should be prorogued for only a week, and a new Reform Bill brought forward and pressed through Parliament. Lord Grey received the impertinent busybodies as they deserved, and dismissed them highly indignant at the dignified aristocratic rebuke which he administered to them. They revenged themselves by circulating false reports as to the intentions of the Ministry, alleging that a much more moderate measure of Reform was to be brought in which would give satisfaction to the Tories, and that an extensive creation of peers would not be required, and would not be made. These and other sinister rumours were so widely disseminated that Earl Grey found it necessary to contradict them in a letter to Sir John C. Hobhouse. 'I must avow my opinion,' he said, 'that for the session to commence after so brief an interval, and for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to begin his labours again, and for my noble friend, who has introduced the Bill, to renew his advocacy of the measure—I must pronounce my opinion that this would be physically impossible after having given three months, night and day, to deliberation and discussion. No one feels more than I do the impossibility of continuing such exertions. It was just twelve months last Friday since I began hard work in London, and during all that time I have enjoyed no respite or relaxation, with the exception of two days at Christmas and Easter, and even they were chiefly spent upon the road. During that period I have been occupied from six or seven in the morning until twelve and one at night; and if any man is so unreasonable as to say that I ought not to be allowed to enjoy a little repose, with that man I will not pause to reason. I will throw myself on the good sense and kind feelings of my countrymen,

and I am confident that they will not bring in a verdict of guilty. Whatever advice may be offered as to the time of prorogation, the people of England may rest assured that it will be given on a solemn principle of public duty, and with a view to carrying that great measure, to which none can feel more devoted than myself and my colleagues. The public will see when the measure is again before Parliament the wisdom with which we have acted, and that the period that will intervene is no longer than is required, I will not say in justice, but in mercy.' Notwithstanding this explicit declaration from the Premier, so strong was the unreasonable urgency for immediate action on the part of a section of the Reformers, and so persistent the reports that there were dissensions in the Ministry, and that the Bill would be modified, that Earl Grey found it necessary to reiterate in the House of Lords, on the 17th of October, the statements he had made to the deputation, and to declare once more that he would never be a party to or recommend any measure of reform which was not founded on similar principles, and as effective as that which was lately before Parliament. With respect to the prorogation he would only say, that whatever might be the length of the period to which His Majesty's ministers thought it their duty to prorogue Parliament, it would be regulated by a sincere desire to do that which they considered most conducive to the great measure of Parliamentary Reform.

Rumours had been so widely circulated that the king was now wavering in his adherence to Reform, and in his support of Ministers, that they had found it necessary, for their own vindication, to insist that Lord Howe, the queen's chamberlain, who had voted against the Bill, should be removed from office, which was accordingly done; and the indispensable business of the session having been concluded, His Majesty in person came down to the House on the 20th of October, in temper and feeling

apparently unchanged, and prorogued the Parliament to the 22nd of November. The royal speech on this occasion, which was looked for with some anxiety, expressed the firm resolution of the Ministry to carry through their great measure, while they cherished the hope that the earnest desire of the people for the accomplishment of a constitutional reform in the Commons House of Parliament would be regulated by a due sense of the necessity of order and moderation in these proceedings.

'To the consideration of this important question the attention of Parliament must necessarily be called at the opening of the ensuing session, and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for the securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which, in combination with those of the other orders of the state, are essential to the support of our free constitution.'

It was, indeed, of great importance that the countenance of the king towards his Ministers should remain unchanged at this juncture, for events had occurred which were calculated to shake his decision and his courage, while the elections which had just taken place in Dorsetshire, Pembroke, and Liverpool, having terminated in favour of the Tory candidates, had given renewed confidence to the Anti-reformers. The riots which had taken place at Derby and Nottingham had alarmed the timid, and caused anxiety among not a few of the wealthy classes of society; but the destructive outbreak which now occurred at Bristol excited the apprehensions of the whole country.

The Bristol mobs had always been noted for their brutality and ferocity. The city contained an unusually large number of ignorant and degraded inhabitants, intermingled with the offscourings of a seafaring population. The freemen were notorious for their venality, and the Bristol elections were scenes of the most unblushing corrup-

tion and drunkenness. The corporation had always taken the lead in the political contests; but neither its self-elected members nor the wealthy citizens had ever adopted any adequate measures to instruct and elevate the degraded masses by whom they were surrounded. It needed but a spark to kindle such materials into a flame, and this was applied by the visit of Sir Charles Wetherell, the Recorder of the City, who had made himself prominent and especially unpopular by his resolute opposition to the Reform Bill. He had to visit Bristol in his judicial capacity towards the end of October; and being well aware of the character of the rabble there, and of his own unpopularity, he consulted the Government whether he should proceed to discharge the duties of his office; but the Home Secretary did not think it necessary to interfere. Mr. Pinney, the Mayor, however, who was apprehensive that disturbances might take place, applied to the Home Office for military aid, and a handful of troops, which were quartered in the neighbourhood, were placed at the disposal of the magistrates, but with the injunction that they were not to be called in except in case of necessity. A number of the citizens were sworn in as special constables; but it was an ominous fact that the sailors of the port refused to take part in any measures for the protection of the Recorder.

On Saturday, 29th October, Sir Charles Wetherell made his formal entry into the city in a carriage drawn by four grey horses. He was received, as usual, by the civic authorities and by the High Sheriff, in whose carriage he then took his seat—escorted by a large number of special constables, and preceded and followed by the Mayor and Sheriff's officers. A dense crowd, composed of the lowest classes, hooted, hissed, and groaned at the Recorder as the procession advanced towards the Guildhall, and stones were occasionally thrown at the carriage and at the constables who attended it. On reaching the Guildhall, Sir Charles with some difficulty made

his way through the crowd into the building, followed by the populace. The Royal Commission was read, amidst wild clamour and uproar, and the court adjourned to the following Monday, October 31. The Recorder and the magistrates then quitted the hall, and proceeded, amidst the groans and yells of the mob, to the Mansion-house, where, according to custom, they were to dine. They reached the place in safety, though not until after considerable delay; but the crowd filled the whole square, and began to throw stones at the windows. The constables, who remained outside, kept the mob at bay, though they had now armed themselves with sticks and bludgeons, and were becoming every moment more daring in their attacks. At this stage one of the rioters was unfortunately killed by a blow on the head—an incident which greatly increased the exasperation of the mob, who, though repeatedly driven back still crowded the square. By an unaccountable blunder, one half of the constables were now allowed to retire for the purpose of obtaining refreshments, and the rabble immediately renewed their attack upon the reduced force, and began to gain the mastery. The Mayor interposed, and entreated the rioters to disperse; otherwise, he would be constrained to call out the military. But his soothing speech only brought a shower of stones about his head, and as the crowd were becoming more and more violent, the Riot Act was read at four o'clock. The only effect, however, was an instantaneous attack upon the constables, who were overpowered and disarmed, and most of them were driven from the ground. The triumphant mob then stormed the Mansion-house, broke the shutters and windows to pieces, and demolished the furniture in the rooms on the ground floor.

The Recorder had meanwhile escaped by the back of the building, and, clambering over the roofs of the adjoining houses, fled from the city in the disguise of a postillion. The magistrates and other citizens who were in the Mansion-house, barricaded

themselves in a part of the building, into which the mob had not yet been able to force an entrance. They, however, hurled bricks through the upper windows, tore up the iron palisades in front of the house and endeavoured to break open the doors, and collected straw and other combustibles, in order to burn down the building. At this critical moment the military, consisting of two troops of cavalry, appeared on the scene. But Colonel Brereton, the officer in command, instead of clearing the streets as he ought to have done, shook hands with the rioters, and entreated them to disperse. They answered his fair words with cheers, but refused to move. The Mayor was 'humane' and had 'religious scruples,' and refused to command the soldiers to act. At length, Sergeant Ludlow, indignant at the imbecility of both the civil and military authorities, ordered Colonel Brereton to clear the streets. The order was at once executed; the mob fled in confusion from the square and the adjoining streets, but took refuge in the narrow lanes and passages which the cavalry could not reach, and thence pelted the soldiers with stones and other missiles. One of the rioters was shot, and several others severely wounded.

At an early hour on Sunday morning the people began to assemble again in the square; but as they seemed disposed to remain quiet the troops were withdrawn to their quarters. As soon as they departed, the mob once more attacked the Mansion-house, and destroyed the furniture in the rooms which they had not been able to enter on the preceding day. They forced their way into the wine cellars, which contained about 300 dozen bottles of wine. A considerable portion of the wine was consumed or wasted by the mob, many of whom became so intoxicated that they lay helpless and insensible on the ground. Others, in a state of fury approaching to madness, spread themselves over the town, doing all the mischief in their power. The troops (the 14th Light Dragoons) were now brought back, but were assailed with a

shower of stones and brick bats. Colonel Brereton, however, refused to allow the soldiers to fire, and withdrew them to the barracks, fiercely assailed all the way by the mob. They were replaced by a body of the 3rd Dragoons, who, it was hoped, would be less obnoxious to the populace. As might have been expected, this concession had the effect of giving renewed encouragement to the rioters, several of whom were killed and wounded by the discharges of the soldiers. The mob had now greatly increased, both in numbers and violence; and they proceeded to set fire to the Bridewell, the city gaol, the toll-houses, and other public buildings, no one preventing them. The Gloucester county prison was next assailed and set on fire, the prisoners having first been released. The bishop's palace was then attacked, and on receiving this intelligence the Mayor hastened to the scene, followed by the dragoons, and easily kept the destructives in check. But they had no sooner departed from the square than the mob set fire to the Mansion-house, and burned it to the ground. The military at the bishop's palace, seeing there was no disturbance there, returned to the Mansion-house, which they found in flames; and in twenty minutes the roof fell in, and the whole building was in ruins. No sooner did the soldiers leave the bishop's palace unprotected than it was attacked by a fresh and more numerous body of the populace, who set it on fire and speedily reduced it to ashes. An attempt to destroy the cathedral also was prevented by the interposition of a few respectable citizens, who, strange to say, were all Dissenters. Their earnest entreaties induced the mob to abandon their intention to burn down the building.

Meanwhile, the soldiers had been ordered to leave the square and to march to the Guildhall, where their commanding officer and the magistrates were sitting. The mob took advantage of their absence to set fire to the private houses adjoining the Mansion-house. They went about their work of

destruction with the greatest deliberation, and gave half an hour's notice to the inmates of each house before setting it on fire. Some of the incendiaries carried pots of turpentine and brushes, in order to facilitate the progress of the flames; others had axes with which they cut holes in the floors of the burning houses to allow the air to enter, and the wine and spirit vaults in this quarter of the city contributed greatly to the fury of the conflagration. By midnight the whole mass of buildings in the vicinity of the Mansion-house, including the Custom-house and the Excise Office, were in flames. A number of the wretched creatures who were engaged in these outrages, unable to escape from the buildings they had fired, were burnt to ashes; while others threw themselves from the windows in desperation, and were killed by the fall.

The rioters, destructive as had been their operations, were comparatively a small body, and might without difficulty have been put down by the respectable citizens, if they could have been induced to act with promptitude and courage; but they seemed quite paralysed, and the magistrates were utterly incompetent to cope with the emergency. Major Mackworth, the *aide-de-camp* of Lord Hill, found 200 persons assembled on Monday evening in the Council-house, under the presidency of an alderman, wrangling and disputing as to the steps that should be taken; but they would do nothing for the protection of the city. He urged them to meet him in the College Green at six o'clock next morning, in order that they might organize themselves into a body capable of being of some service, which they promised to do. But when he proceeded at the appointed hour to the place of rendezvous, not a single individual put in an appearance. He then went to the square, where he found the dragoons, twenty-five in number, patrolling in the presence of a mob of about 1000 persons, who were about to fire a house which closely adjoined the shipping moored in the heart

of the city. Observing at a glance its imminent danger, he at once called on the dragoons to charge. His order was promptly obeyed; the rioters fled in all directions; some were cut down and ridden over, while others fled for refuge into the burning houses, and there miserably perished.

Having thus made a beginning in the suppression of the riot, the Major galloped to Keynsham, six miles distant, to which the 14th Dragoons had been led when they were marched out of the city because they were unpopular with the mob—in reliance on the assurance that the rioters would desist from violence if the soldiers were withdrawn. They were brought back with all speed to the city, and charged the mob vigorously, cutting down all who offered resistance. Reinforcements of troops and yeomanry now speedily followed, and Major Beckwith hastened from Gloucester and took the command. The special constables plucked up courage and began to act, and in a short time the fires were extinguished and order was restored, but not before property to the amount of half a million had been destroyed, and a large number of persons had lost their lives or been seriously wounded. Altogether there were burned the Mansion-house, the bishop's palace, the Excise Office, the Custom-house, three prisons, four toll-houses, and forty-two private dwellings and warehouses. Lord Granville Somerset wrote to the Duke of Wellington that a large number of the rioters who had been seized were 'strangers and Irishmen.'

On the 2nd of November Lord Althorp wrote, 'Bristol is at last got under. There was a great escape at the Post Office there. The money in the office on Sunday night was £300,000; but the man was clever enough to slip away with it in a hack chaise without being perceived, and it was put into the Post Office at Bath.'

The Bristol magistrates were brought to trial for their mismanagement and neglect of duty; but on the acquittal of the Mayor, the prosecution of his brother magistrates

was abandoned.* The trial of Colonel Brereton by a court-martial had a very different and painful termination. His mind gave way under the conflicting emotions produced by his position, and on the night of the fourth day of the proceedings, he shot himself through the heart. His sad fate excited great and general commiseration. A special commission was issued on the 3rd of December for the trial of the Bristol rioters, and on the 20th similar commissions were issued to try the rioters at Nottingham and Derby. Twenty-four persons were capitally indicted and convicted at Bristol, but only four were executed. At Nottingham twelve of the rioters were brought to trial on the charge of burning down a silk mill; six of them were convicted; and three were found guilty of the attack upon Colwick Hall. Of these nine convicted criminals five were condemned to death, but the sentence was carried into execution against only three of them.

The incendiary riots at Bristol, together with serious disturbances which, about the same time, broke out at Bath, Coventry, Worcester, Warwick, and some other places, alarmed a great many of the middle and upper classes, who began to have misgivings as to the safety of their property; but, strange to say, these outrages appear to have emboldened the more extreme and violent Reformers to raise their demands. "We are under some apprehension as to a meeting that is to take place on Monday," wrote Lord Althorp; "the language of the Committee of Management is reported to be very bad, and the people are all to be armed with staves like those of the policemen; but I cannot but think that our alarms about it are groundless. We must, however, be prepared with as

strong a force as we can, and I have no doubt it will end in smoke. Burdett's meeting was a complete failure, and I hope he will fail utterly in organizing his Union, for these associations are really revolutionary.

'Revolutions do not originate as riots like those at Bristol; but they may arise from such unions as this of which Burdett has put himself at the head, more especially under a leader who, though with the best intentions, is so weak that he has never any opinions of his own.'

The meeting to which Lord Althorp referred proved a failure, the most influential of the metropolitan reformers having, at the request of the Government, declined to attend it. But the London Political Union, of which Sir Francis Burdett was at this time the president, though he soon withdrew from them in disgust, threatened to prove troublesome. Its more violent members insisted upon demanding universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and other 'points of the Charter,' as they were afterwards called. The majority, however, refused to concede these demands; and the minority seceded and formed a union of their own, for the avowed object of defeating the Reform Bill, in the hope that they would thus obtain a more sweeping measure. They asserted that 'all hereditary distinctions of birth are unnatural and opposed to the equal rights of men, and ought to be abolished,' and they declared that they would never be satisfied with any law or laws which stopped short of these principles. They resolved to hold a general meeting of the working classes on the 7th of November, to ratify their 'Bill of Rights;' and they called on their fellow-workmen in all parts of the country to meet for the same purpose on the same day.

Information was received by the Government which led them to suspect that the leaders of this movement contemplated an appeal to physical force in support of their demands; and they were informed that an immense number of staves with

* It was proved on the trial of the Mayor that if the citizens had not refused to support him the mob might easily have been suppressed. They were justly punished for their apathy and cowardice by having to pay an assessment of ten shillings in the pound on their rentals to defray the cost of the damage, which would have been prevented had they done their duty.

the tricolor device painted on them had been sold in the neighbourhood of Bethnal Green; that sticks with concealed swords were on sale; and that the demand for bludgeons was so great that it could scarcely be supplied. The Duke of Wellington at the same time wrote to the king, that he had learned on good authority that the Union had made a contract with a gun-maker in London for a large supply of arms; and that the members of the political unions, both in the metropolis and throughout the country, had been strongly recommended to provide themselves with arms, and to be trained to their use after the example of the National Guards of France. The Government became alarmed at these proceedings. A strong body of troops was assembled in London and its vicinity; and arrangements, suggested by the Duke of Wellington, were made for their prompt and efficient disposal in case of any outbreak. Orders were given to swear in special constables in the different parishes, and the whole police force was commanded to be in readiness. On the 5th the Hatton Garden magistrates issued a notice that the proposed meeting was illegal; and warned all loyal and well-disposed subjects to refrain from attending it. A deputation of the leading members of the Union on this requested an interview with the Home Secretary. Lord Melbourne, in his usual frank and straightforward manner, informed them that portions of their address were certainly seditious, probably treasonable; and that the persons who attended the meeting for the purpose of promoting the objects for which it was called would be involved in the guilt of treason. The leaders had the good sense and prudence to abandon their design; and though there were not wanting politicians of the old Sidmouth school, who blamed the Government for not punishing the authors of the seditious advertisement, few will now doubt that it was better to instruct than to punish, and that the Government deserved great credit for their combined forbearance

and firmness in dealing with the leaders of this Political Union.

The king had now become very uneasy amid these demonstrations, and was especially apprehensive that the proceedings of the political unions would prove dangerous both to the Government and the constitution of the country. At the earnest desire of His Majesty a royal proclamation was issued, warning the people against these unions as being incompatible with the duty of subjects, at variance with the acknowledged principles of the constitution, and subversive of His Majesty's authority as supreme head of the state. All such associations were therefore declared to be 'unconstitutional and illegal,' and all the lieges were commanded to abstain from joining them. A proclamation of this kind, unless followed up by active measures, is seldom of much effect. This was clearly foreseen by the shrewd old ex-Chancellor Eldon, who had an interview at this critical period with the Duke of Wellington. 'I sat with him near an hour,' he said, 'in deep conversation; and most interesting letters that he wrote to a *great personage* produced the proclamation against the unions. But if Parliament will not interfere further, the proclamation will be of little use—I think of no use.' The newly-constituted National Union issued a declaration that the proclamation did not apply to them, 'nor to the great majority of unions now in existence.' It undoubtedly, however, prevented the carrying out the proposals for the affiliation of these associations throughout the country, and their connected action and graduated control. Lord Grey dreaded that he would require to put it into effect against the Birmingham Union, which had been guilty of the foolish and illegal act to call a meeting to organize for the non-payment of taxes, at which their members were required to appear armed. The Premier believed, not without reason, that such proceedings would lead to a reactionary movement among the middle classes, and the consequent aliena-

tion of the most enlightened and influential portion of the community from the cause of reform. Lord Althorp entirely concurred in Lord Grey's opinion respecting the illegality and danger of the proposed Birmingham meeting; but anxious to avert the consequences which were likely to result from forcible interference with the proceedings of the union, he succeeded, through the good offices of Mr. Joseph Parkes, in persuading Mr. Attwood, the President of the Union, to postpone the meeting on the plea that it would prove hazardous to the Government.

The danger, however, was by no means over. The Tory peers manifested no disposition to give way; and on the other hand the unions continued to threaten proceedings that were both unconstitutional and perilous to the safety of the country. The Government were beset by deputations from all classes, especially from the large towns, urging them to 'swamp' the House of Lords by the creation of a sufficient number of peers to secure the passing of the bill. The ministers were in a state of great perplexity as to the course which they should adopt. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Durham said that they should at once ask authority from the king to create sixty peers, that being the lowest number likely to secure a majority. The other members of the Cabinet, however, especially the Premier and Lord Althorp, were exceedingly reluctant to take this step, which in their opinion would utterly destroy the authority of the House of Lords as a branch of the legislature, and virtually amounted to a revolution. The following letter from Lord Althorp to Earl Grey (November 23) shows the difficulties the Government had to encounter, and the critical position in which they were placed in this unprecedented emergency:—

'I wish to prepare you for a conversation which you will have to-morrow. After the Cabinet, Graham came to me, and said he felt himself very much embarrassed by being convinced that, if the Bill

was rejected a second time by the House of Lords, the most disastrous consequences would follow; he therefore thinks we are not justified in running any hazard of such an event. He has no hopes that the peers who formed the majority will be converted in such numbers as to give anything like a certainty of success. His idea therefore is, that we should immediately secure to ourselves the consent of the king to make the requisite number of peers, whatever that number may be, pledging ourselves that we will not act upon such consent without an established necessity, or beyond the extent of that necessity. If the king refuses his consent, that we ought immediately to resign. I told him that I felt a very decided objection to making any great number, and that I was convinced the Cabinet would not agree to make this application to the king. His answer was, that if this was the case, he had made up his mind to resign. I advised him to speak to you about this to-morrow. I confess I have had my misgivings upon this subject, and that was the reason I mentioned it to you this morning. I feel what I believe to be an insurmountable objection to overwhelming the House of Lords by a large creation of peers; but still, I must admit, that if it was clearly proved to me that a revolution would be the consequence of not taking this step, and that not only the House of Lords, but every other thing of value in the country would be overturned, it would be a very strong thing to say that it ought not to be taken. I should prefer making use of the privileges of the Commons for the purpose of forcing the House of Lords, to using this prerogative of the Crown.

'As I told you this morning, both, however, are desperate expedients. You have, of course, made up your mind as to the line of conduct we ought to follow; but I thought it best that you should know beforehand what Graham intends to say to you, and what he at present intends to do, and I told him, accordingly, that I should write to you upon this subject. If he perseveres

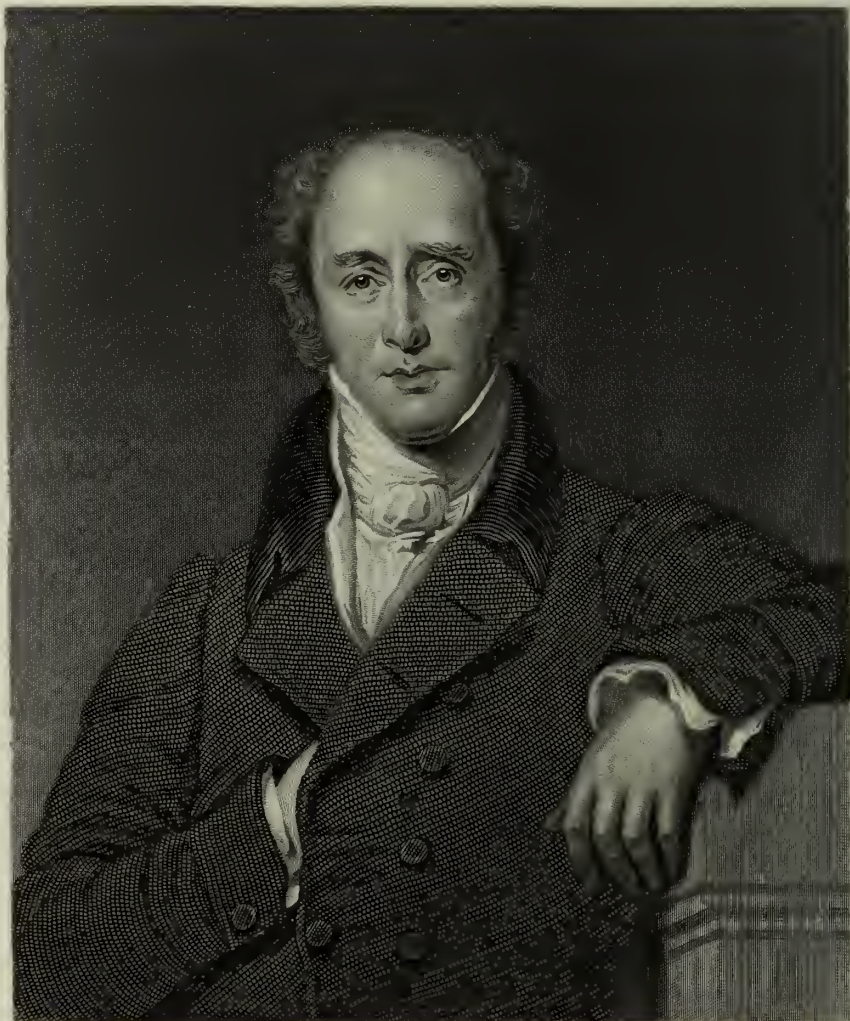
in bringing the matter forward, and with the intention of resigning in case of failure, our days are numbered. For any one Minister going out on this ground, in the present state of feeling in the country, must be fatal to us, and the only way this could be avoided would be, that the Cabinet should be unanimous in giving this advice to the king, and that the king should accept it. The reasons for making up our minds to take some decisive steps to secure our success are undoubtedly very strong. We are supposed, by the Reformers, to have the full support of the king to the utmost extent of his prerogative; and the example set by Casimir Perier in France, though in reality by no means analogous, tends to make them expect this from us. I should not, I think, be able to make up my mind to follow it; but I do not feel so much objection to requiring of the king that he should put this power in our hands—the possession of it would render the use of it unnecessary. If the king refused to give it to us, and we resigned now, our measure is carried; for no other Ministry could be formed, and we should come back with such an overwhelming strength that the House of Lords must give way at once. These are my views at present. You perceive they are not very steady or fixed, and I shall be very glad to be guided by you.'

The difficulties and anxieties of the Government at this critical period were greatly increased by the appearance in England of that mysterious malady called Asiatic cholera. It had spread from Asia into Europe, had traversed Russia and

Poland, had thence penetrated to Dantzic in May, to Berlin in the beginning of September, to Hamburg in October, and at length appeared at Sunderland on the 26th of that month. Between that date and the 28th of December 528 persons were attacked in that town, of whom 197 died. In the beginning of December the pestilence spread to Newcastle, and by the 28th of that month ninety-nine had died out of 286 attacked. On Christmas day it made its appearance at Gateshead, and within forty-eight hours upwards of 120 cases occurred, of which fifty-two proved fatal. In the course of December the disease spread to South Shields, Houghton-le-Spring, and other adjoining towns. On the 28th of that month it reached Scotland, and eight cases, of which six were fatal, occurred in Haddington, whence it extended to Musselburgh, where it was peculiarly malignant, and then to Edinburgh.

As soon as it became evident that the plague was travelling north-westwards in the direction of our islands, precautions were taken for their protection by enforcing quarantine regulations. When it actually broke out in England the Government lost no time in taking what appeared the best means to check its progress and to mitigate the severity of the attack, as well as to dispel the alarm and terror which tended not a little to render it more fatal. The best results followed these precautions. The number of cases in the United Kingdom was much smaller and the proportion of deaths much less than in any other country in Europe.

END OF VOL. I.



Mr T Lawrence

Reine

E A R L G R E Y

THE
AGE WE LIVE IN:
A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,
FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
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Handwritten text, possibly a signature or name, written diagonally.

THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

CHAPTER I.

Opening of Parliament—Introduction of the third Reform Bill by Lord John Russell—The Debate and Division—Progress of the measure in the Upper House—Agitation throughout the Country to induce the Lords to pass the Bill—Proposal to create a sufficient number of Peers to carry it—The King refuses his consent—Resignation of the Ministry—The Commons pass a vote of confidence in Earl Grey and his Colleagues—Great Excitement among the People—Resolutions passed in the large towns not to pay taxes unless the Bill be passed—Refusal of Sir Robert Peel and other influential Tories to join them—Debate in the House of Commons on the situation of affairs—The Duke resigns his Commission—Earl Grey recalled, and resumes office on receiving power to create Peers—Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington empowered to form a New Ministry—The Reform Bill passed—The changes which it made in the representation of the Country—Its ultimate effects—The Russian Dutch Loan—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE meeting of Parliament, so earnestly desired by the Reformers of all ranks and classes throughout the country, took place on the 6th of December, amidst general anxiety and gloom, which the topics of the king's speech—the keenly contested bill, the pestilence, the distress, and the riots—were not calculated to dispel. It was generally observed that the king himself did not look well.

‘I feel it to be my duty,’ said His Majesty, ‘in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration the measure that will be proposed to you for the reform of the Commons’ House of Parliament. A speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state, and the contentment and welfare of my people.

‘The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol and in some other places, have caused me the deepest affliction. The authority of the laws must be vindicated by the punishment of offences which have produced so exten-

sive a destruction of property, and so melancholy a loss of life; but I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, for the more effectual protection of the public peace against similar commotions. Sincerely attached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings, by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered.’

It was alleged that the passage condemnatory of the Unions was suggested

by the king; but it was quite as much prompted by the feelings of Earl Grey, who strongly disapproved of the violent proceedings of these associations, and resented their imperious attempts to dictate to the Government the steps they ought to take in order to carry the Reform Bill through the House of Lords.

Notice was given by Lord John Russell that the Bill would be brought in on the 12th of December. The measure had undergone careful revision during the recess. Several persons of great influence, among others the Bishop of London and Mr. Horsley Palmer, Governor of the Bank of England, had intimated to the ministers their belief that, if some moderate concessions were made to the fears and the prejudices of the peers, the Bill would be allowed to pass. Under this impression, Lord Grey and Lord Althorp made various alterations in the measure, in order to meet the views of these moderate Anti-reformers by modifying the clauses for the disfranchisement of the free-men, and taking the amount of taxes instead of the population in every borough as the chief element in the basis of its representation. These changes involved a re-examination of the schedules, and additional inquiries into the population and property in the boroughs, all which it was proposed to submit to the decision of Parliament, instead of, as before, leaving it to the Privy Council. There was considerable danger that amendments made in this spirit might offend the Radicals without conciliating the Tories, which proved to be the case.

On the 12th of December a very full House was in attendance to hear the ministerial statement respecting the new Bill. 'At five o'clock,' says Sir Denis le Marchant, 'the Speaker looked at the Cabinet bench for Lord John Russell to begin the debate; but he was absent, and half an hour passed away before he made his appearance, looking very pale, and, as I was informed, feeling very ill. All business had necessarily been suspended in the interval, and

the members, having become rather impatient, gave him a cold reception. This, however, in no way disconcerted him, and he began his speech at once, with his usual coolness and self-possession, as if nothing had happened. He was, of course, listened to with far less interest than when he had brought forward either the first or the second Reform Bill. There could be little novelty in his speech, beyond the alterations he had to propose in the bill, and these were of a character to call forth approval rather than enthusiasm. He stated them with clearness and in a conciliatory tone, that showed the disposition of the ministers to meet all objections raised to their measure, when these did not involve its principles. He spoke for an hour and ten minutes, and sat down amidst general but not loud cheers.'

With regard to the changes introduced into the Bill, Lord John said, 'We formerly took the census of 1821 and a certain line of population; but since that time the census of 1831 has been nearly completed. It is, however, liable to the objection of being made at a time when disfranchisement was connected with a small population, and persons might have been gathered together in certain of these small boroughs, in order to make up the required number. And as we do not wish to place towns with several mean houses in a situation of greater advantage than towns with a smaller number of better houses, we have not taken the number of £10 houses only, but the number of all houses rated to the assessed taxes up to April last. Ministers have obtained much information from gentlemen whom we sent down to draw the limits of boroughs; and from this mass of information Lieutenant Drummond, who is at the head of the commission, has been instructed to make out a series of 100 boroughs, beginning with the lowest, and taking the number of the houses and the amount of their assessed taxes together. From this return Schedule A has been framed.'

‘It was necessary then to draw an arbitrary line somewhere, as to the number of houses and amount of taxes, below which a borough should be deemed too inconsiderable to enjoy the right of electing members. We have hence taken the number of fifty-six, which was found in the bill of last session, and the result is, that some boroughs which formerly escaped disfranchisement will now be placed in Schedule A, while others will be raised out of it and placed in Schedule B. The boroughs, which will be placed in Schedule A in consequence of this change, are—Aldborough (Yorkshire), Amersham, Ashburton, East Grinstead, Okehampton, and Saltash. There is another borough, regarding which there are some doubts as to its limits. Supposing Ashburton to be one of the fifty-six, then the boroughs that are to be raised out of Schedule A into Schedule B are Midhurst, Petersfield, Eye, Wareham, Woodstock, and Lostwithiel. Schedule B, which in the last Bill contained forty-one boroughs, will be reduced to thirty. It was formerly proposed to diminish the House by twenty-three members; but it has now been thought desirable to conciliate those who objected to the diminution by leaving the present number of its members undiminished, more especially as this can be done without sacrificing any of the principles of the bill. It is proposed that of these twenty-three members ten should be given to the most considerable towns in Schedule B; and that one should be given to Chatham, so as to render that town independent of Rochester, and one to the county of Monmouth. Tavistock will be one of the towns removed from Schedule B. I have desired every information respecting that borough to be collected, and it will be laid before the House; and if any gentleman should still say that there has been unfair dealing with regard to it, I can only say that such an assertion will be false and unfounded. The remaining members will be given to the following large towns, to which the late bill gave one member each—Bolton,

Brighton, Bradford, Blackburn, Macclesfield, Stockport, Stoke-on-Trent, Halifax, Stroud, and Huddersfield.

With regard to the £10 qualification, ministers have never had the slightest intention to change it, either in amount or value. The right was formerly limited to those who had not compounded with their landlords for the rates, and who had resided in the house for twelve months. ‘Under the new Bill all persons of full age and not legally disqualified, occupying a house, warehouse, or shop, separately or jointly, with land of the yearly value of £10, would be entitled to vote. The former Bill continued the franchise to all existent resident freemen and apprentices, and others, with incorporate rights. The present Bill will continue the franchise to all freemen possessing it by birth or servitude forever, provided they reside within the city or borough within seven miles of the place of voting.’

‘It was believed at the time,’ said Lord Althorp’s biographer, ‘that if the Tories had at once accepted with a good grace the concessions thus proposed by the Government they would have obtained still better terms in the further stages of the Bill.’ The Radicals, according to Mr. Roebuck, were in great alarm lest this should happen, and Sir Robert Peel was evidently afraid that some members of the Opposition might, on the impulse of the moment, commit themselves in favour of the amended measure. He therefore rose immediately after Lord John had concluded his statement, and declared, in a very bitter party speech, his unabated hostility to the new Bill. He taunted the Ministers with having now made improvements in the Bill at the instance of the Opposition, which they had formerly resisted, and declared that the whole country must be grateful for the escape which they had made from the Bill of last session. They had now unquestionable proofs of the great good which had been effected by the efforts of the Opposition, presenting the strongest en-

couragement to their insisting on additional and larger concessions. He even accused the Ministers with having brought forward their Reform Bill, not because they considered it necessary, but in order to excite the country in their favour. These charges were indignantly repudiated by Lord Althorp, who affirmed, amid enthusiastic applause, that the Bill had been the result, not the cause of agitation; and that although some of its details had been modified, the measure remained the same in all parts of material importance. Lord Clive, and several other influential Tory members, expressed their gratification, both with the alterations made in the Bill and the conciliatory tone adopted by the Ministers, while a number of the Reformers loudly complained of these changes. Cobbett, however, declared that, in his opinion, it was even a better measure than the Bill which the House of Lords had rejected, and Mr. George Dawson, Peel's brother-in-law, anathematized it 'as the worst of them all.'

The debate on the second reading of the Bill began on Friday, the 16th, and was continued the next evening, concluding on the morning of the 18th. Lord Jeffrey wrote next day to the Solicitor-General for Scotland:—'The debate on the whole was not interesting. Croker made a most impertinent, unfair, and petulant speech.' Sir Denis le Marchant says, 'On the first night was the brilliant speech of Mr. Macaulay, up to that time certainly his greatest, in which his noble vindication of the policy of the Whigs during their exclusion from office, and his crushing attack on Sir Robert Peel, were received with the most tremendous cheers.' Jeffrey corroborates this opinion. 'Macaulay,' he says, 'made, I think, the best speech he has yet delivered; the most condensed, at least, and with the greatest weight of matter. It contained the only argument, indeed, to which any of the speakers who followed him applied themselves. There was a very running fire of small calibres all the early part of

yesterday. But there were in the end three remarkable speeches—first, a mild, clear, authoritative vindication of the *measure* upon broad grounds, and in answer to general imputations, by Lord John Russell; delivered with a louder voice and more decided manner than usual with him. Next a magnificent, spirited, and most eloquent speech by Stanley—chiefly in castigation of Croker, whom he trampled in the dirt; but containing also a beautiful and spirited vindication of the whole principle and object of Reform. This was by far the best speech I have heard from Stanley, and I fancy much the best he has ever made. It was the best, too, I must own, in the debate; for though Macaulay's was more logical and full of thought, this was more easy, spirited, and graceful. The last was Peel's, which, though remarkable, was not good.' Sir Denis, who was present, says, 'The attempt at a reply by Croker in a speech of two hours and a half utterly failed, and only added disgrace to defeat; for, on the following night, Mr. Stanley convicted him of gross misrepresentation of facts in the version he gave of the differences between Charles I. and the Parliament, the House all the time evidently enjoying the exposure. . . . Mr. Croker, whose assurance was proverbial, at first listened to him with apparent indifference; but as he proceeded in his attack, supported by immense cheering from a very large majority of the House, Mr. Croker's courage gave way, he became very pale, and pulled his hat over his brows. Lord Althorp thought that he was going to faint, and he did not recover himself the whole night.' Mr. Greville, whose sympathies were all with the Opposition, says, 'Croker made a very clever speech on Friday, with quotations from Hume, and much reasoning upon them. Hobhouse detected several inaccuracies and gave his discovery to Stanley, who worked it up in a crushing attack upon Croker. It is by far the best speech Stanley ever made, and so good as to raise him immeasurably in the House. Lord

Grey said it placed him at the very top of the House of Commons without a rival, which perhaps is jumping to rather too hasty a conclusion. He shone the more from Peel's making a very poor exhibition. He had been so nettled by Macaulay's sarcasms the night before on his tergiversation, that he went into the whole history of the Catholic question, and his conduct on that occasion, which, besides savouring of that egotism with which he is so much and justly reproached, was uncalled for and out of place. The rest of his speech was not so good as usual, and he did not attempt to answer Stanley.' Peel's speech, in short, was rather a defence of himself than his party.

The Tories were so disheartened as to be unwilling to hazard a division, but Peel insisted that it should take place. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Lord Porchester, who stigmatized this measure as more objectionable than its predecessors; and Sir Edward Sugden, who seconded the amendment, concurred with him in characterizing the Bill as being still more democratic than the other two. The House divided early on Sunday morning, when 324 voted for the second reading and 162 for the amendment, giving a majority of exactly two to one—an increase of fifty votes above the number which passed the preceding Bill, and of twenty-six above the majority by which its second reading was carried. This unsatisfactory result led to a good deal of angry recrimination among the Opposition. Mr. Sturgess Bourne, an influential Tory of great parliamentary experience, observed to one of the leaders of his party, 'I suppose you divided merely to satisfy the country that the Lords had no alternative except to pass the Bill.'

Parliament re-assembled on the 17th of January, and on the 20th it was moved that the House should go into committee on the Reform Bill; and though Mr. Croker, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Goulbourn, and Sir Charles Wetherell, strenuously insisted on delay, and raised a discussion which lasted

several hours, they were left in a minority of fifty-three. A similar course was followed in regard to almost every clause in the Bill, which was pertinaciously canvassed at every step, sometimes even by its own supporters; but the Ministry succeeded in triumphing over all opposition. The Bill passed through committee, after twenty-two sittings, on the 14th of March. When the third reading was moved on the 19th, Lord Mahon, seconded by Sir John Malcolm, moved that the Bill be read that day six months. After a debate of three nights, in which the leading statesmen of both sides delivered powerful speeches, the House divided, and the motion was carried by a majority of 116—the votes being 355 against 239. The Bill finally passed the House without a division on Friday, March 23rd, and on the following Monday was once more carried up to the House of Lords.

While the Ministers were engaged in the struggle to carry the Bill through committee, they very narrowly escaped defeat on a motion of censure proposed by Mr. Herries (January 27) on the payment of the Russian Dutch loan, contrary, as he asserted, to the provision of the treaty of 1814, and without the authority of law. This treaty, to which Great Britain, Holland, France, and Russia, were parties, was made for the maintenance of the new kingdom of the Netherlands, and it contained a guarantee by Holland and Britain of a loan of £5,000,000 to Russia, with a promise that in the event of the separation of Holland and Belgium the guarantee should cease. Ministers contended that the separation contemplated by the framers of the treaty was one made by external force, such as France was believed to threaten, and not a voluntary severance proceeding from causes wholly internal; and that in equity if not in law they were bound to pay the money. But their case was very imperfectly stated and feebly supported, and they escaped the vote of censure by a majority of only twenty-four. Lord Althorp was of opinion that they would have been defeated, but for the

knowledge of the fact that an adverse vote would have had the effect of changing the administration. Lord Grey was deeply mortified at this narrow escape, which he regarded as a proof that the members cared only for reform, and not for the Ministry.

The increased majority with which the Reform Bill had been carried in the Commons led a good many persons to believe that the measure would certainly be carried in the Lords, and Lord Althorp received the most cordial congratulations as if the Bill were absolutely safe. The Ministers, however, were quite well aware that these notions were entirely mistaken. Though some members of the Opposition had declined to vote against the second reading, none had voted for it; and the majority of the Lords continued as hostile as before. The question, therefore, of a large creation of peers, which had been previously under discussion, again forced itself upon the Government. The Prime Minister and Lord Althorp held that this step was one of immediate necessity; but the majority of the Cabinet were of a different opinion, and it was only after a very keen controversy, which had nearly broken up the Government, that Lord Grey succeeded in obtaining the authority of the Cabinet to propose to the king that at least ten peers be created. His Majesty gave his consent apparently without hesitation or reluctance, but he was in reality hostile to the proposal. Some of the more moderate of the Tory peers, who had probably received some inkling of the course which the Ministry were about to adopt—notably Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, who had voted against the second reading of the former Bill—anxious to avert what they regarded as a serious blow to the constitution, intimated their wish to confer with Lord Grey on the possibility of a compromise; and a meeting took place between them and some of the leading members of the Government. The general terms proposed were, that on the one hand Schedule A should remain unaltered, that representatives should be given to the large towns,

and that the county representation should be largely extended. On the other hand, that Schedule B should be largely modified, and the £10 qualification secured against abuse, and with an understanding that the manufacturing interest was not to have a preponderating influence in the county representation. The Duke of Wellington, on being consulted by the ‘Waverers,’ as they were termed, positively refused to have anything to do with negotiations for modifying a measure which he believed to be fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the best interests of the country; and it speedily appeared that the Ministers, having pledged themselves to adhere to all the essential provisions of the Bill, could not agree to any modifications which were at all likely to satisfy the great body of the Opposition. The result of the negotiations between the parties was, therefore, simply an indication on the part of Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby that they would support the second reading of the Bill on the understanding that they were left at liberty to propose their own amendments in committee, without the promise of any concession on the part of the Ministry. Though a few alterations were made on the measure, in order to afford an excuse to the ‘Waverers’ for the course they had resolved to pursue, the proposal to create new peers was in the meantime left in abeyance.*

The Bill was duly taken up to the Lords on the 26th of March by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell. When the motion for the first reading was put, there was at first a dead silence. Lord Harrowby then rose and announced his intention of voting for the second reading, and was followed by Lord Wharncliffe to the same effect. Neither received any encouragement from the other peers, except from Lord Haddington. The Duke of Wellington and Lord

* This negotiation originated very much with Mr. Greville, and a minute account of the proceedings is given in the second volume of his *Journals*. A good deal of information on the subject will be found also in the eighth volume of the ‘*Duke of Wellington’s Despatches*,’ Second Series.

Carnarvon stated that their opinions were unchanged, and their hostility to the Bill undiminished. It was not reform, but revolution. Lord Grey made a dignified and judicious reply.

The second reading was fixed for the 9th of April. In this interval the utmost exertions were made on both sides to retain former supporters, or to gain new ones. Various members of the Ministry, says Lord John Russell, wrote to their friends in the House of Lords, pointing out to them the danger of a large creation of peers, and exhorting them to ward off this danger by supporting the Reform Bill. Of three peers, he adds, to whom he wrote with this object, one supported the second reading, one abstained from voting, and the third repeated his vote against the Bill. The canvassing for votes on both sides, indeed, was unprecedented. Lord Coventry, a nobleman, who from various causes had mixed but little in society, gave an amusing account of the solicitations that had been made to him. 'I never before,' he said, 'was fully aware of the usefulness of indecision. It has raised me quite in importance. I have received more invitations to dinner this week than I have had for years, and my hand has been squeezed by men who had long scarcely condescended to notice me.'

On Monday the 9th of April, the second reading was moved by Earl Grey in what Sir Denis le Marchant justly terms 'a very fine speech, admirably adapted to the occasion, clear, dignified, and eminently prudent and persuasive.' The debate lasted four nights, and was conducted on both sides with distinguished ability. Lord Ellenborough, who led the Opposition, like all the peers who followed him on the same side, admitted that some measure of reform was necessary, but objected to the Bill mainly on the ground that the abolition of the nomination boroughs would exclude from Parliament many eminent men who could in no other way obtain admission to the House of Commons. Twenty members, he said, who were connected with the army, sat

for these boroughs; seven belonging to the naval profession; fourteen great merchants; seventeen eminent lawyers; and eight gentlemen who represented the India and the China trade. The 'Waverers' who took part in the debate were Lords Haddington, Gage, Wharncliffe, and especially Lord Harrowby, who delivered a powerful and telling speech. The Duke of Wellington, whose opposition was as uncompromising as ever, endeavoured to encourage the Anti-reforming peers to vote against the Bill by contradicting the assertions which had been so confidently made and generally believed, that the king was in favour of the measure. 'I am fully persuaded,' he said, 'that it is a mistake to suppose that the king has any interest in the Bill; and I am satisfied that if the real feeling of the king were made known to the country, the noble earl would not be able to pass the Bill.' The Duke's comments on the 'Waverers' so irritated Lord Wharncliffe, that the latter, says Le Marchant, 'came breathing fury to the Chancellor (who had intended to speak next), entreating that he might be allowed to answer him. This he did with a heartiness and vigour which, if he had not spoken for nearly three hours, would have been very effective.' The Duke was supported by the Earl of Winchelsea, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Eldon, Lord Tenterden, and other Tory peers, and by the bishops of Durham, Gloucester, Rochester, and Exeter. 'Phillpotts, bishop of Exeter,' wrote Mr. Greville, 'made a grand speech against the Bill, full of fire and venom, very able. It would be an injury to compare this man with Laud; he more resembles Gardiner. Had he lived in those days he would have been just such another, boiling with ambition, an ardent temperament, and great talents. He got a terrific dressing from Lord Grey, and was handled not very delicately by Goderich and Durham, though the latter was too coarse. He had laid himself very open, and able as he is, he has adopted a tone and style inconsistent

with his lawn sleeves and unusual on the episcopal bench. He is carried away by his ambition and his alarm, and terrifies his brethren, who feel all the danger in these times of such a colleague.' On the other hand, the bishops of Lincoln and Landaff intimated their intention to vote for the second reading, but without thereby pledging themselves to support all the provisions of the Bill. The Lord Chancellor was as usual followed by Lord Lyndhurst, but their speeches were greatly inferior to those which the two learned lords delivered in the debate on the former Bill.

'The debate was closed,' says Greville, 'by a remarkable reply from Lord Grey, full of moderation, and such as held out the best hopes of an adjustment of the question—not that it pacified the ultra-Tories, who were furious.' Sir Denis says it was 'magnificent.' 'Taking into consideration,' said Macaulay, 'the time of the night, or rather of the day, the exhaustion of the subject, the length of the debate, and Lord Grey's age, it was almost unparalleled.' The scene towards the close, as described by Lord Jeffrey, was very striking. 'The debate,' he says, 'was not very brilliant, but got in its latter stage excessively interesting. The Chancellor, more tranquil and less offensive than usual but not at all languid, and in very good voice throughout, chiefly correcting false representations, dispelling vain terrors, and arguing and soothing. Lyndhurst's by far the cleverest and most dangerous speech against us in the debate, and very well spoken. Lord Grey's reply on the whole admirable; in tone and spirit perfect; and, considering his age and the time, really astonishing. He spoke near an hour and a half, after five o'clock, from the kindling dawn into full sunlight, and I think with great effect. The aspect of the House was very striking through the whole night, very full, and on the whole still and solemn (but for the row with Durham and Phillpotts, which ended in

the merited exposure of the latter); the whole throne and the space around it clustered over with 100 members of our House, and the space below the bar nearly filled with 200 more, ranged in a standing row of three deep along the bar, another sitting on the ground against the wall, and the space between covered with moving and sitting figures in all directions, with twenty or thirty clambering on the railings and perched up by the doorways. Between four and five, when the daylight began to shed its blue beams across the red candle light, the scene was very picturesque, from the singular grouping of forty or fifty of us sprawling on the floor awake and asleep, in all imaginable attitudes, and with all sorts of expressions and wrappings. "Young Cadboll," who chose to try how he could sleep *standing*, jammed in a corner, fell flat down over two prostrate Irishmen on the floor, with a noise that made us all start, but no mischief was done. The candles had been renewed before dawn, and blazed on after the sun came fairly in at the high windows, and produced a strange but rather grand effect on the red draperies, and furniture, and dusky tapestry on the walls.'

The House divided at seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th of April, when the second reading was carried by a majority of nine, which was considerably below what was expected by the Ministerial party. The supporters of the Bill on this occasion, as compared with the last, had increased from 158 to 184, while the Opposition had diminished from 199 to 175. Three peers, who did not vote on the previous occasion, now voted against the second reading of the Bill—viz., the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earl of Ashburnham, and Viscount Ferrard; while the Marquis of Donegal, the Marquis of Westmeath, and Viscount Downe, who supported the former Bill, did not vote on this occasion. Seventeen peers, who voted against the Bill in 1831, voted for it in 1832. Ten who voted against it then did not vote at all now, and twelve

who had not voted at all in 1831 supported the second reading of the present Bill. Among these were the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, St. David's, Worcester, and Chester. The majority of the peers present at the division was only two, and proxies could not be used in committee, so that the difficulties of carrying the Bill as it stood seemed almost insuperable. The House adjourned at the beginning of the following week for the Easter vacation, and did not resume its sittings until the 7th of May.

The adjournment of three weeks was turned to account by the Reformers throughout the country, for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the Lords to induce them to pass the Bill un mutilated. Monster meetings were held in Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other large towns; and petitions were agreed to be sent to the king, imploring him to create a sufficient number of peers to coerce the anti-reforming majority of the Upper House. At Edinburgh 60,000 persons assembled in the King's Park, and unanimously adopted resolutions expressing their determination to stand by the King and the Ministry in their efforts to obtain for the people their constitutional rights. A meeting of the political unions of the three counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, was held at Birmingham on the 7th of May, and is said to have consisted of 150,000 persons, who, with uncovered heads, uttered the words dictated by one of the speakers, 'With unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause.'

The anti-reforming peers, however, had fully made up their minds to deprive the Bill of some of its chief provisions, or, at least, greatly to impair their efficiency; and their first step was to propose the postponement of the disfranchising schedules, A and B. Earl Grey's warning, that this step would be productive of the greatest embarrassment, was communicated to Lord

Lyndhurst by Lord Wharncliffe; but the ex-Chancellor told him that 'the Tories were so irrevocably bent upon this, and that they were so difficult to manage and so disposed to fly off, that it was absolutely necessary to give way to them, and it must be proposed, though he would gladly have waived it; but that was impossible.' Accordingly, when the House went into committee on the 7th of May, Lyndhurst proposed this amendment, in what Greville calls 'a very aggravating speech.' Lord Grey, who, in order to conciliate the more moderate members of the Opposition, had moved the omission from the first clause of the Bill of the words 'fifty-six,' thus leaving for the present undetermined the number of the boroughs to be disfranchised, stated in explicit terms that he considered Lord Lyndhurst's proposal one of vital importance. The anti-reforming peers were profuse in their protestations, that though they wished to postpone the disfranchising clauses of the Bill, they were quite willing to go the full length of disfranchising at least all the boroughs contained in Schedule A; but they were careful not to state, what has now been made known through the publication of the Duke of Wellington's Correspondence, that they were resolved to withhold the franchise from the metropolitan boroughs, and from Greenwich, Devonport, Brighton, and a number of other large towns, and to give thirty of the seats thus saved to the small boroughs in Schedule B; in other words, to abolish that schedule altogether.

The Earl of Harewood, a nobleman of great influence in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and who had much experience in the House of Commons, said, 'He wished to exonerate himself from being a party to any project or indirect contrivance to defeat the Bill. If the proposition (the amendment) contained in it anything which he did not understand, or anything sinister, he would not support it. He wished that more time were allowed to promulgate what was meant to be proposed if the proposition

were successful; and if that were the case, he was sure all feelings of acrimony on the other (the Ministerial) side would be done away. He thought that if the amendments to be proposed were seen and known, they would remove all the objections which the noble lord opposite might have to the amendment. He had no idea that the object was to get rid of Schedule A, and if it were, he certainly would not join in any such object. He believed that the plan of enfranchisement to be proposed would include all Schedule A, and perhaps more; and he had no predisposition to defeat that schedule. There might be some variations, perhaps, in the places to be disfranchised; but he believed, if the enfranchisement were first agreed to, the places to be disfranchised would be identical with that in Schedule A. If the noble Earl (Grey) did not look on the proposition in a hostile light, much might be done to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the whole question.'

The Duke of Newcastle, however, who, though narrow-minded and intolerant, was thoroughly straightforward and honest, declared that he would give his support to the amendment, in order that the Bill should not pass; and the Duke of Wellington said he had already avowed, and would again avow, his decided hostility to the measure. But when it had passed the second reading, he felt it to be his duty to consider the principles of the Bill, and to make it, so far as it was capable of being made, a measure fit for the House to pass and for the Government to carry into execution. What the Duke meant by this general statement is shown by a letter written on the 2nd of May to the Rev. G. R. Gleig. 'The metropolitan representation,' he said, 'is ruin.* We may, possibly we shall, get over it. The democracy has by the Bill a positive gain of sixty-four members. We may

reduce these numbers very considerably. We may improve Schedules A and B. We may improve the £10 franchise.' There can be no doubt that Lord Wharncliffe and the other 'Waverers,' though they protested that there was no disposition on the Opposition side of the House to be niggardly as to the amount of disfranchisement, fully intended to support the amendments mentioned by the Duke of Wellington.

Earl Grey was not, however, to be intimidated or cajoled. He hoped, he said, the noble lords present would not deceive themselves; but he must say, that if the motion were successful, it would be fatal to the whole Bill. 'Should the amendment be carried, it will be necessary for me to consider what course I shall take. More I will not say than what on a former occasion was stated by the noble Earl on the other side, and it was not denied by any other person, that this Bill had found support in public opinion. Noble lords deceive themselves if they suppose that opinion in favour of this Bill is relaxed; and certainly I dread the effect of the House of Lords opposing itself as an insurmountable barrier to what the people think necessary for the good government of the country and a sufficient representation.' More he would not say, than that to the motion of the noble and learned lord he meant to give his most determined opposition.' The committee divided on the amendment, when it became evident that the 'Waverers' had in a body rejoined the Tory party. Lord Lyndhurst's motion was carried by a majority of thirty-five; there being 151 in favour of it and 116 against it.

Lord Grey had, with equal wisdom and courage, resolved to stake the existence both of the Bill and of the Ministry on the issue of the division, and he immediately moved that the House should resume, adding that he should also move that the further

* It is curious to compare this strong statement with the results. In the course of three or four years Marylebone, one of the dreaded metropolitan constituencies, returned Lord Teignmouth, a staunch Conservative, and at a later period Southwark, the Tower

Hamlets, and Chelsea were represented by Conservative members. Westminster, even at the general election of 1880, returned two Conservatives by large majorities, and so did Greenwich, from which Mr. Gladstone had to retire.

consideration of the Bill should be delayed till the 10th. The meaning of this notice was at once perceived by the Opposition, who deprecated either of the alternatives thus indicated—the resignation of the Ministry, or a large creation of peers. Lord Ellenborough, who moved the amendment for the rejection of the Bill on the second reading, took the opportunity, ill-timed as it appeared to be, to state the outlines of a scheme of reform which he and his party were willing to support. They were prepared, he said, to vote for the disfranchisement of Schedule A, making, with the members for the borough of Weymouth, 113 seats to be placed at the disposal of Parliament. They were also willing to adopt the £10 qualification, provided it were better defined, and to retain the scot-and-lot right of voting. One half of these concessions, offered a year before, would have been generally and cordially accepted; but it was now too late. Earl Grey sarcastically congratulated the noble Lord and the House on the progress he had at length made in the principles of reform, and especially on his intention to support the £10 qualification and to retain the scot-and-lot voting where it existed, thus rendering this ‘democratic measure still more democratic;’ but he politely declined to accept of the scheme which Lord Ellenborough had proposed.

After the House had risen Lord Althorp, who was present during most of the debate, accompanied Lord Grey into the Chancellor’s private room, where the leading members of the Cabinet soon collected to consider their new position. With the exception of the Duke of Richmond, they were unanimous in thinking that they must either resign or obtain from the king assurance that he would create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill unmutated through Parliament. The Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were commissioned to submit this proposal to His Majesty.

A great change, however, had now come

over the mind of the king, in regard both to the question of Reform and to his Ministers. There can be no doubt that he had in the first instance given the Bill his cordial approval, and was anxious to see it carried. But he had latterly become alarmed by the gloomy predictions of impending revolution uttered by men of high character and a reputation for political foresight; and he was even more influenced by the violent language and proceedings of the political unions. It was strongly suspected that his queen and his family (the children of Mrs. Jordan), who were in close communication with the leaders of the Opposition, contributed not a little to increase his fears and anxieties, and to alienate him from the Government. The Duke of Wellington’s Correspondence shows that the public impression respecting the intermeddling of the king’s family at this critical juncture, in favour of the Tory party, was well founded. The Earl of Munster, the eldest of the king’s natural children, repeatedly wrote the leaders of the party, urging them to be ‘staunch.’ During the abortive efforts of the Duke of Wellington to form a Ministry, the Earl wrote his Grace on the 12th of May—‘*Pray, depend upon the king. Not ten minutes before he saw Lord Grey, when as I have written you word nothing passed, he said, in reference to something I said, “Why, you know very well, George, as well as I do, that I never will make Peers.”*’ Again, on the 16th of May, when the Duke of Wellington had resigned his commission, and Earl Grey had been sent for by the king, Lord Munster wrote the Duke—‘The king repeated to me, five minutes before Lord Grey came in, that *nothing should make him create Peers. He is most stout. For God’s sake be sure, if the king is driven to the wall, of Peel.*’ The king intimated to Lord Lyndhurst his wish that one of his younger sons should be appointed Lord Chamberlain. Lord Althorp had for some time perceived an unusual degree of coldness and embarrassment in the king’s manner towards the

Ministers generally; which, coupled with the querulous remarks known to have escaped him on the democratic spirit of the Liberals, convinced his Lordship that His Majesty's confidence in the Ministry had been withdrawn. When, therefore, Earl Grey and his colleagues proposed to the king the creation of a sufficient number of peers to overbear the majority of the House of Lords, he not unnaturally shrank from a step which would, he thought, destroy the independence of that body. He had with reluctance agreed to create a small number of peers, if this should be found necessary to carry the Bill; but he could not bring his mind to swamp the Upper House by the elevation to it of sixty peers at one time, for the express purpose of carrying a measure the expediency of which he had begun to doubt. He therefore rejected the advice of his Ministers, and accepted their resignation, which was the alternative submitted to him. 'It is supposed,' says plain-speaking Mr. Greville, 'that this *coup* has been preparing for some time. All the royal family, bastards and all, have been incessantly *at* the king, and he has probably had more difficulty in the long run in resisting the constant importunity of his *entourage* and of his woman-kind particularly, than the dictates of his Ministers; and between this gradual but powerful impression and his real opinion and fears, he was not sorry to seize the first good opportunity of shaking off the Whigs.'

On the evening of May 9th Earl Grey announced in the House of Lords the king's acceptance of the resignation of his Ministry, and moved that the order for going into committee next day should be discharged. A furious attack was in consequence made upon him by the Earl of Carnarvon, who, though an old Whig, was one of the most violent opponents of Reform. He asserted that the defeat of the Ministry on the order in which the different provisions of the Bill should be considered, afforded only 'slight and inadequate grounds for one of the most atrocious

propositions with which a subject ever dared to insult the ears of a sovereign'—'an advice given by Ministers who meant to deal with their Lordships as abject tools and instruments, precisely as they were dealt with by those whom they could not deny to be their lords and masters.' 'But,' he added, 'it shall not go forth to the public that, because the noble Lords opposite have determined to abandon this measure, this House is unwilling to enter into the discussion of its merits. I therefore move that your Lordships proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee on Monday next.'

The Premier repelled this abusive and uncalled for attack, and vindicated the counsel he had given to the king with great dignity, and at the same time with well-merited severity. 'I am too much accustomed,' he said, 'to the ill-timed, violent, personal, and unparliamentary language of the noble Lord who has just sat down, to be much affected by the disorderly attack which he has made on my colleagues and myself. Nor is it for the defence of myself personally against the imputations which the noble Earl has thought proper to cast on me that I again rise to address your Lordships. I trust that in the estimation of your Lordships and the public my character is such that I may, without presumption, consider myself as sufficiently guarded from the danger of suffering by such imputations. The noble Earl has been pleased to qualify the advice I thought it my duty to tender to my sovereign as atrocious and insulting, and there were other noble Lords on that side of the House who appeared to agree with the noble Lord in that opinion. All I can say is that I deferred giving that advice until the very last moment; until the necessity of the case and my sense of public duty imposed upon me an obligation which appeared to me imperative. If it should become a matter of discussion, I shall be found fully prepared to argue that we have taken a right course. But I appeal to your Lordships whether, until that period shall

arrive, I am called upon to notice the accusation? For my own part I could never consent to remain the shadow of a minister under the tutelage of noble Lords opposite, nor could I be a party to permitting the Bill to be cut and carved, and mutilated and destroyed, by the other side of the House. We have taken the step complained of because we saw that it was absolutely impossible for us to carry on the measure subject to daily defeats, and to the alterations, by a majority consisting to the amount of four-fifths, I believe, of persons who objected to any reform at all.'

The motion of the Earl of Carnarvon was then adopted, and the House separated.

On Wednesday morning, May 9th, the king sent a letter to the Ministry by a special messenger accepting their resignations. The news speedily transpired, and a meeting of the leading Whigs took place the same day at Brooks' Club, when it was arranged that Lord Ebrington should immediately give a notice in the House of Commons, for the following day, of an address to the Crown on the present state of public affairs. In the afternoon the king held a levee, which Lord Althorp attended, and was most graciously received. His Majesty then formally accepted the resignations of the whole administration, along with those of their friends in the royal household, so that a clear field was left for the anti-reformers. The king, while he hardly spoke to the Duke of Wellington, paid particular attention to the ex-Ministers. The Lord Chancellor had a private interview of more than half an hour, in which the king pressed him most urgently not to give up the Great Seal. His Majesty reminded him of what had passed when he came into office—'I told you then,' he said, 'that you were *my* Chancellor; besides, after all, the office is a civil, not a political one.' The Chancellor replied that the constitution had made it the latter, as he thought unwisely, so that he had no alternative.

The king shed tears, but the Chancellor was firm, and withdrew.

In the evening Lord Althorp repaired to the House of Commons to announce the resignation of the Ministry. 'On his entrance,' says the *Times*, 'he was instantly hailed by a crowded House with enthusiastic cheers and cries, accompanied by plaudits both of hands and feet, in which some of the strangers joined most cordially.' He seemed almost bewildered by this general and unexpected acclamation, and took his seat in some confusion. As soon as silence could be obtained, his Lordship rose and announced the resignation of the Ministers, simply adding that they took this step because the recent proceedings in the Lords made it impossible for them to carry the Reform Bill in the state which their duty and their promises alike required. Lord Ebrington then gave his notice of a motion for the next day of an address to the Crown on the state of public affairs. Lord Althorp, from whom this intention had been carefully concealed, as had been anticipated, raised objections to it as premature; but the loud protests of the Liberal members against any delay overruled his objection.

On the following evening, Thursday, 10th of May, there was again a crowded house and increased excitement. Lord Ebrington moved a resolution expressing deep regret at the 'retirement of those Ministers in whom this House continues to repose unabated confidence,' and imploring 'His Majesty to call to his councils such persons only as will carry into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions, that Bill for the reform of the representation of the people which has recently passed this House.' Mr. Strutt, member for Derby (afterwards Lord Belper), who seconded the motion, boldly declared that the leaders of the Opposition were unfit to be trusted with the charge of the Reform Bill. 'If, indeed,' he said, 'the time will ever come when we are willing to submit our victorious armies to the command of the officers of the enemy; if we shall ever call the culprits

from the bar to the judgment-seat—then, and not till then, will I consent to intrust the construction and management of this Bill to those who have shown themselves its avowed enemies or its reluctant and wavering supporters.’ Mr. Alex. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton), who spoke as the representative of the Duke of Wellington, in a long and elaborate speech called upon Lord Althorp for an explanation of the differences between the Ministry and the king, and declared himself ‘entirely ignorant of the cause which had led to the extraordinary resignation.’ This statement, which was received with loud laughter, called up Lord Althorp, who amidst breathless silence said, ‘I have no objections to state that the advice which we thought it our duty to offer to His Majesty was that he shall create a number of peers sufficient to enable us to carry the Reform Bill through the other House of Parliament in an efficient form.’ This frank avowal elicited ‘a burst of cheering, by far the most enthusiastic, universal, and long-continued ever witnessed within the walls of Parliament.’ A sharp debate followed, in which Mr. Hume, Lord Morpeth, and Sir Charles Wetherell took part. ‘A magnificent speech by Macaulay,’ says an eyewitness of the scene, ‘rather startled the moderate Whigs, whilst Sir Robert Peel, though very eloquent, betrayed his distrust of the policy of his party.’ Mr. Macaulay strenuously defended the advice given by the Ministers, that new peers should be created. No objection, he said, had been raised to the creation of 200 in the course of a generation by the one party that held power during that period; and he did not think that there could be, under such circumstances, any valid objection to the creation of fifty peers in one day to redress the balance. Lord Ebrington’s motion was carried by a majority of eighty—the Ayes being 288, the Noes 208.

Meanwhile the people were in a state of unparalleled excitement. The news of the division on the night of the 7th, and the

consequent resignation of the Ministry, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning, and everywhere created consternation and anxiety. Mr. M. D. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, said ‘the people are so excited that anything at all unusual throws them into confusion. A man blowing a horn is immediately taken for an express, and the arrival of a coach from London at an unusual hour emptied the workshops in an instant. Very little work is done. The workmen walk about talking of nothing but the Bill.’ A similar state of feeling existed throughout the whole country, and the account of the vote of the Lords was received as a public calamity. In some places the bells of the churches and dissenting chapels were tolled all night, in others they were muffled. On the 10th of May the Common Council of the City of London passed a resolution, declaring that the persons who had advised the king to reject the advice of his Ministers to create peers ‘have proved themselves enemies of the sovereign, and have put in imminent hazard the stability of the throne and the tranquillity and security of the country.’ They also adopted a petition to the House of Commons to refuse the supplies, until the Reform Bill should have been carried. The Livery of London, assembled in the Common Hall, adopted exactly the same course. A similar petition was sent up from Manchester, which in four hours received the signatures of 25,000 persons. Mr. John Wood, who presented it to the House, said ‘he was informed by the deputation from Manchester that the whole of the north of England was in a state which it was impossible to describe. Dismay and, above all, indignation prevailed everywhere. He believed, however, if the House did its duty, that the country might yet be saved; if it would not, he believed the people knew their duty; and if the House would not stop the supplies, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whoever he might be, would very soon find that his coffers were un replenished.’

A petition from Bolton, praying the House of Commons to grant no supply till the Bill was passed, was signed by 20,300 persons within two or three hours. A similar step was taken at Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and all the other large towns in the United Kingdom. Public meetings also were held at which the most violent language was employed, and the most outrageous abuse was heaped upon the anti-reforming peers. The king himself, the queen, and his family were not spared. At Birmingham notices were placed in most of the windows in the town, declaring that the inhabitants were resolved not to pay taxes unless the Bill was passed un-mutilated. Not a few even of the upper classes expressed the same determination. Lord Milton desired the tax-collector to call again, and intimated that he might find it necessary to refuse payment.

As might have been expected the Political Unions took the most prominent part in this agitation. The National Union passed a resolution, 'That whoever advises a dissolution of Parliament is a public enemy,' and declared itself in permanent session. It is a significant fact that the Unions received an immense increase to their numbers during the week. Fifteen hundred new members—all men of substance, and a large number of them Quakers—joined the National Union in one day. It was with extreme difficulty that the people in the manufacturing districts could be kept from coming to extremities. The General in command at Birmingham wrote to Lord Hill, the Commander-in-chief, that he was wholly incapable of resistance in case of insurrection. His whole force consisted of two troops of the Greys within the town, and two companies of infantry at Dudley. A similar spirit prevailed in Yorkshire. Some of the leading men at Saddleworth wrote to Sir George Strickland, one of the members for that county, that 'the people were tired of signing petitions and addresses. They

wished to fight it out at once, and the sooner the better.' The fight was believed to be so near at hand, that a manufacturer offered to supply the Birmingham Union with 10,000 muskets at fifteen shillings a piece. Some of the Unions had under consideration a plan of marching peaceably to London, and bivouacking in the squares; while the Birmingham Union, now 200,000 strong, was to encamp on Hampstead Heath, there to wait till the Reform Bill became law. The country, in short, seemed to be on the very brink of a civil war and a revolution.

Lord Althorp and other influential Reformers exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any outbreak on the part of the people; and pointed out that violent measures would prove highly injurious, not only to the best interests of society, but also to the success of the Reform Bill. Their efforts to preserve the peace were powerfully assisted by a famous speech which the Rev. Sydney Smith, at this critical juncture, delivered at Taunton. On a previous occasion, after the rejection of the Reform Bill of 1831, he made his celebrated comparison, which has become proverbial, of the House of Lords to Dame Partington attempting to drive back the Atlantic Ocean. After declaring, in regard to the bishops, that he 'could not but blush to have seen so many dignitaries of the church arrayed against the wishes and happiness of the people,' the witty and sagacious Canon went on to say, 'As for the possibility of the House of Lords preventing ere long a reform of Parliament, I hold it to be the most absurd notion that ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful; but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824 there set in a great flood upon that town; the tide rose to an incredible height; the waves rushed in upon

the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease; be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington.'

At the present emergency, when 'men's hearts were failing them for fear,' Mr. Smith once more took up the parable, and said at another Taunton meeting, 'One word before we part, for an old and excellent friend of ours—I mean Dame Partington. It is impossible not to admire spirited conduct even in a bad cause; and I am sure Dame Partington has fought a much longer and better fight than I had any expectation she would fight. Many a mop has she worn out, and many a bucket has she broken in her contest with the waves. I wish her spirit had been more wisely employed, for the waves must have their way at last; but I have no doubt I shall see her some time hence, in dry clothes, pursuing her useful and honourable occupations, and retaining nothing but a good-humoured recollection of her stiff and spirited battle with the Atlantic.'

While the country was thus in a state of commotion and alarm, the chiefs of the Tory party were busily engaged in an attempt to form an administration. On accepting the resignation of his Ministers, the king sent for Lord Lyndhurst, and informed him that he was determined to form a Government on the principle of carrying 'some extensive measure of reform' in the representation of the people. The Chief Baron lost no time in communicating this information to the Duke of Wellington,

Sir Robert Peel, and other leaders of the Tory party. The Duke was quite well aware that after the uncompromising opposition which he had offered, not only to the Bill now before the House of Lords, but to all reform of the representation, he was not the man to take charge of such a measure as the king insisted on. He therefore proposed that the formation of a Government should be intrusted to Sir Robert Peel, promising him at the same time every assistance in his power. Sir Robert, however, felt that he was placed in a similar predicament, and declined to undertake the responsibility of a Bill which in his opinion, as he had often and publicly declared, would entail great calamities on the country. He therefore refused to accept office; but at the same time, following the example of the Duke of Wellington, he professed his readiness, if a Ministry were formed from the Tory party, to give it all the support his opinions would permit him to afford. Similar replies were given by Mr. Goulbourn and Mr. Croker.

In this emergency Lord Lyndhurst appealed again to the Duke of Wellington. 'The more I consider the subject of our consultations,' he wrote, 'the more I am satisfied that you must consent to be *the minister*, or everything will fail. I am confident we can manage the affair, and the situation of things is such that at all events it is *our duty to try*.' The Duke's immediate reply was, 'I shall be very much concerned indeed, if we cannot at least make an effort to enable the king to shake off the trammels of his tyrannical minister. I am perfectly ready to do whatever His Majesty may command me. I am as much averse to reform as ever I was. No embarrassment of that kind, no private consideration, shall prevent me from making every effort to serve the king.'

On Peel's refusal to accept office, application was made by the Duke to Mr. Alexander Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, an eminent London merchant, who

is justly described by Lord John Russell as a man of great experience, of great ability, and intimately acquainted with the means by which the credit of the country was upheld. But he was somewhat timid and irresolute; and though not disinclined to comply with the Duke's wishes, he had doubts as to the course he should pursue. It is understood, however, that he ultimately agreed to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was reported that Baring stipulated that Manners Sutton, the Speaker, should accept office, and lead the House. 'His value,' Sir Henry Hardinge wrote the Duke on the 13th, 'is not to be estimated by his real ability, but by the re-union of many advantages which no other man can possess. For fifteen years he has preserved the respect of the House. He speaks collectedly and well; he has heard every debate on every important question; and he has compromised himself on no question.' The Speaker was accordingly tried, with what result is related in graphic and pungent terms by Greville. 'The Speaker,' he says, 'was mightily tempted to become Secretary of State, but still doubting and fearing, and requiring time to make up his mind.' At an interview with the Duke and Lyndhurst at Apsley House (on Sunday the 16th), he declared his sentiments on the existing state of affairs in a speech of three hours, to the unutterable disgust of Lyndhurst, who on his return home expressed his opinion of the Speaker and his exhibition in terms too plain to be repeated. 'After these three hours of oratory Manners Sutton desired to have till the next morning (Monday) to make up his mind, which he again begged might be extended till the evening.' The truth is, that Manners Sutton, who was a poor man, could not afford to relinquish the Speakership for an office from which he might have been ejected in a week; and his vanity and ambition drawing one way and his interest another, he was utterly at a loss what course to take. The matter, however, was speedily decided for him in another way.

While the Tories were thus putting forth their utmost efforts to form an Administration, the Whigs were not idle. A great meeting was held at Brooks' Club on Saturday night (the 12th), at which Lord Ebrington, Mr. Hume, and other prominent members of the party, strongly urged that any Reform Bill which the new Ministers might propose should be at once rejected. Lord Althorp, however, deprecated this course, and recommended that their Bill, should be accepted, but on the understanding that the acceptance was to be no bar to future demands. It was on this occasion that Mr. Stanley, with his usual impetuosity, jumped on the table and attacked the Tory leaders with unsparing severity in a spirit-stirring and eloquent speech, which had a most rousing effect on the members present. Mainly in deference to Lord Althorp's advice, the meeting with marked reluctance agreed not to oppose any measure of reform brought forward by the new Ministry, but the feelings of the majority were decidedly in favour of a different course.

'The House filled early on Monday,' says Sir Denis le Marchant. 'The Ministers expectant present, appeared in excellent spirits. Sir Henry Hardinge, who had agreed to act under the Duke, stepped over to Lord Althorp before the debate began, and told him that the real difficulties of forming the Administration were at an end, and he hoped that Lord Althorp did not disapprove of the Duke's conduct. He seemed too elated to listen to Lord Althorp's cold and unsatisfactory reply, and soon rose to answer Lord Ebrington's question as to the Duke of Wellington having accepted office on the condition of bringing in a Reform Bill. Lord Ebrington's language was very strong, but not too strong for the temper of the House, for he was loudly cheered when he described such conduct as an act of gross immorality; nor did Hardinge's explanation, which implied a denial of the imputed conduct, improve the aspect of the case.' A most animated debate followed. Mr. Baring's ingenuity

and casuistry were again employed to represent the Duke as having come to the king's assistance when abandoned by his Ministers, taking the only course which under the circumstances were left open to him—a line of defence no doubt inspired by the Duke himself, whose devotion to his sovereign alone had induced him to undertake the thankless and perilous task. Lord Althorp pronounced a more emphatic censure than he had yet expressed on the immorality of the course taken by individuals who, having opposed the Reform Bill in its principle and details, were nevertheless ready to accept office with the view of carrying the very measure they had so strenuously resisted. But his language was mild and moderate compared with the speeches of Mr. Macaulay and Lord John Russell, who carried the House completely with them. The replies made on the other side by Sir Edward Sugden and Sir George Murray were quite ineffective, and were listened to with marked indifference.

Greville, in describing the debate, speaks of 'the memorable night in the House of Commons, which everybody agrees was such a scene of violence and excitement as never had been exhibited within those walls. Tavistock told me he had never heard anything at all like it, and to his dying day should not forget it. The House was crammed to suffocation; every violent sentiment and vituperative expression was received with shouts of approbation, yet the violent speakers were listened to with the greatest attention. Tom Duncombe made one of his blustering Radical harangues, full of every sort of impertinence, which was received with immense applause; but which contrasted with an admirable speech full of dignity, but also of sarcasm and severity, from Lord John Russell—the best he ever made. The conduct of the Duke of Wellington, on taking office to carry the Bill, which was not denied, but which his friends feebly attempted to justify, was assailed with the most merciless severity,

and (what made the greatest impression) was condemned, though in more measured terms, by moderate men and Tories.' Sir Robert Inglis, whose high character gave great weight to his words, said that 'while he held, as an old Tory, that the king had the same right to give his decision on any measure which might pass the two Houses, he could not forget also this other great constitutional truth, that the opinions and wishes of the king were known to the House in no other way than by his public acts, for which his known confidential advisers were responsible. He was told that the new Government was actually to take charge, had indeed already taken charge, of the Reform Bill. He was willing to make the greatest allowance for changes of opinion in young men; but when he was told of men of mature age, statesmen who all their lives had been opposed to a particular measure, who had in April protested against it as revolutionary, adopting it and making it their own measure in May, he must own that he could imagine no consideration which could justify such a change of conduct. He did not accuse any one of love of pelf or even of power; he did not say that ambition, "that last infirmity of noble minds," had misled any one; but the conduct itself, from whatever motive, he must deprecate as fatal to that singleness and consistency of public character which, as he had already stated, he considered to be the best property of public men, and in them of their country.'

The disavowal of their proceedings by such staunch and influential Tories as Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Davies Gilbert, convinced the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst that their attempt to form a Government was hopeless. Mr. Baring, who spoke four times, seeing clearly, from the state of the House, the impossibility of forming a new Government, at last suggested that the ex-Ministers should resume their offices, and carry the Bill. He made this proposal without any previous concert with the Duke, who, however, entirely approved

of what he had said. Greville says that 'after the debate Baring and Sutton went to Apsley House and related to the Duke what had taken place; the former saying "he would face a thousand devils rather than such a House of Commons."'

Next day the Duke of Wellington, accompanied by Lord Lyndhurst, repaired to the king and informed him that he could not fulfil the commission with which His Majesty had been pleased to honour him. His Majesty by their advice wrote to Lord Grey, requesting him to resume the Government. When his Lordship received this communication he merely informed the king that he was aware that the Duke of Wellington had failed in forming a Ministry, and that he would consult his former colleagues on the state of affairs. When the Cabinet met, very serious discussions took place as to the course they should adopt. They were all firmly resolved that the Bill must be carried in its integrity, but considerable difference of opinion existed as to the best mode of effecting this object. They were informed that the king was prepared to use his influence to induce the anti-reforming peers to abstain from further opposition to the Bill; but the Ministers considered it unsafe to rely upon an understanding of this kind. It was therefore considered necessary that the Premier should be armed with power to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill, should any of its essential principles be interfered with by the hostile peers. Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor waited upon the king to communicate to him the resolution of the Ministers. He received them in a manner which unmistakably indicated his displeasure and annoyance at the turn affairs had taken; but he had no alternative, and with a very bad grace intimated his compliance with their demand, on the understanding that the power to create new peers was not to be exercised unless it should be absolutely necessary in order to pass the Bill unimpaired. This condition was not expressed, however, in the written

promise which the king at the request of the Chancellor handed to him at the close of the interview:—

'The king grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling peers' eldest sons.

'WILLIAM R.

'WINDSOR, May 17, 1832.'

On receiving this assurance the Ministers consented to resume their offices; and on the evening of the same day Earl Grey intimated the result to the Peers and Lord Althorp to the House of Commons, to the great delight of the Reformers, and even to the relief of the great body of the Tories, who were seriously alarmed at the threatening manifestations of public feeling.

Sir Herbert Taylor, the king's private Secretary, who was present at the interview of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor with His Majesty, on the same evening wrote the following note to the leading Opposition peers:—

'MY DEAR LORD,

'I am honoured with His Majesty's commands to acquaint your Lordship that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House of Peers to-night from a sufficient number of peers, that in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

'I have the honour to be, yours sincerely,

'HERBERT TAYLOR.'

The conduct of the Duke of Wellington throughout this crisis was severely condemned by the Reformers, but was lauded by the Tories in the most glowing terms; the Tory peers, in particular, as Greville said, 'vied with each other in expressions of admiration.' On the other hand, they were angry at Peel for his refusal to accept office, and they even insinuated that, 'having kept himself out of the scrape,' he was 'anything but sorry for the dilemma into

which the Duke had got himself ;' while the Reformers, of course, approved of his behaviour, as every way worthy of a high-principled statesman. There was certainly 'something remarkable,' as Lord John Russell observes, 'in the contrast between the conduct of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel at this crisis. They were both men of high character; both anxious for the honour of their sovereign and the welfare of their country. Their position appeared similar, if not identical. Yet the Duke of Wellington had declared that if he had refused to assist in the formation of a Government, he would have been ashamed to show his face in the streets; while Sir Robert Peel declared in the House of Commons that, if he had accepted the task proposed to him, he could not have walked upright into that House. The Duke of Wellington's feeling was that of excessive loyalty as a subject; Sir Robert Peel's that of dignity and consistency as a statesman. We have no right to withhold our meed of respect from either of them.'

The intimation of the royal wish given by Sir Herbert Taylor had the desired effect. The Duke of Wellington, after giving an account of his proceedings during the 'ten days' interregnum, withdrew from the House, and did not make his appearance in it again until the day following the passing of the Reform Bill. The Earl of Harewood, after bitterly complaining that the independence of the House of Lords was destroyed, intimated his intention of withdrawing from further opposition, and the great body of the anti-reform peers followed the same course. The Bill in consequence passed easily through committee in the course of six days, without any material alteration; and on the 4th of June it was read a third time and passed by a majority of eighty-four—only twenty-two being against it, while 106 voted for it. On the following day the amendments introduced into the Bill by the House of Lords were agreed to by the House of Commons without any discussion regarding their merits,

but with a good deal of angry recrimination respecting the mode in which the measure had been carried, and the opposition of the majority of the peers overcome. It was on this occasion that Lord John Russell said, 'I think that, so far as Ministers are concerned, this is a final measure. I declared on the second reading of the Bill, that if only a part of the measure were carried, it would lead to new agitations; that is now avoided by the state in which the Bill has come from the other House.' This 'finality' declaration, as it was termed, was constantly referred to in subsequent discussions on proposed extensions of the franchise, down to the passing of the second Reform Bill thirty-five years later.

The members of the Government, and indeed the general public, were exceedingly desirous that the king should give his assent to the bill in person. Had he done so, there can be little doubt that he would have been cordially received, and that the dissatisfaction caused by his refusal to create peers would have been removed and speedily forgotten. But he felt very sore at having been compelled to take back his Ministers, after having expressed, as Greville says, 'unbounded joy at what he thought was to be his deliverance from the Whigs;' and he was especially indignant at the scurrilous abuse which had been heaped upon the queen and his own natural children, aggravated by the hisses and groans of the populace when he entered London after accepting Earl Grey's resignation. He therefore peremptorily refused to give his assent in person, and it had consequently to be given by commission; the commissioners being the Lord Chancellor, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Wellesley, Earl Durham, and Lord Holland. The Speaker, followed by the members of the House of Commons, went up to the House of Lords to witness the ceremony, and, on his return, announced in the usual terms that the royal assent

had been given to the Bill—an intimation which was received in solemn silence.

The Scottish and Irish Reform Bills had still to be disposed of; and though there was no attempt to call in question the principle of the measure, the former, which was read a second time on the 21st of May, was so pertinaciously contested in its details that it was not read a third time until the 23rd of June. Sir George Murray made a strenuous, but unfortunately an unsuccessful attempt to obtain an addition to the number of the representatives allotted to Scotland. He showed that, assuming population as the basis of representation, Scotland should have eighty-five members. If taxation was taken as the criterion, it should have fifty-nine. If both were taken, it should have seventy-two. Taking population, revenue, and assessment on real property together, the number of Scottish representatives should be seventy-five.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Haddington moved as an instruction to the committee to provide for the representation of the Universities of Scotland, by giving one member to the University of Edinburgh, King's College and Marischal College, Aberdeen, and one to the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews—the right of voting to be in the office-bearers and graduates resident in Scotland. But the motion was opposed by the Lord Chancellor, and negatived without a division. Thirty-five years later this just and judicious proposal was carried into effect. The Bill passed the Lords on the 13th of July.

The Irish Reform Bill, which was brought in by Mr. Stanley, met with strenuous opposition in both Houses of Parliament, mainly on the ground that it would render the Roman Catholics completely predominant in Ireland, but the second reading was carried in the Commons by 246 votes against 130. When the House went into committee a vigorous attempt was made by O'Connell and Shiel to obtain the restoration of the franchise to the forty-shilling freeholders, to deprive the University of

Dublin of one of the two members proposed to be given to it by the Bill, and to extend the franchise to persons occupying freehold estates of the clear yearly value of five pounds. But the Ministers adhered firmly to the provisions in the Bill, and were supported by the Tories in resisting the proposals of the Irish reformers. The measure was discussed at great length in the Commons, but it passed rapidly through the House of Lords, and received the royal assent on the first week of August. A Boundary Bill for settling the divisions of the counties which under the English Reform Act were to be divided, and for defining the boundaries of the different boroughs, formed a necessary appendage of the Act, and was carried without opposition.

The change made in the representative system of the country by the measure which had thus at length become law, was of a most extensive character, and is now universally admitted to have produced the most beneficial results. Fifty-six nomination boroughs, having a population of less than 2000, returning 111 members, were completely disfranchised, and thirty more, having a population under 4000, were deprived of one of the two members which they had hitherto returned. The united boroughs of Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis were henceforth to send two members instead of four. The 143 members thus placed at the disposal of Parliament were divided between the counties and new large urban constituencies. The English counties, which had before returned ninety-four members, were now to be represented by 159. The metropolitan districts and a number of large towns, such as Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, hitherto unrepresented, were to return two members each; and twenty-one towns, whose population amounted to 12,000 and upwards, were to return one each. In the counties the franchise was extended to copyholders and leaseholders, and to tenants-at-will paying a yearly rent of £50. In the boroughs owners or occupants of property of the yearly value of £10 became

electors, but the old freemen were permitted to retain their votes; all, however, were excluded who had been made freemen since March, 1831. In Scotland the old system was completely abolished, and the franchise conferred for the first time on *bona fide* owners and occupants. There were considerable changes, also, made in the arrangement of the constituencies, and eight members were added to the town representatives; raising the number of members returned by Scotland from forty-five to fifty-three. Ireland received an increase of five members, including one given to Dublin University.

A general feeling of satisfaction prevailed throughout the country when the long-protracted and perilous contest was thus at last brought to a close; but great diversity of opinion was then exhibited, and still exists, respecting the propriety of the means by which the opposition of the peers was overcome, and the Bill carried in its integrity.

It was earnestly urged that a large creation of peers was the only mode in which the Upper House could be brought to co-operate harmoniously with the House of Commons and the people in passing numerous measures, not only of political, but of legal, fiscal, and social reform; that the old balance of parties in the House of Lords had been entirely overthrown by the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown to create peers from 1784 to 1830 almost entirely in favour of one party. Mr. Pitt, during his rule, had advised the creation of one hundred peers: Lord Liverpool had sanctioned the creation of fifteen in a single day. A majority of at least eighty was arrayed against Earl Grey when he succeeded to power in 1830. Besides these new creations by the successive chiefs of the Tory party, many peers had received from them higher titles as the reward of their political assistance. Earls had been made marquises; viscounts and barons had been made earls, and felt themselves bound in honour to support the policy advocated

by the statesman from whose hands they had received these favours. In these circumstances it need excite no surprise that the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1831 was rejected by a majority of forty-one, and that of the peers who owed their elevation to Tory premiers, 150 voted against the Bill, and only fifty voted for it; while of the peers created before 1790, 108 voted in favour of the Bill, and only four against it.

The chief reason alleged in justification of the refusal to create peers was, that such a step would utterly destroy the independence of the House of Lords as a branch of the Legislature. It was also urged that it was a measure of extreme violence virtually amounting to a revolution, and very dangerous as a precedent. But as Lord John Russell has remarked, 'it may be a question whether the manner in which the vote of the House of Lords was nullified by the compulsory absence of a great many of the majority was not more perilous for their authority than the creation of peers which the Cabinet of Lord Grey proposed. Whether twelve or one hundred be the number requisite to enable the peers to give their votes in conformity with public opinion, it seems to me that a House of Lords sympathizing with the people at large, and acting in concurrence with the enlightened state of the prevailing wish, represents far better the dignity of the House and its share in legislation than a majority got together by the long supremacy of one party in the State eager to show its ill-will by rejecting bills of small importance; but afraid to appear, and skulking in clubs and country houses in face of a measure which has attracted the evident sympathy of public opinion. Yet such was the state in which the House of Lords was left by the forbearance and regard for royal scruples of Lord Grey and his colleagues.' The hostile majority was, indeed, induced by the influence of the king, and in deference to his wishes, to permit the Reform Bill to pass unimpaired; but for a good

many years it was 'unscrupulously employed by Lord Lyndhurst to stop the course of wholesome legislation, and to nip in the bud measures which, while they were useful, were at the same time unpretending, and were not likely to rouse popular enthusiasm, or to justify in the eyes of the country a large addition to the House of Lords.'

The results of the Reform Bill have fully vindicated the political sagacity of the eminent statesman by whose disinterested efforts and firmness this great measure became law; while they have at the same time proved that the fears and anxious forebodings even of the most eminent leaders of the Tory party were utterly groundless. The reform of the municipal corporations and of the poor law, the abolition of slavery, of all restrictions on trade and commerce, of religious disabilities, of educational monopolies, of taxes on knowledge, of church rates, and numerous other excellent measures which never would have been passed by an unreformed Parliament, have given new vigour to the constitution, and greatly increased the prosperity of the country, while at the same time they have strengthened the loyalty and patriotism of the people. To say nothing of weak alarmists, who always prophesy ruin, even the Duke of Wellington declared again and again in the most explicit terms that, if the Bill passed, it would be impossible to carry on the Government, and that the country and all its institutions would be destroyed. It was taken for granted, as beyond doubt, that the Tory party was annihilated; and yet in the space of two years a Tory prime minister was in office, supported by upwards of 300 members of the House of Commons, and in seven years more the same statesman was again at the head of affairs more powerful than ever—the Whig Ministry having been ejected from office by 360 votes against 296 in the Lower House, and by a majority of seventy-two in the House of Lords.

In his speech from the throne His Majesty had told the Parliament that, 'in parts

of Ireland, a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended, in some instances, with afflicting results, and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvement in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and, at the same time, remove the present causes of complaint.' Both Houses, accordingly, appointed select committees 'to inquire into the collection and payment of tithes in Ireland, and the state of the law relating thereto.' They speedily discovered that it had become impossible to collect tithes in that country, even at the point of the bayonet. A system of illegal resistance had been organized, so widespread and powerful as to bid defiance to the law, and to all the efforts of the authorities to enforce it. Those who demanded tithe, and those who paid it, or were concerned in any way in enforcing payment—the clergy, the attorneys, process-servers, and policemen—lived in continual dread of assassination, and a number of them lost their lives. Great numbers of the clergy were reduced to a state of the deepest distress, almost to the verge of starvation: not a few of them had been obliged to pawn or sell their furniture and clothes, or were toiling personally on their glebes to raise potatoes to feed their children, or were even dependent on a gift of oatmeal from some benevolent neighbour. In these circumstances the Ministry felt that immediate relief must be given, and the Committee of the House of Commons recommended that £1,000,000 should be advanced as a loan to the clergy, and that the tithes should be commuted for a land tax, so as effectually to secure the revenues of the church, and at the same time to remove all collisions between the parochial clergy and the occupiers of the land. A series of resolutions embodying these recommendations was moved by the Irish Secretary and carried by a great majority; and a Bill, entitled 'The Irish Compulsory Tithe Composition Bill,' which was brought

in to carry them into effect, in spite of the violent opposition of the Radical and Irish Roman Catholic representatives, was supported by the great body of the members of both Houses, and became law. The measure had the effect of delaying the disestablishment of the Irish Church, but it alienated from the Government a large body of their Irish supporters.

The dissatisfaction existing among the more extreme Liberal members encouraged the Opposition to make another attempt to induce the House of Commons to express disapprobation of the conduct of the Ministry with reference to the Russian Dutch Loan. A motion made by Mr. Herries, on the 12th of July, against the payment of the loan, was defeated by a majority of forty-six. Four days afterwards the attack was renewed by Mr. Baring, who was strongly suspected to have been the author of the movement.

He moved for the production of papers 'relating to the Convention of the 19th of May, 1815, between Great Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands, explanatory of the spirit and objects of that convention;' the Ministry again triumphed, but their majority was reduced to thirty-six. Emboldened by this diminution in the number of the supporters of the loan, the Opposition made a third assault on the Government, but this time found themselves in a minority of seventy-six.

This was the last party struggle of the session. In the following week the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his budget, which was accepted by both parties, and the supplies were voted without opposition. The Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August, on the understanding that the dissolution would not take place till late in the year.

LIST OF BOROUGHES PROPOSED TO BE DISFRANCHISED, WHOLLY OR IN PART,
BY THE FIRST REFORM BILL.

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.	Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Aldborough,	Duke of Newcastle,	60	Malmesbury,	Mr. Pitt,	13
Aldeburgh,	Marquis of Hertford,	80	Mawes, St.,	Duke of Buckingham,	20
Appleby,	{ Earl of Thanet and Earl Lonsdale,	100	Michael, St.,	{ Lord Falmouth and Mr. J. H. Hawkins,	32
Bedwin,	Marquis of Aylesbury,	80	Midhurst,	Mr. John Smith,	18
Beeralston,	Earl of Beverley,	100	Milborne, Port,	Marquis of Anglesea,	90
Bishop's Castle,	Earl Powis,	60	Minehead,	Mr. Luttrell,	10
Bletchingley,	Mr. M. Russell,	80	Newport, Cornwall,	Duke of Northumberland,	62
Boroughbridge,	Duke of Newcastle,	50	Newton, Lancashire,	Mr. Legh,	60
Bossiney,	Ld. Wharncliffe and Mr. Turner,	35	Newton, Isle of Wight, { Lord Yarborough and Sir F. Barrington,		40
Brackley,	R. H. and J. Bradshaw,	33	Okehampton,	Money,	250
Bramber,	{ Lord Calthorpe and the Duke of Rutland,	20	Orford,	Marquis of Hertford,	20
Buckingham,	Duke of Buckingham,	13	Petersfield,	Colonel Joliffe,	140
Callington,	Mr. A. Baring,	50	Plympton,	{ Mr. Trebny and the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,	810
Camelford,	Marquis of Cleveland,	25	Queenborough,	Money <i>versus</i> Ordinance,	270
Castle Rising,	{ Marquis of Cholmondeley and Hon. F. G. Howard,	50	Romney, New	Sir E. Dering,	150
Corfe Castle,	Mr. H. Bankes,	50	Ryegate,	{ Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Somers,	800
Dunwich,	{ Lord Huntingfield and Mr. Barne,	18	Saltash,	Mr. Buller,	36
East Looe,	Mr. Hope,	50	Seaford,	{ Lord Seaford and Mr. J. Fitzgerald,	—
Eye,	Sir E. Kerrison,	100	Steyning,	Duke of Norfolk,	110
Fowey,	Mr. Austin and Mr. Livy,	70	Stockbridge,	Lord Grosvenor,	100
Gatton,	Lord Monson,	5	Tregoney,	Mr. J. A. Gordon,	10
Haslemere,	Earl of Lonsdale,	60	Wareham,	Right Hon. J. Calcraft,	20
Hedon,	Money,	830	Wendover,	Lord Carrington,	140
Heytesbury,	Lord Heytesbury,	50	Weobly,	Marquis of Bath,	90
Higham Ferrers,	Lord Fitzwilliam,	145	West Looe,	Mr. Buller,	55
Hindon,	{ Lord Grosvenor and Lord Calthorpe,	240	Whitchurch,	Lord Sidney and Sir S. Scott,	70
Ilchester,	{ Disputed between Lord Cleveland and Lord Huntingtower,	70	Winchelsea,	Marquis of Cleveland,	40
Lostwithiel,	Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,	94	Woodstock,	Duke of Marlborough,	400
Ludgershall,	Sir. G. Graham & Mr. Everett,	70	Wooten Bassett,	Earl of Clarendon & Mr. Pitt,	—
			Yarmouth,	The Holmes Family,	50

THE FOLLOWING WAS THE LIST OF BOROUGHS WHICH WOULD RETURN ONE MEMBER
OF PARLIAMENT EACH:—

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.	Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Amersham,	Mr. W. Drake,	125	Rye,	Dr. Lamb,	25
Arundel,	Money and Duke of Norfolk,	450	St. Germain's,	Earl St. Germain's,	70
Ashburton,	{ Lord Clinton and Sir L. V.		St. Ives,	Mr. Wellesley,	200
Bewdley,	{ Palk,	170	* Sandwich,	Money,	955
* Bodmin,	{ Lord Lyttelton,	13	Shaftesbury,	Lord Grosvenor,	300
* Bridport,	{ Marquis of Hertford and Mr.		* Sudbury,	Money,	800
* Chippenham,	{ D. G. Gilbert,	36	* Tamworth,	{ Lord Townshend and Sir R.	
Clitheroe,	{ Money,	340		{ Peel,	300
* Cockermouth,	{ Mr. Neald,	135	* Thetford,	{ Duke of Grafton and Mr. A.	
* Dorchester,	{ Earls Howe and Brownlow,	45		{ Baring,	31
Downton,	{ Earl of Lonsdale,	180	Thirsk,	Sir F. Frankland,	60
Droitwich,	{ Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr.		* Totness,	Corporation,	58
* Evesham,	{ R. Williams,	200	* Truro,	Earl of Falmouth,	26
* Grimsby,	{ Earl of Radnor,	60	Wallingford,	Money,	180
Grimstead, East,	{ Lord Foley,	12	Westbury,	Sir E. A. Lopez,	70
* Guildford,	{ Bribery,	600	Wilton,	Earl of Pembroke,	20
Helstone,	{ Money,	300	* Wycombe,	Corporation and Sir J. D. King,	65
* Iloniton,	{ Earl de la Warr,	30			
* Huntingdon,	{ Lord Grantley,	250			
Hythe,	{ Duke of Leeds,	36			
Launceston,	{ Money,	350			
* Leominster,	{ Earl of Sandwich,	240			
Liskeard,	{ Corporation and patronage,	150			
Lyne-Regis,	{ Duke of Northumberland,	15			
* Lymington,	{ Money,	700			
* Maldon,	{ Earl St. Germain's,	105			
* Marlborough,	{ Earl of Westmoreland,	30			
* Marlow,	{ Sir H. B. Neale,	70			
Morpeth,	{	2000			
Northallerton,	{ Marquis of Aylesbury,	21			
Penrhyn,	{ Mr. O. Williams,	285			
* Richmond,	{ Earl of Carlisle and Mr. W.				
	{ Ord,	200			
	{ Earl of Harewood,	200			
	{ Money,	400			
	{ Lord Dundas,	270			

As it was ultimately decided that the number of members of the House of Commons should not be diminished, Buckingham, Eye, Midhurst, Petersfield, and Wareham were taken out of Schedule A. On the other hand, Downton, Steyning, St. Germain's, and East Grimstead were transferred to that Schedule. The boroughs in Schedule B marked with an asterisk were taken out of that list by the third bill, and allowed to retain their right to return two members each. Penrhyn was united to Falmouth, and Sandwich to Deal and Walmer. It is worthy of notice that the Dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, the Marquises of Cleveland and Anglesea, Earls Fitzwilliam, Clarendon, Grosvenor, Thanet, and Radnor, Lords Carrington, Dundas, Lyttelton, and Foley, Messrs. M. Russell, Howard, Ord, Calcraft, and John Smith, patrons or proprietors of boroughs, voted for their disfranchisement.

The number of the constituency and the prevailing influence were added by Mr. Molesworth, but several alterations were made in the list by the second and third bills.

CHAPTER II.

Coronation of the King and Queen.—Union of Belgium and Holland—Complaints of the Belgians against the Dutch Government—Insurrection at Brussels—Concessions of the King—Progress of the Revolution—Revival of the Burgher Guard—Outbreak of the mob in Brussels—Prince Frederick's Assault on the City—Its Failure—Fruitless attempts of the Prince of Orange to conciliate the Belgians—The Provisional Government—The National Congress—Declaration of Belgian Independence—Interposition of the Five Powers—The Conference at London—Candidates for the Belgian Throne—Election of Prince Leopold—French Intrigues—Invasion of Belgium by the Dutch, and defeat of the Belgians—The Negotiations of the Conference—Bases of Separation—Their rejection by the King of Holland—Siege of Antwerp—Ultimate settlement of the Dispute.

WHILE the country was convulsed with the contest respecting the Reform Bill, several events had taken place which should not be left unnoticed. There was a dispute respecting the coronation of the king and queen, which His Majesty regarded as a superfluous ceremony; but the feeling of the aristocracy was so strongly in favour of his following the ancient usage, that he was obliged to submit. He desired, however, that the coronation should be conducted on a restricted scale, and that all the ceremonies might be dispensed with except those in the church, as 'these ceremonies were at variance with the genius of the present age, and suited to another period of society.' At a meeting of the Council he made a speech to the effect that he would be crowned to satisfy the tender consciences of those who thought it necessary; but that he thought that it was his duty (as this country, in common with every other, was labouring under distress) to make it as economical as possible. The ceremony, which was performed on the 8th of September, 1831, was shorn of much of the ancient pomp and time-honoured absurdities with which it used to be accompanied, and the expense was brought under £30,000, instead of £240,000, which was squandered on the coronation of George IV. It was nevertheless very splendid. 'I never saw so magnificent a scene,' says Lord Macaulay; 'all down that immense vista of gloomy arches there was one blaze of scarlet and gold. First came heralds, in coats stiff with embroidered lions, unicorns, and harps; then nobles bearing the regalia, with pages in rich

dresses, carrying their coronets on cushions; then the Deans and Prebendaries of Westminster, in copes of cloth of gold; then a crowd of beautiful girls and women, or at least of girls and women who at a distance looked altogether beautiful, attending on the queen. Her train, of purple, velvet and ermine, was borne by six of these fair creatures. All the great officers of state, in full robes—the Duke of Wellington with his Marshal's staff, the Duke of Devonshire with his White Rod, Lord Grey with the Sword of State, and the Chancellor with his Seals—came in procession. Then all the royal dukes, with their trains borne behind them; and last, the king leaning on two bishops. I do not, I daresay, give you the precise order. In fact it was impossible to discern any order. The whole abbey was one blaze of gorgeous dresses mingled with lovely faces. The queen behaved admirably, with wonderful grace and dignity; the king very awkwardly. The Duke of Devonshire looked as if he came to be crowned instead of his master. I never saw so princely a manner and air. The Chancellor looked like Mephistopheles behind Margaret in the church. The ceremony was much too long, and some parts of it were carelessly performed. The Archbishop mumbled. The Bishop of London preached well enough, indeed, but not so effectively as the occasion required. The moment of the crowning was extremely fine. When the Archbishop placed the crown on the head of the king, the trumpets sounded, and the whole audience cried out, "God save the king!" All the peers and peeresses put on their coronets,

and the blaze of splendour through the abbey seemed to be doubled. The king was then conducted to the raised throne, where the peers successively did him homage, each of them kissing his cheek and touching the crown.' At the banquet which followed the ceremony, the king made a statement which helped to increase his popularity throughout the country. 'I do not agree,' he said, 'with those who consider the ceremony of coronation as indispensable, for the contract between the prince and the people was as binding on my mind before. No member of the House of Hanover can forget the conditions on which I hold the Crown, and,' added His Majesty, striking an energetic blow on the table, 'I am not a whit more desirous now than before taking the oath, to watch over the liberties and promote the welfare of my people.' 'The coronation went off well,' says Greville; 'and whereas nobody was satisfied before it, everybody was after it.'

A revolution had meanwhile taken place in Belgium, which excited great anxiety throughout the Continent, and at one time threatened to kindle a European war. On the downfall of Napoleon the Congress of Vienna, in order to guard the Netherlands from future invasion, and to limit France to its ancient boundary on that side, excluding it from the coveted seaboard, had resolved to unite Belgium with Holland, and the frontier had been protected by a line of strong fortresses raised under the inspection of the British Government, and partly at their expense. The terms of the union were designed to maintain that equality between the government of the two countries, which was the fundamental principle of the union. As a security for these conditions, the liberty of the press and the independence of the judges were guaranteed by the constitution. The former, however, was rendered null almost at the outset by a royal *ordonnance* which, though professedly issued for the purpose of protecting the country against foreign

emissaries or Napoleon's return from Elba, continued in operation until 1829, and was then replaced by another little less severe. So stringent was this decree, that it was impossible to find fault with any acts of a minister, or, indeed, to express any opinion whatever on a political question, without coming within the scope of its operation. In the same way the independence of the judges was set aside. According to the terms of union, they were to hold their offices for life; but up to 1830 a provisional judicature alone existed in Belgium, in which the judges were selected by the king, and entirely dependent upon his goodwill and pleasure.

With regard to taxation, Holland was a much richer country than Belgium, and ought in fairness to have contributed a larger sum to the public revenue, and this was at first the ease. But in 1821 taxes which pressed heavily upon the poorer and agricultural class, among others the odious *mouture* or tax on flour, which was the immediate pretext for revolt, were substituted for taxes upon colonial luxuries, paid by the wealthy and commercial section of the community. When in 1827 £4,000,000 were added to the taxes imposed upon the united kingdoms, the imposts on Holland were augmented by £1,000,000, those on Belgium by £3,000,000. The inequality and unfairness of this system of assessment were seriously aggravated by the fact, that the Belgians were to a great extent excluded from the various establishments for whose support they were compelled thus largely to contribute. The Societies of Commerce, the Military Schools for the instruction of naval, military, and engineering officers, the Military and Naval Boards, the Supreme Council of the Nobles, the Diplomatic Offices, the Coinage of Money, the Chancery of the Military Order of William, and even the Chancery of the Belgian Lion, were all in Holland. The administration of the mines also was in that country, though Holland does not contain a single mine. The only public establishment in

Belgium was the bank at Brussels, and the Director, the Secretary, and the chiefs of the different bureaux were all Dutchmen. Of the Ministers, Secretaries of State, and the other leading officials, 244 were Dutch, and only sixty-four Belgians. The six members of the Council of Ministers were all Dutch. Of the ambassadors, envoys, and other members of the diplomatic staff, thirty were Dutch and nine Belgians. In the army the proportion of generals, colonels, and directors of Engineers was forty Dutchmen to eight Belgians. All the generals, five in number, were Dutch. Out of twenty-three lieutenant-generals only two were Belgians; forty-eight colonels were Dutch, and eight Belgians. The lieutenant-colonels were in the same proportion. Of the whole number of officers, from generals to sub-lieutenants, 1967 in number, only 278 were Belgians.

With regard to education, all existing seminaries were closed at the union, unless they had received the approbation of the king, without which no new institutions were allowed to be established. In North Brabant, which was almost entirely Roman Catholic, eight out of eleven inspectors of schools were Protestants. In the other provinces of the north there was only one Roman Catholic inspector, and in the whole of the northern provinces, out of seventy-nine inspectors, seventy-four were Protestants. In Belgium, French was the language spoken, not only by the upper classes and at the bar, but by the greater portion of the people of all ranks. But the king and his Council, with almost incredible folly, enacted not only that Dutch should be used in all public documents, but that this language should be employed by all persons speaking in the public courts—an enactment which was felt to be both oppressive and insulting. To crown all, at the instigation of M. Van Maanen, the Dutch Polignac, who was urging the King of Holland headlong to his ruin, an *ordonnance* was issued, which declared that every person who was dismissed from, or who voluntarily

quitted office, must have a satisfactory testimonial from the king, without which he was deprived of all his public rights as a citizen, and could neither vote for a candidate nor be eligible himself to a seat in the local magistracy or the Chambers. The Dutch representatives generally voted almost unanimously in favour of the partial and unjust laws against Belgian interests; and if only two or three voted with them, the resistance of all the other representatives of their country was unavailing. The law for the introduction of the *mouture*, for example, was carried by the votes of fifty-three Hollanders and two Belgians against fifty-one Belgians, unsupported by a single Dutchman; and the budget of 1829 was opposed by forty-seven Belgians and four Hollanders, but was carried by the votes of forty-nine Hollanders and four Belgians.

The Roman Catholic priesthood were especially hostile to the Government, which they accused of encroaching on their privileges and showing undue favour to their Protestant fellow-subjects. But the truth is that the clergy, who had submitted without a murmur to the arbitrary regulation of their affairs by the French emperor, seem to have imagined that the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands afforded a favourable opportunity to press their claims to supreme authority. The vicar-general of Ghent demanded the re-establishment of all the ancient rights of the Romish Church—not only, as he said, the free exercise of their religion, but the restoration of ‘all the rights, privileges, exemptions, and prerogatives of the bishops, prelates, religious houses, and other institutions of every kind, as they had existed under the Austrian rule; while the king and the royal family only were to be allowed the observance of their own religious services in private.’ This extraordinary claim on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to a power independent of and, indeed, superior to the state, was, of course, utterly inadmissible. And the refusal of these unreasonable demands made the

clergy, as a body, hostile to the Government, though the king, while adhering to the policy of tolerating all sects, increased the stipends of the inferior orders of the clergy, and made provision for the aged and infirm. But his establishment of a 'philosophical college' for the instruction of the clergy, and his shutting up the seminaries instituted by the bishops, gave deep offence to the whole clerical body, and made them eager to throw off the Dutch rule. The leaders of the Liberal party, including a number of republicans and free-thinkers, sought the attainment of the same object, though for totally different reasons. They had hitherto treated the Roman Catholic system with contempt and ribaldry, and had been the bitter enemies of the priests, but they now made common cause with them in striving to obtain the redress of their grievances. When the States-General met, in 1829, petitions were presented from every district and from almost every parish, to which a million of signatures was attached, praying that steps should be taken to remedy the evils of which the whole nation complained—the partiality shown in the distribution of places and offices between the Dutchmen and the Belgians, the unwarrantable interference of the Government with the Roman Catholic schools, the restrictions on the liberty of the press, the severe punishments inflicted on persons accused of libel, the absence of responsibility on the part of Ministers, the unequal pressure of taxation, and, above all, the arbitrary imposition of the Dutch language on the whole Belgian nation, who almost all spoke the French tongue.

So strong was the feeling of the people in regard to these questions, that they returned to the Second Chamber an overwhelming majority hostile to Government, who not only rejected a law brought in by the Ministry for the regulation of the press, but even went so far as to refuse the supplies. The king, obstinate though he was, now became alive to the fact that

the high-handed manner in which he had ruled his Belgian subjects had alienated the whole nation, and seriously endangered the union of the two countries, and he instructed his Ministers to make a number of not unimportant concessions. A Belgian Minister of the Interior was introduced into the Cabinet. The proposed law of public instruction was withdrawn; the law on the regulation of the press was greatly modified; the decree enforcing the use of the Dutch language was considerably altered; and, in order to conciliate the Roman Catholics, a Belgian belonging to their church was nominated Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs. But, unfortunately, the effect of these concessions was neutralized by various arbitrary, unjust, and most injudicious measures. The royal Chamberlains and Commissioners, who had voted against the budget, were dismissed from office; a M. de Stussart, who held no public office of any kind, was for a similar reason deprived of the pension which he had enjoyed since the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands, for having acted as prefect during the time that Belgium was annexed to France. These most unwise proceedings raised a loud outcry that the Government had resolved that all Belgians who were dissatisfied with their measures were to be excluded from public employments, both civil and military. A subscription was commenced, to indemnify the officials who had been dismissed from office, which was limited to a florin from each subscriber, for the purpose of showing the strength of the party and organizing the members into a regular association. The collection was to be made throughout the whole country; and, taking a wider range as it advanced, it was intended to indemnify not only the Chamberlains and Commissioners who had already been dismissed from office, but all whose patriotism should in future expose them to the vengeance of the Dutch court.

It soon appeared that this precaution was not unnecessary. A M. de Potter,

proprietor and editor of a journal called the *Courier des Pays Bas*, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Government by his opposition to their Belgian policy. He held republican principles, and his writings were certainly of a highly inflammatory character. He had recently been tried under the arbitrary and unconstitutional law for regulating the press, and condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment, which he was still suffering. He was the author of several works on ecclesiastical history, in which he had exposed and denounced the intrigues of the Jesuits, who in turn condemned his writings as infidel and impious; but at this critical period he strongly advised that a union should be effected between the Liberals and the priests, in order that they might co-operate cordially in obtaining a redress of their grievances. From his prison he issued a recommendation that the proposed scheme of a patriotic subscription should be made the basis of a general Belgic confederation for the purpose of resisting, by strictly legal means, the unconstitutional measures of the Dutch Government, and of indemnifying citizens who should suffer for their opposition to arbitrary power. He proposed that the subscribers should select from the members of this association the candidates whom they would support as deputies to the States-General, and for all other elective offices; and that through means of this confederation the Belgian people should bring their influence to bear on the Ministry, to compel them to act within the limits of the constitution.

No sooner did M. de Potter's letter appear in his journal than the Government resolved to prosecute him and his co-proprietor or editor, M. Coche-Momens, who was immediately arrested, and along with De Potter subjected to a close and rigorous confinement on a capital charge of high treason. M. Vanderstracken, the editor of a journal called *Le Belge*, in which the project had been published; Bartels the editor, and De Neve the printer, of *Le*

Catholique, the organ of the priestly party; and an advocate called Tielmans, a friend and correspondent of De Potter—were also apprehended and imprisoned. Their private papers and correspondence were at the same time seized in the hope of finding evidence that they were engaged in a treasonable conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government.

These proceedings on the part of the Ministry naturally added fuel to the popular excitement. Nearly a thousand petitions were presented to the Second Chamber of the States-General, complaining of the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of the Government, and praying for a redress of grievances. The Liberals and the clergy united cordially in this movement, and there was scarcely a village or hamlet in the whole country which did not take part in the agitation. These petitions gave rise to a keen and protracted debate in the Chamber of Deputies—some of the Dutch members urging that the assembly should pass to the order of the day as an expression of their disapprobation of the manner in which the signatures had been obtained, as they alleged, by the intimidation and intrigues employed by the priests. But the Belgic Deputies called attention to the fact that the chief grievances complained of had long, but in vain, been brought under the notice of the Chamber; that when, in 1828, the petitioners prayed for redress, the Ministers scoffed at their small number, and now when the people had risen as one man to press the same demands, the cry of faction, intimidation, and intrigue had been raised. The contest lay between the whole Belgic nation and the men who wished to govern the country without control, and who had for years been steadily undermining the constitution; and unless they had met with the present check, would soon have left the deputies nothing to do but to vote the budget. The Chamber agreed to receive the petitions by a majority of eighty-eight to eleven, many of the Dutch members voting with the majority.

The Ministers, in their alarm and anger at M. de Potter's scheme, originally intended to bring him and his friends to trial on a charge of high treason; but finding that there was no evidence to warrant such an accusation, they abandoned the capital charge for one of sedition. The accused were tried, not by a jury, but by a court presided over by Van Maanen, and composed of judges holding office at the royal pleasure. The proceedings lasted from the 16th to the 30th of April, 1830. The only evidence adduced was the private letters of the prisoners, which the Government had intercepted at the post office, or had seized in their possession. These letters contained nothing that, by any fair interpretation or even straining, could be regarded as seditious or illegal; and only discussed such topics as the best mode of obtaining a Belgian majority in the Chambers, of organizing an opposition to the proceedings of the Ministry, and of enlightening the people on such questions as the liberty of the press, freedom of education, an equal distribution of public offices and emoluments between Belgians and Dutchmen, equality of taxation and of religious rights and privileges, and other topics relating to the general interests of the community. The court, nevertheless, found MM. de Potter, Bartels, and Tielmans guilty of a seditious conspiracy against the Government and the public tranquillity: the others were acquitted. M. de Potter was sentenced to banishment for eight years from the kingdom of the Netherlands; Bartels and Tielmans for seven years—all of them being allowed to choose their place of exile. They were refused admission to France and Prussia, and ultimately found refuge in Switzerland.

While the Belgians were in this state of chronic discontent and excitement, the French Revolution broke out, and Charles X. was expelled from his throne. The revolutionary flame speedily extended to the adjoining territory of the Netherlands, which at that time contained a large num-

ber of discontented and intriguing refugees from almost every country of Europe. French 'regicide conventionalists, exiled Napoleonists and proscribed constitutionalists, Italian carbonari, expatriated Poles, Spanish Liberals, disgraced Russians, and Irish radicals,' had all found an asylum in Brussels, and were ready to take up arms against any regular government. A riot broke out in that city on the 25th of August, which was originally directed against the 'infamous and odious' *mouture*, or tax on flour, but was speedily converted into a political movement. The houses of the editor of the *National*, a journal in the interests of the Dutch party, and of M. Van Maanen, the Minister of Justice, who was specially obnoxious to the popular party, were attacked, plundered, and set on fire. The wine and spirit shops were next broken open, and so were the shops of the gunsmiths, which were plundered of their arms. Next morning the troops were called out to disperse the rioters; but after an encounter in which several lives were lost, at the earnest request of some of the respectable inhabitants, the soldiers were withdrawn in a body to the Palace Royale, leaving the mob in possession of the city.

As might have been foreseen, the rioters, composed largely of unemployed workmen and the lowest of the rabble, proceeded to carry on the work of robbery and destruction. They attacked, pillaged, and demolished the houses of the Procureur du Roi, the Director of the Police, and the Commandant of the City, and then proceeded to enter the manufactories and destroy the machinery, while 2000 soldiers stationed in one of the public squares of the city made no attempt to interpose for its protection against the devastations of a lawless and plundering mob. At length the municipality was forced to take steps to put a stop to these outrages, and gave orders for the reorganization of the Burgher Guard. In the course of that night and the following day nearly 5000 members of this municipal force obeyed the call; and taking possession

of all the military posts of the city, they speedily suppressed the riot, though not without bloodshed.

The government of Brussels was thus, without any previous concert or design, placed in the hands of the great body of its citizens, who, having taken up arms to suppress the mob, now resolved to avail themselves of their organization to compel the Government to accede to their terms. They lost no time in issuing a formal statement of their demands, which comprised the 'entire, frank, and sincere execution of the Fundamental Law, without interpretation in favour of the Government, either by decrees, Ministerial circulars, or Cabinet rescripts,' the removal from the Ministry of the 'infamous and odious' Van Maanen, a new electoral system, the re-establishment of trial by jury, a new organization of the Justiciary Court, the responsibility of Ministers, the transference of the High Court to Belgium, the cessation of the intended prosecution of Liberal journalists, and some other reforms of a similar nature. They at the same time appointed a deputation of the principal inhabitants to proceed to the Hague to wait personally upon the king, and to point out to His Majesty the necessity of making concessions, in order to allay the public discontent. They were also to recommend the immediate convocation of the States-General. The departure of the deputation was hastened by the approach of troops, which were marching from various points on Brussels. By the 28th of August a reinforcement of 8000 men had arrived under the walls of the city; but they were induced to refrain from entering it by the urgent representations of the commander of the Burgher Guard, that if they attempted to do so the popular tumults would at once be renewed. It was therefore agreed that, 'so long as the inhabitants respect all the civil authorities and preserve good order,' the troops would not enter the city until after the return of the deputation which had been despatched to the Hague.

It is quite possible that, if the king had intimated at once his frank compliance with the demands of the citizens of Brussels, which were all just, reasonable, and moderate, the union between Belgium and Holland might even yet have been preserved; and, at all events, there is good reason to believe, that even though the union had not been maintained, his sovereignty over both kingdoms would still have been secured. But though he accepted the resignation of Van Maanen, and ordered the States-General to be convoked on the 13th of September, the king would give no satisfactory answer to the other demands of the people. With regard to Ministerial responsibility, he remarked that the Fundamental Law gave him the free choice of his Ministers, and that he could not come to any determination on the subject by constraint; that he set too much value on the honour of preserving the royal dignity to appear to yield like a person to whom a demand should be addressed with a pistol at his head. With respect to the locality of the Supreme Court, he would consider the request, and the means of reconciling all interests. As for the alleged unequal distribution of public offices, while not disputing the truth of the statements made on that point, he said that it was very difficult to divide the public offices, and that it was still more difficult to please everybody; but that he would attend to the subject as soon as good order should be re-established.

Meanwhile, the king had despatched two of his sons, the Prince of Orange and Prince Frederick, to Brussels, in the hope that their presence might induce the citizens to respect the royal authority. The former was intrusted with a peaceful commission, while the command of the army was conferred on Prince Frederick. On approaching the city they were waited on by a deputation to inform them that the Prince of Orange might enter Brussels without opposition, if he came alone; but that, if he attempted to bring a body of troops

with him, his entrance would be resisted. It was reported, probably without foundation, that the Prince refused to accept these terms, and threatened to put his army instantly in motion. It is certain that he proposed that the Burgher Guard, on his entrance, should lay aside the illegal colours and standards which they had assumed, and restore the royal insignia which had been torn down or defaced. These stipulations, however, were refused, but the Prince, notwithstanding, entered Brussels on the 1st of September, attended only by his own aide-de-camp. His passage through the streets, crowded with a turbulent mob, was attended with imminent danger, but he reached the palace in safety. The first step which he took was to appoint a committee, composed of the leading citizens, with whom he could deliberate on the grievances of which they complained. He then issued a proclamation thanking the inhabitants, in the name of the king, for the services which they had performed in the suppression of the riot and the re-establishment of order.

The deputation to the Hague returned on the 2nd of September and gave in their report, and next day the Commission appointed by the Prince of Orange finished their labours, and brought forward for the first time the demand that the union between Holland and Belgium should be dissolved, and the latter placed under its own executive, and left in possession of its own institutions—a demand which, of course, rendered the consideration of the grievances previously complained of superfluous; for, if their country obtained a separate legislature and executive, all other arrangements were in their own hands. A number of the Belgic members of the States-General, who were at this time in Brussels, on being consulted by the Prince, expressed the same opinion, with the distinct assurance, however, that they had no idea of throwing off the authority of the present reigning house. ‘We represented to His Royal Highness,’ they said, ‘that in

the agitation of people’s minds the dynasty of Nassau has not for one moment ceased to be the unanimous wish of the Belgians,’ and they assured him that if the difficulties of its situation were removed, ‘the House of Orange, henceforth free to associate itself with our wishes, might depend on the attachment and fidelity of all.’

The Prince of Orange immediately set out for the Hague, to submit this new proposal, along with the other demands of the Commission, to the king, and promising to support them with all his influence. In his absence a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of eight members, was appointed ‘to secure the preservation of the dynasty—to maintain the principle of the separation of the North and South, and to take such measures as may be necessary for the interests of commerce, manufactures, and public order.’ Meanwhile insurrections had broken out in Liege, Tournay, Mons, Bruges, and other towns, which were suppressed by the prompt action of the Civic Guard, who, however, followed the example of Brussels in demanding the entire separation of the two countries in everything but the common rule of the reigning dynasty. On the other hand, the two leading cities of Ghent and Antwerp forwarded addresses to the king, protesting against the proposed dismemberment of the kingdom.

The States-General met at the Hague on the 13th of September, and were opened by a speech from the king, in which he said that he was ‘employed in lightening the burdens of the people, when suddenly Brussels, and, following her example, several other places burst into rebellion’—an expression which gave deep offence to the citizens of the Belgian capital, and called forth an indignant remonstrance. The States-General proceeded to consider the important questions submitted to them; but their forms were cumbrous and tedious, and the Belgians became quite impatient under the delay of the decision expected from the Chambers. The populace in

Brussels, encouraged by mobs from Liege, Namur, and other towns, became more and more unmanageable, and at length broke out in open insurrection, attacked and disarmed the Burgher Guard, and seized a large quantity of arms stored in the town hall. The Committee of Public Safety was dissolved, and the mob, re-inforced by the unemployed miners and ironworkers of Liege and other seats of manufacturing industry, once more remained masters of the city.

Prince Frederick, the commander of the forces, was at Antwerp when the insurrection broke out; and on learning that the insurgent rabble had overpowered the Civic Guard, who had made themselves responsible for the maintenance of order in the city, he resolved to march on Brussels with his troops. On the 21st he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing his intention to take possession of the city, in order to put an end to the disturbances which were threatening life and destroying property, and demanding that the posts which had been held by the Burgher Guard should be given up to his soldiers. The upper classes would gladly have received the royal army into the town, as the means of putting an end to the prevailing danger and confusion; but the lower orders and the crowds of unemployed artisans, together with the armed strangers who had poured into the capital, were determined to oppose to the utmost the entrance of the troops. Preparations were made, after the example set by the citizens of Paris, for a vigorous resistance. The pavement was torn up, and barricades were formed at the gates and in the streets leading to them. Stones and other missiles were piled on the tops of the houses on both sides of the streets along which the troops would have to advance, and it was evident that possession of the city would not be gained without a keen and bloody contest.

On the morning of the 23rd the troops advanced towards the city in six divisions,

and attempted to force an entrance at six different gates of the city. The gates and the barricades erected behind them were speedily cleared away by the artillery, but when the military advanced into the city they were assailed not only by a deadly force from behind the barricades erected in the streets, but were overwhelmed by paving stones, heavy pieces of furniture, hatchets, and missiles of every sort hurled down upon them from the tops of the houses. The divisions which had entered by the Flanders gate, the Audenleucht gate, and the Lacken gate were compelled to retire after sustaining heavy losses; but the troops who attacked the Schaerbeek gate forced their way, after a keen conflict, to the park, where they took up a commanding position, and the divisions which were ordered to advance by the gates of Namur and Louvain likewise succeeded in establishing themselves within the walls, so that the upper part of the city was now in the possession of the troops. The contest lasted until five in the afternoon.

A forged proclamation, in the name of Prince Frederick, was circulated through Brussels during the night, declaring that if the troops made themselves master of the city on the following day they would be rewarded by two hours' unrestrained plunder of the inhabitants. In the excited state of the public mind the lying document was believed to be genuine, and in consequence a large number of the more respectable citizens now joined the populace in their resistance to the royal army. The contest was renewed next day with increased fury and obstinacy, but with no decisive result on either side. The reiterated attacks of the populace on the troops, which had forced their way into the city, were repulsed with heavy loss; but the soldiers were unable to advance beyond the positions which they had previously occupied. The conflict on the 25th was equally indecisive; a number of houses, however, were set on fire; and the troops, who now succeeded in making themselves masters of the street

of Louvain, were guilty of excesses which seriously injured the royal cause. The combat was renewed on the 26th and 27th; but the inhabitants, strengthened by powerful reinforcements from the neighbouring towns, repelled all the efforts of the assailants to obtain possession of the lower and crowded parts of the city. And at length, finding the attempt hopeless, the troops withdrew, and retreated to their former quarters in the neighbourhood of Vilvorde. The loss on the side of the inhabitants during these conflicts amounted to 165 killed and 375 wounded; but the insurgents, probably for the purpose of increasing the excitement against the Government, asserted that their losses were double these numbers. Of the soldiers 138 were killed and 650 wounded.

While these unhappy events were taking place, the States-General were deliberating on the questions submitted to them in the royal message; and after a debate which lasted several days, the Second Chamber resolved, on the 28th of September, by a majority of fifty to forty-four, that it was necessary to make alterations in the Fundamental Law; and they likewise decided, by fifty-five votes to forty-three, that there should be a separation between Belgium and Holland. The Dutch representatives, and indeed the great mass of the Dutch people, were by no means desirous for the continuance of the legislative union with the Belgians, who did not stand high in their estimation, and the chief opposition to the separation came from the Belgic representatives. The revolution had now, however, gone beyond any settlement on this basis; and the sanguinary conflict in the streets of the capital had so exasperated the people, that nothing short of a complete separation and a change of dynasty would satisfy them. It was announced that the House of Orange had ceased to reign in Belgium; 'that point,' it was added, 'was decided in the days of September.'

Hopes were still entertained, however, by the court that the other provinces would

exhibit greater moderation. By a decree issued on the 4th of October, the king intrusted the Prince of Orange with the temporary administration of all the southern provinces which still remained faithful to his crown, and authorized him to employ his best efforts to bring back to their allegiance the capital and the other towns that had raised the standard of rebellion. He was also empowered to form for the southern provinces a separate administration composed entirely of Belgians, of which the Prince himself was to be the head. On reaching Antwerp, on the 5th of October, the Prince issued a proclamation in which he announced that 'all places connected with this Government will be given to the inhabitants of the provinces which compose it. The greatest liberty will be left with respect to the instruction of youth, and other ameliorations will be made in accordance with the wish of the nation and the wants of the times.' The Prince followed up this proclamation by the nomination of a 'Committee of Consultation,' composed entirely of Belgians of high and popular character, to propose measures which they might think necessary to secure the object of his mission. He at the same time sent a communication to the Provisional Government of Brussels, requesting them to meet him at Antwerp in order to give him information as to the best means of satisfying the wishes of the Belgian nation. They informed him, in reply, that they had no authority to treat with him respecting the future situation of Belgium, and that this could be done only by a National Congress. Their proceedings showed that they had no wish or intention to make any arrangement with the Prince. They appointed a commission to frame a new constitution for the Belgic provinces; and on the 10th of October they decreed the assembling of a National Congress, to consist of 200 deputies, to be elected by all Belgian citizens twenty-five years of age, paying those taxes which had been fixed for the electoral colleges. The elections

were to take place on the 3rd of November, and the Congress was to assemble on the 8th.

It had now become quite apparent that the concessions offered by the Prince of Orange, ample though they were, had come too late. The clergy were bent on overthrowing the rule of a Protestant sovereign, and the Liberals apparently placed no confidence in the promises made by a king who had ruled the country in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner. The insurrection against his authority made it evident that there was no royal party among the Belgic people, and that the king had no hold upon them except by means of the troops that garrisoned the fortresses. The Belgian soldiers refused to act against their countrymen, and the Dutch portion of the army was not sufficiently numerous to maintain possession of the towns and citadels against the combined attacks of the populace and the civic guards. Ath, Mons, Namur, and Liege were delivered up in rapid succession to the insurgents. Ghent held out only till the 18th of October, and by the end of that month the whole country, including all the fortresses with the exception of Antwerp, Maestricht, the citadel of Termonde, and Luxembourg, had submitted to the Provisional Government.

The Prince of Orange, still 'hoping against hope' that a reconciliation could be effected, made one more effort to propitiate the triumphant insurgents; and on the 16th of October he issued a proclamation from Antwerp declaring the Belgians an independent nation, and placing himself at their head. He even went so far as to offer to enter into negotiations with the Provisional Government for the evacuation of Antwerp, Termonde, and Maestricht, which were still held by the Dutch garrisons. The haughty and, indeed, contemptuous reply which he received to his overtures showed that he had humbled himself in vain. The independence of the nation, he was told, had already been established by the victory of the people, and required no ratification;

and as to the Prince declaring himself their head, it was the people, and not he, who were at the head of the movement which had secured the independence of the nation. They scornfully repudiated the assumption that he had authority over any of the provinces of Belgium. They could not recognize, they said, any Government in power but those which at that moment governed the whole country. The Prince then proposed an armistice, offering at the same time to set at liberty all the prisoners in his hands. The Provisional Government told him in reply that they would not even take his proposal into consideration until he had given orders for evacuating Antwerp, Maestricht, and the citadel of Termonde, and had withdrawn his army entirely beyond the Moerdyk. And with gratuitous insolence they added, that the Prince must also give them sufficient reason to believe that these orders would be punctually executed.

The Prince, however, in his eagerness to conciliate the insurgents, had already exceeded his powers. The king entertained no intention to deliver over to the Provisional Government the fortresses which protected the frontier of his own country. He, therefore, recalled the commission which he had given to his son, as head of the Belgic administration, and gave orders that Antwerp, Maestricht, and Venloo should remain occupied by the Dutch troops. The Prince took his leave of the Belgians in a farewell address, which was at once dignified and affecting. 'I have endeavoured,' he said, 'to do you all the good that it was in my power to effect without having been able to attain the noble object to which all my efforts were directed, namely, the pacification of your five provinces. You are now going to deliberate on the interests of the country in the National Congress which is preparing. I think, then, that I have fulfilled, as far as depended on me at this moment, my duties towards you, and I intend to fulfil a very painful one by withdrawing from your country to go and

await elsewhere the issue of the political events in Belgium; but at a distance, as well as when among you, my good wishes are with you, and I shall always endeavour to contribute to your real welfare.'

The Provisional Government were now so elated by the success which had hitherto attended their operations, that though their army was little better than an undisciplined rabble, they resolved to attempt the reduction of Antwerp and the strong citadel which commanded the town. The Dutch army, after its evacuation of Brussels, had gradually fallen back on that fortress, followed by the insurgent forces, who, as they approached the town, mustered courage to attack the posts held by the Dutch troops. The movements of the latter were a good deal embarrassed by the refusal of the Belgian soldiers to act against their countrymen, and it at last became necessary to make a complete separation between them and the Dutch, and no longer to allow them to appear in the ranks. Though awed by the presence of the garrison, a considerable portion of the citizens sympathized with the popular movement, and plainly indicated their intention to assist the insurgent army in their operations for the reduction of the city and the citadel. A riot broke out in the streets, which led to some loss of life; and General Chassè, the military governor, declared the city in a state of siege, and warned the inhabitants to lay in a supply of provisions for a month.

The insurgent forces arrived under the walls of Antwerp on the 25th of October, and a stubborn fight took place in the suburbs between them and the garrison. The conflict was renewed on the following day, and the populace taking part in the struggle, overpowered and disarmed some of the Dutch posts. Next day, in the heat of the fight, the insurgent citizens succeeded in carrying one of the gates and giving admission to the whole insurgent army. General Chassè on this withdrew his troops and retired into the citadel. The insurgents, being quite aware that the city

was at his mercy, agreed to a convention for a suspension of arms. The Dutch commander bound himself to remain quietly within the citadel, and the insurgents, on the other hand, came under an obligation to attack neither the citadel nor the arsenal, both of which were to remain in the undisturbed possession of the troops. The convention had scarcely been concluded, however, when the insurgents, probably imagining that General Chassè would be reluctant to fire upon the town, in open violation of their agreement, made an attack upon the arsenal and burst open one of its gates by cannon-shot. The old Dutch veteran was not inclined patiently to suffer such treatment, which was both treacherous and dangerous. He replied to this violation of the convention by opening from the citadel and the frigates in the river a cannonade upon the city, which was set on fire in several places by the bombs and red-hot shells which he threw into it. A number of houses were burned, and a considerable quantity of merchandise was destroyed. After the bombardment had lasted till late at night, the insurgents, finding that they were helpless to protect the city against the attacks of the garrison, were fain to solicit an armistice, which was readily granted, for three days. But it led to an agreement by which General Chassè engaged to confine himself to the citadel and arsenal, and the insurgent forces became bound to quit the city. The Belgians were loud in their complaints against General Chassè for his barbarity in bombarding a defenceless city; but the verdict of the European public decided that they alone were to blame for their bad faith in violating the terms of the convention.

Meanwhile the five Powers who created the united kingdom of the Netherlands were viewing the outbreak and its results with great interest and anxiety. The three northern Powers would willingly have interposed and compelled the Belgians to accede to the equitable and reasonable terms now offered by Holland; but they

were apprehensive, and not without good reason, that if this had been done, France would have eagerly availed herself of the opportunity to interfere for the protection of the Belgians, in the hope that the result of a war would be the annexation of Belgium to the French territories. One party of the insurgents, indeed, openly declared that the interests of the country required its union to France. Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction, that in order to prevent Belgium from becoming a French province, it was necessary to contrive a plan for giving it a separate existence. The King of the Netherlands himself naturally appealed to the allied Powers who had formed his kingdom to maintain it for him, and they agreed to interpose their good offices by negotiation to bring about a peaceable settlement of the questions at issue between Belgium and Holland. Their first object was to obtain a cessation of hostilities, which was agreed to on the 20th of November, and was succeeded on the 5th of December by an armistice—the conditions being that the forces of each country should withdraw within the limits they possessed previous to their union.

The five Powers then resolved to hold a Conference in London, in order to settle the complicated arrangements which had to be made for the separation of the two countries. They had a very delicate and difficult task to perform. Not only had the form of government—republican or monarchical for the new state—to be determined with their sanction; but they had to decide upon the boundaries of the two kingdoms, to settle the navigation of the Scheldt, the division of the public debt, the guardianship or demolition of the fortresses on the French frontier, which Belgium by itself could not adequately defend, and various other intricate questions of the same sort. In the meantime the National Congress had been installed at Brussels on the 10th of November. It was composed, in tolerably fair proportions, of the nobility and clergy, merchants, lawyers, and landed proprietors.

Baron Surlet de Chokier was elected President. The members of the Provisional Government resigned their authority into the hands of the Congress; but were requested to resume their offices until it should be decided what form of government was to be permanently established in the country. It was then proposed that the Congress should declare Belgium independent—avowedly for the purpose of putting an end at once to the movement in favour of a union with France. The motion was adopted in the following words:—‘The National Congress proclaims the independence of the Belgian people, saving the relations of Luxembourg with the Germanic Diet.’

The next question to be considered was the form of their Government. A small but active and noisy section, headed by De Potter, who had returned from exile, declared themselves in favour of a republic. One member avowed that he preferred the republican form of government, because it would speedily lead to a union with France. An Abbe, named De Hearne, expressed a similar opinion, because he thought this form the most favourable to the Catholic religion. Finding themselves in a very small minority in the Congress, the republicans insisted that the question regarding the form of government to be instituted should be decided by an appeal to the people—a proposal which was indignantly rejected. When the question was put to the vote 174 declared themselves in favour of a hereditary monarchy, and only thirteen for a republic. This result was mainly due to the conviction that any other decision would have embroiled them with the allied Powers, and especially with the French Court and Government, who were at this time greatly troubled by the intrigues of the republican party. M. Van de Weyer, a young Belgian lawyer, on whose ability and judgment Lord Palmerston pronounced a high eulogium, and who afterwards rose to great eminence in the Ministry, pleaded earnestly that the Prince of Orange should

be the head of the new state, if he would consent to withdraw altogether from his connection with Holland and become exclusively the sovereign of Belgium. This proposal met with the cordial approbation of the European monarchs, and of Lord Palmerston. But the tide of public feeling in Belgium itself ran strongly against it, and after a discussion, which lasted two days, the Congress adopted by an overwhelming majority (161 votes to 28) a resolution declaring that 'all the members of the Orange Nassau family are for ever excluded from all power in Belgium.' They then proceeded to frame the various articles of the constitution, the most important of which were the declaration that the head of the State was hereditary and inviolable, but that his Ministers were personally responsible for every act they should countersign; that the king should have the command of the army, and the power of declaring war, and of making treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce. He was to enjoy the prerogative of convoking the Chambers, and of closing the session, but the Chambers were to assemble by right on the 5th of November every year. He might dissolve the Elective Chamber, but the Act of Dissolution was to convoke the electors within forty days, and the Chambers within two months. The Civil List was to be fixed at the commencement of a reign, but every other part of the public expenditure was to be voted annually. The Chamber of Deputies was to consist of 100 members, chosen by popular election; the precise nature of the franchise, however, was left to be determined by a future law.

The constitution of the new state having been thus arranged, and the form of government settled, the Congress proceeded to consider who should be selected as the future sovereign of the country. In regard to this matter there was an endless diversity of opinion. Some proposed the Prince of Capua, brother to the king of the Two Sicilies; others the Duke of Nemours,

a younger son of Louis Philippe, king of France; others declared themselves in favour of Sebastiani, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs; others even of Chateaubriand. Some pressed the claims of a prince from the royal family of Sweden; some called for the Prince of Savoy-Carignan; some for the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon; some for the Pope; some for an Austrian archduke. Prince Otho of Bavaria had a good many supporters; but the favourite candidate was the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugene Beauharnais, and a relation of the royal house of Bavaria as well as of the Bonaparte family.

The Congress soon learned that their choice of a ruler must be made in conformity to the wishes of the conference of the five Powers. France made it known that if the choice should fall on the Duke of Leuchtenberg, she would not recognize him as sovereign, and that England would adopt the same course. It was evident that to elevate to the throne of Belgium a member of the family of Napoleon, would be dangerous to the throne of the French king; and Louis Philippe declared in the most explicit terms his determination to oppose an arrangement at once most disagreeable to France, and the least favourable to the tranquillity and independence of the Belgians. The Congress complained loudly of this tyrannical interference with their national affairs, and their rights as an independent state; but found it prudent to relinquish their project, though their next proposal was not a whit more judicious. A majority of the Congress agreed to offer the crown to the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe. There can be no doubt, as was shown by his proceedings in the case of Spain, that the French king would gladly have allowed his son to close with this tempting offer, which would have made Belgium virtually a part of France—a result which was eagerly desired by the French people at this juncture. But he was well aware that the other European Powers would have recourse to arms rather

than permit this proposal to be carried into effect; and having received an unmistakable warning from Lord Palmerston, he instructed Sebastiani, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, to inform the Congress that the proffered crown would not be accepted. The king, he said, 'cannot consent to the re-union of Belgium to France. He will not accept the crown for the Duke of Nemours, even were it offered to him by the Congress.' This explicit intimation led to another outburst of indignation on the part of the Belgic Congress. It was pretended, among other absurd allegations, that this intervention was part of a plot to bring back the House of Orange; and they determined to act on their own notions with respect to the choice of a sovereign. On the day of election three candidates were proposed, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and the Austrian Archduke Charles. Ninety-seven votes were given for the Duke of Nemours, seventy-four for the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and twenty-one for the Archduke. The conference of the five Powers, in London, made the Congress aware that the proffered crown would certainly be rejected; and that if they were to fall back on the Duke of Leuchtenberg, none of the great Powers would recognize him. The Congress, in very offensive terms, expressed their disbelief of these assertions, and sent a deputation of two members to Paris to inform the French king of the promotion intended for his son. But they were informed by His Majesty that his regard for the peace of Europe, and the happiness of its nations, rendered it imperative that this honour should be declined.

This apparently decisive and definite rejection of the proffered crown would in all probability have put an end to any further attempt to bring France and Belgium into a closer connection, had it not been for the intrigues of the French ministers, who secretly encouraged the Belgians to insist on following the course they had adopted. 'Talleyrand sounded me as to my agreeing to naming the Duke

de Nemours king of the Belgians,' wrote Lord Palmerston on February 1, to Lord Granville, our ambassador at Paris. 'I told him we should look upon it as a union with France, and nothing else, and it was for France to consider *all* the consequences which such a departure from all her engagements must necessarily expose her to. The other three Powers are quite unanimous on the subject; and I must say that if the choice falls on Nemours, and the king of the French accepts, it will be a proof that the policy of France is like an infection clinging to the walls of the dwelling, and breaking out on every successive occupant who comes within their influence.'

The conference had formally agreed, on the 20th of January, 'not to seek any increase of territory, any exclusive influence, any separate advantage in the arrangements respecting Belgium;' and Lord Palmerston, the British plenipotentiary, observed that 'any separate arrangements respecting Belgium would seem also to impose on them the obligation to reject any offers that might be made by the Congress at Brussels in favour of any prince of the reigning houses of those states whose representatives are now assembled in London;' and he proposed to the Conference to declare in a protocol, that in case the sovereignty of Belgium should be offered to a prince of one of the reigning families of the five Powers, such offer should be unhesitatingly rejected. It was a suspicious circumstance that while the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, and Russia unanimously agreed in this opinion, and declared themselves ready to enter in the name of their courts into the engagement proposed, the plenipotentiary of France took the question *ad referendum*, in order to receive the orders of his court. This was the more noticed since the previous letter of Sebastiani, the French Foreign Minister, stated plainly that the crown, if offered to the Duke of Nemours, would not be accepted. The British Cabinet on this took up the

matter promptly and firmly, and resolved to require from France the fulfilment of the engagement by a refusal to accept for the Duke the crown if offered. 'We could not,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'submit to the placing of the Duke de Nemours on the throne of Belgium without danger to the safety and a sacrifice of the honour of the country. We are willing to recognize Belgium as independent, and assist her in remaining so, provided she will be so in reality; but union with France we cannot permit, because it would give to France an increase of power dangerous to our security. We know we should have to fight France after such a union; and we had better, therefore, do so before it.' On the receipt of Lord Palmerston's official despatch, intimating the decision of the British Cabinet, 'a change of tone, of temper, and of language,' says Lord Granville, 'instantly took place in the French ministry; and the positive refusal of the king to consent to the acceptance of the Belgian crown by his son was intimated to our ambassador in the course of a few hours.'

But the hankering after the establishment of French influence in Belgium was by no means at an end. Louis Philippe, who was always noted for his eagerness to promote the interests of his family, now brought forward as a candidate for the crown his nephew, Prince Charles of Naples, a youth of nineteen; and a hope was expressed that Britain would, 'as an act of friendship and kindness towards the king and Government, consent to this arrangement.' 'The Palais Royal,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'are so intent upon putting this Prince of Naples upon the throne, that there is nothing they will not promise to induce the Belgians to elect him. They will engage that an Orleans princess shall be his wife; they will, notwithstanding the protocol of January 20th, promise to support the Belgians in their demand of Luxembourg, Limburg, and the left bank of the Scheldt, and Maestricht.' They also promised their aid for a more favourable

arrangement of the public debt. The French Government were all the while incessant and uniform in their assurances of friendship and peace. But as Lord Palmerston somewhat indignantly remarked, 'If they are straightforward in their intentions, why cannot they be so in their proceedings? Why such endless intrigues and plots, and such change of plans, all tending to the same object—the establishing in Belgium that influence which they have renounced in the 20th January protocol? If the Neapolitan prince is elected freely by Belgium of its own accord, well and good; but if he is to be placed there by a French intrigue, and being nephew to Louis Philippe, is also to be his son-in-law, there would be little difference between such an arrangement and that of the Duke de Nemours.' The scheme was received with marked disapprobation by the plenipotentiaries of the other Powers, as well as by the representative of the British Government; while it does not appear to have been entertained with much favour by the Belgians. It was therefore speedily laid aside.

On the final rejection of the crown by the Duke of Nemours, the Belgian Congress resolved to elect a Regent who should, in the meantime, act as the head of the Government. Their choice fell on Baron Erasmus Surlet de Chokier, their president, and the head of the late deputation to Paris; but he possessed no real authority or power to control the irregular and imprudent acts of the members of the Congress. 'What was called a Government,' indeed, 'was neither loved, respected, nor feared.' There was no proper protection for either property or persons; and the democratic clubs were far more powerful than the legislature or the law.

In the meantime the Conference of London was engaged in arranging the 'bases of separation.' Having compelled both sides to consent to a suspension of arms, they proceeded to the settlement of the disputed matters between the Dutch

court and the Provisional Government at Brussels. The two most difficult points were the apportionment of the public debt, and the settlement of the territorial boundaries. In regard to the latter, the Belgians claimed not only the province of Limburg, but the left bank of the Scheldt below Antwerp, and the whole of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which was a constituent part of the Germanic Confederation, and was never incorporated with the kingdom of Holland, much less with Belgium. The Conference, however, was not disposed to pay any respect to such exaggerated and unwarrantable claims. On the 20th of January they issued a protocol containing 'the fundamental bases' on which the treaty of separation was to be founded. It was agreed that Holland should comprise all the territories which had belonged to the United Provinces in 1760, while Belgium was to consist of the other territories which had been formed in 1815 into the kingdom of the Netherlands, with the exception of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, 'which being possessed by the Princes of the House of Nassau, under a different title, forms part, and will continue to form part, of the Germanic Confederation.' As this division of the former kingdom would give to each of the states portions of territory isolated in the territories of the other, the five Powers were to arrange such exchanges as would give continuity of possession and a free communication to both. The streams and rivers traversing the territories of the respective states were to be subject to the general act of the Congress of Vienna relative to the free navigation of rivers. Lastly, it was settled that Belgium, thus defined, 'shall form a state perpetually neutral, the five Powers guaranteeing to it that perpetual neutrality, as well as the inviolability and integrity of its territory.' Another protocol of the 27th of January embodied these territorial arrangements in an annex of twenty-four articles, entitled 'Bases destined to establish the separation of Belgium from Holland,' and prescribed

the manner in which the public debt was to be apportioned. It declared that $\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{1}$ parts should be paid by Holland and $\frac{1}{3}\frac{6}{1}$ by Belgium, and that, in consideration of this division, the inhabitants of Belgium should participate in the trade with the colonies belonging to Holland, on the same footing and with the same rights and advantages as the inhabitants of that country. Further, that the port of Antwerp should, in conformity with Article XV. of the Treaty of Paris of May 30th, 1814, continue to be solely a port of commerce.

The King of Holland gave in his adherence to these arrangements on the 28th of February; but the Belgian Congress protested vehemently against them as unwarrantable and unjust, and reiterated their demands for a large extension of territory and a diminution of the amount of the debt allotted to them. The Conference answered in very pointed terms the Belgian protest, which publicly avowed a desire to respect neither the possessions nor the rights of neighbouring states, exposing the folly and absurdity of the demands of the Congress, and the 'nullity of its pretensions.' 'Moreover,' they said, 'all that Belgium could require she has obtained—separation from Holland—independence—external safety—guarantee of her territory and neutrality—the free navigation of the rivers that serve as the channel of her commerce, and peaceable enjoyment of her national liberties.' The Conference then proceeded to re-enact the bases already laid down, and to declare, 'that it remains understood, as it has been from the beginning, that the arrangements resolved on by the protocol of January 20, 1831, are fundamental and irrevocable.'

The anger of the Congress at this peremptory rejection of their unreasonable demands was violent in the extreme. The policy they pursued was to adopt whatever concessions the Conference made in favour of their own pretensions, but to declare in every other case that the Conference had merely the power to make proposals, and not

to establish conditions—refusing to receive any representations as to the choice of a king, or any decision as to the limitation of territory, assuming that the territory which the Belgian Congress had declared to be Belgian was to be Belgian as a matter of course. When this was refused they set both Holland and the Congress at defiance. The Belgian Regent issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Luxembourg, calling upon them to throw off the yoke of the Dutch Government, and assuring them that Belgium would remain true to their cause. The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that war was inevitable, for it was a point of honour to defend Luxembourg, as the constitution which the Congress had adopted considered Luxembourg as part of Belgium. It was even proposed in Congress that the Government should inform the King of Holland that, if he did not, within a month, renounce the possession of Limburg, Luxembourg, the left bank of the Scheldt, and the citadel of Antwerp, he should be compelled to do so by force of arms. And this ridiculous threat was made at a time when Belgium had not a regiment which would have looked Dutch troops in the face—when the Treasury was empty, the taxes unpaid, and their Ministers could not borrow a shilling in the European money market.

The Belgian Government was now, indeed, utterly powerless—the clubs and the populace were the real rulers of the country. Riots broke out in the capital and all the other large towns, and gross outrages were perpetrated on the respectable citizens, and on all who had incurred the displeasure or suspicion of the mob. A large number of the members of Congress resigned, and the country seemed about to fall into a state of complete anarchy. It was evident that the obstinacy and folly of the Belgian Congress had to no small extent arisen from their reliance on the support of France. But at this juncture the French Premier, M. Lafitte, resigned, and his successor, Casimir Pèrier repudiated at once

the ‘double diplomacy, double-dealing, infirmity of purpose, and want of principle,’ displayed by his predecessor, and made the Belgians clearly understand ‘that France thought the limits drawn by the Conference equitable and just, and that she would give the Belgians no support, moral or physical, in their attempts upon the Dutch territory.’ The knowledge that France was now acting honestly and cordially with the other Powers contributed not a little to dash the hopes and moderate the language of the Belgian Government and Congress; and the Conference, and especially the French plenipotentiary, seem now to have imagined that, if the Belgians could be brought to elect Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had been first thought of, as their king, the questions in dispute might be amicably settled.

At this juncture Lord Ponsonby, the British Minister at Brussels, wrote to Lord Palmerston that the assent of Belgium would be greatly facilitated if the five Powers would support it in an effort to obtain Luxembourg for an indemnity; and the Conference acting on this information, in a protocol of the 21st May, authorized Lord Ponsonby to declare that though the five Powers would not enlarge the time for Belgium accepting the bases already settled, yet ‘they would open a negotiation with the King of the Netherlands in order to secure if possible to Belgium, for a just compensation, the possession of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, preserving always its relations to the Germanic Confederation.’ But they still insisted on the unqualified accession of Belgium to the ‘bases of separation’ as an indispensable condition even to the opening of such a negotiation with Holland, and intimated that if the assent of Belgium to the conditions now stated was not given by the 1st of June, the dispositions of the protocol of the 10th of May would forthwith be carried out.

Some of the French Ministers continued still to show a hankering after some part of the Netherlands, however small, and hinted

that they would like to obtain Landau and Bouillon. On the 29th of March Talleyrand read to Lord Palmerston a despatch from the French Foreign Minister, saying that France would support Prince Leopold as a candidate for the crown, and that he had no doubt that England, for the sake of an agreement so advantageous to her, would consent to all the French wishes about Bouillon, and Luxembourg, and Maestricht, &c. Palmerston informed him that the election of Leopold, which had been suggested by France, not by England, was a matter of comparative indifference to the British Government, and would make no change whatever in their opinions and determinations; and that they should not be a whit more inclined to support the unreasonable pretensions of the Belgians with Leopold than without him. An agent of Soult, one of the members of the French Cabinet at this time, came over to London authorized to say that Soult was determined to get possession of Belgium; and that in order to detach Britain from the other Powers, and to persuade her to consent to the views of France, they were prepared to offer her Antwerp and Ostend, and would make any arrangement almost that would be agreeable to her, but consistent with their views. This dishonest intrigue, which there is good reason to believe was carefully concealed from Pèrier, of course utterly failed of its object.

Though the British Government had positively refused to make any concessions to Belgium in the event of Prince Leopold's election, the Belgians evidently hoped that by taking this step they would promote the objects on which their hearts were set; and they despatched deputies to London to ascertain what course Leopold would be likely to take if the crown should be offered to him. He informed them that he could come to no decision on their proposition until they had come to an agreement about limits with the five Powers. 'Leopold is quite right,' wrote Palmerston to Granville, 'not to accept until he knows what it is

that is offered to him. Were he to go now, he would be like Miguel, recognized by nobody; and, in fact, they offer him not a throne so much as a quarrel with all Europe, and complete uncertainty of ever getting out of it.'

The protocol of the 21st of May had expressly declared that if the unqualified accession of Belgium to the conditions laid down in the 'bases of separation' should not be intimated by the 1st of June, all communication between the five Powers and Belgium was to cease. When that day arrived, no such intimation had been made, and Lord Ponsonby and General Belliard, the French Commissioner, accordingly quitted Brussels. 'People all say the Belgians are madmen,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'and there is no use in reasoning with them. I have observed a good deal of method and calculation in their madness, and, at all events, they are not destitute of that cunning which belongs to insanity. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that when they find that we are really in earnest, and that they have driven us to the extreme point to which we will go, they will gradually recover their senses and find out a way to arrange matters somehow or other.' So it proved.

On the 1st of June the Congress, though they still refused to accede to the articles of separation, passed a decree authorizing the Government to open negotiations for the purpose of terminating all questions relative to territory by means of pecuniary sacrifices. They then determined to proceed immediately to the choice of a sovereign, and on the 4th of June they elected Prince Leopold. No other candidate was named, and a deputation of ten members was despatched to London to offer His Royal Highness the crown. Although at this very time the Conference, in reply to the remonstrances of Holland against entertaining the proposal to make the transfer of Luxembourg to Belgium the subject of 'negotiation,' had reiterated their adherence to the provisions of the protocol of May 21st, the Belgian

deputies evidently expected that the conditions would now be modified in their favour, and their expectations were not wholly disappointed. A new series of negotiations was commenced in London, avowedly for the purpose of inducing Prince Leopold to accept the crown. On the 26th of June Leopold informed the Belgian deputation that he had at last resolved to comply with their invitation, having received from the Conference a protocol termed 'Preliminaries,' the terms of a new treaty to be concluded between Belgium and Holland, which had removed his scruples.

In these 'Preliminaries' the express declaration that Luxembourg belonged to Holland, because held by the king as Grand Duke and a member of the Germanic Confederation, was omitted; even Maestricht, which Lord Palmerston declared to the Belgian envoy to be 'an indispensable protection to Holland in the valley of the Meuse, and never can be surrendered to Belgium,' which, indeed, had not the shadow of claim to it, was now to be left for future discussion and arrangement. Besides other changes in the terms which had been declared final and irrevocable, Belgium was set free from the obligation to accept the original bases before she could be received into political relations with the five Powers. No wonder that these 'Preliminaries' were accepted by the Belgic Congress in defiance of the clubs and the populace, and that Holland peremptorily refused to accede to them; though the Conference despatched to the Hague M. Weissenberg, a plenipotentiary of Austria, to explain and justify their conduct. The king took his stand, as he was entitled to do, on the original propositions of the Conference, which they had repeatedly confirmed and declared to be 'fundamental and irrevocable,' and demanded their fulfilment. It was expressly stipulated that the proposed preliminaries were to be null and void if rejected in whole or in part by Holland or by Belgium; and as Holland now rejected them entirely, they of course fell to the

ground. The original bases of separation thus remained in full force, and the five Powers were bound by their own agreement to perform their engagements. But in their eagerness to induce Leopold to accept the crown and to bring their protracted and troublesome negotiations to a close, they authorized the Prince to take possession of the throne without exacting his compliance with one of the conditions which they were pledged to enforce, and with a confident expectation, on his part, that the modified propositions would now be substituted in their room. He accordingly set out for his new kingdom; and travelling by way of Calais, Ostend, Ghent, and Bruges, he reached Brussels on the 19th of July, and two days later was formally installed King of the Belgians, taking the oath required by the constitution, swearing to observe the laws of the country, and 'to maintain the national independence and the integrity of the territory,' in which Luxembourg was included. It is not easy to reconcile this proceeding with the approbation bestowed by Lord Palmerston on Leopold's refusal to accept the crown until the Belgians had acceded to the articles of separation, and with his lordship's explicit statement to D'Arschot, the Belgian envoy, that 'their constitution, as they will call it, declares part of Holland and all Luxembourg to be parts of their territory, and requires their king, as his first act, to swear to maintain the integrity of their territory; these claims must be given up before anything can be acknowledged by the five Powers, and therefore they would make the king swear one day an oath which he must necessarily break the next.'

It might have been foreseen that such treatment would not be patiently submitted to by a nation like the Dutch, proud of its historical renown, smarting under the injustice done to them, and governed by a sovereign 'obstinate by character, and rendered more so by the conviction that right was on his side.' On the 1st of August he declared the armistice between

Belgium and Holland at an end, and on the same day he forwarded a despatch to the five Powers, stating that while he was still willing to negotiate a definite treaty on the terms which they had prescribed and he had accepted, 'he was determined on supporting these negotiations by military measures—a determination which the recent events in Belgium had rendered imperative since a prince had put himself in possession of the sovereignty of that country without having previously fulfilled the conditions established by the Conference, and had taken an unrestricted oath to a constitution derogatory to the territorial rights of Holland.' His operations were only to be 'for the purpose of arriving at that state of things which the act of separation had acknowledged to be just and convenient.'

This announcement took the Conference by surprise, and placed them in a very awkward and unpleasant predicament, as they probably foresaw the result of this attempt on the part of Holland to compel by force the execution of the terms which the Conference had declared to be the only terms that they considered reasonable and just. The King of Holland was as prompt as he was decided in his measures. One division of the Belgian troops was concentrated at Mechlin, to which Leopold had repaired in person. The main body, called the army of the Meuse, under the command of General Daine, was stationed near Hasselt. The principal division of the Dutch forces, commanded by the Prince of Orange, entered Belgium in the direction of Turnhout and Diest, and made themselves masters of Diest without resistance; then taking up a position which completely prevented the junction of the two Belgian divisions, they attacked the army of the Meuse on the 8th, and put it to an instantaneous and disgraceful rout. The 'brave Belgians,' who had been clamouring for war and threatening hostilities against the Dutch if they did not at once comply with the demands made on them, fled almost without firing a shot, as they did at Waterloo, and neither

the General nor his troops halted in their flight until they reached Liege, having been altogether cut off from Brussels. The victors immediately turned towards the capital, which had now no protection except the troops stationed at Mechlin. On learning the defeat of the army of the Meuse, Leopold took up a position in front of Louvain to cover Brussels. But on the 12th his position was turned, and an attack of the Dutch compelled him to make a hasty retreat. While one division cut him off from the capital, the main body followed him to Louvain. At this juncture a British messenger met the Prince of Orange, bringing the intelligence that the French had entered Belgium to support the new king, and requesting a suspension of hostilities. The Prince refused to consent except on condition that Louvain should be surrendered; and without loss of time attacked the Belgians in a new and strong position which they had taken up in front of Louvain. They were driven from one point to another, and were at last compelled to evacuate the town at once. Louvain was accordingly surrendered to the Dutch next day, and the short but decisive campaign terminated. A large division of the French army was by this time in the vicinity of Brussels, prepared to enforce the decision of the Conference; and the Prince of Orange, in obedience to orders from the Hague, withdrew his forces within the Dutch frontiers. It had, however, been made evident to all Europe, that if Holland and Belgium had been allowed to settle their own affairs, the former would have brought matters to a much more speedy conclusion than the Conference had been able to do.

As soon as Lord Palmerston heard of the march of the Dutch army he wrote, 'The great thing to be done now is to prevail on the French Government to prevent the French soldiers from running into Belgium.' But the step which he had deprecated took place at once, as he suspected. The French soldiers did run into Belgium, and thereby caused great excitement and uneasiness. The

plenipotentiaries of the other four Powers received a positive assurance from the French Ministers that their troops would return as soon as the Dutch quitted Belgium, and the Conference on this agreed to issue a protocol on the 6th of August, stating that, 'on the one hand, France had, in coming to the determination which she had adopted, not had time to comply with the obligation, which she wished to fulfil, of concerting measures with her allies; but that, on the other, she manifested her determination only to have recourse to these measures for the execution of the engagements entered into by the five Powers with respect to the maintenance of the armistice between Holland and Belgium, and not with any object personal to France. Moreover, it was agreed that the French troops should retire within the limits of France as soon as the armistice shall have been re-established as it existed before the renewal of hostilities.' But indications speedily appeared that the 'political intermittent fever, which had so long hung about the French Government, still afflicted them,' and the spirit of aggression and ardent thirst for aggrandizement, as Lord Palmerston termed it, led the French Ministers to seek to avail themselves of the state of affairs in Belgium to resume their 'underhand intrigues and double diplomacy.' Six days after the protocol of August 6 had been signed by Talleyrand, the French plenipotentiary, another meeting of the Conference was held, and while waiting till the rest should arrive, that astute diplomatist took occasion to say to Bulow, the Prussian representative, that 'Belgium could not go on as it was; that Leopold is a poor creature, and unfit to be a king; the Belgians a set of cowardly vagabonds, unworthy to be independent; that we have got into a difficulty that threatens to upset either the French or the English Ministry; that if the French troops retire, there is an end of Pèrier; and if they do not, the English Government must fall, and that there is but one solution of these difficulties, and that is partition;

that if France, Prussia, and Holland united the thing would be simple, and England must be contented with the making Antwerp a free port. He dwelt at some length upon this, his old and favourite project, till their conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the other plenipotentiaries.'

An unpleasant discussion had for some time been carried on between the French Ministry and the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia respecting the dismantling of the fortresses which protected the frontier of the Netherlands. These fortresses were built by the money of the allies, and were intended as a check and barrier against aggression by France. But after the neutrality and inviolability of Belgium had been acknowledged and guaranteed by France, as well as by the other Powers, the Conference was unanimously of opinion that the new situation in which Belgium would be placed ought to change the system of military defence that had been adopted for the kingdom of the Netherlands, that the fortresses in question would be too numerous not to make it difficult for the Belgians to provide for their maintenance and defence, and that, in consequence, a part of these fortresses might be razed. The reason why this resolution was adopted, though not expressed, was quite well understood, and was simply to prevent them falling into the hands of France upon the first rupture that might take place. Sebastiani and Talleyrand earnestly urged that France should be a party to the discussion which of the fortresses were to be dismantled and which kept up; but this pretension was firmly rejected. 'It would, indeed,' as Lord Palmerston remarked, 'have been a strange and an anomalous proceeding to have invited the expected invader to deliberate in Council upon the best means of providing a defence against his possible attack. How could France be expected to concur sincerely with the other Powers in dismantling those fortresses which could least effectually stop her army, and which would first fall

into her hands in case of war, and in leaving those which could be most useful in checking her advance, and which would be the last to be reduced by her arms? There is the most palpable incongruity in the very notion itself.'

The French Ministry were very angry at this firm rejection of their preposterous demand; and when they were called on to fulfil their promise to withdraw their troops from Belgium, they intimated that an arrangement must be made about the fortresses before the French army would entirely evacuate that country. To this claim Lord Palmerston returned a positive and, indeed, indignant refusal. 'We wish,' he said, 'some of these fortresses to be dismantled as much as they do, and it *will* be done. If they want only dramatic effect, and to be able to say that the French army did not retire from Belgium till the Powers of Europe had named the fortresses to be demolished, that may suit them, but it does not suit us; it may be very useful to Pèrier's Government, and highly gratifying to the good people of Paris, but it will be so at the expense of the administration of Lord Grey, and of the just pride of the English nation, to say nothing about the other three. We fully mean to dismantle many of these Belgian fortresses; but we will never endure that France should dictate to us in this matter at the point of the bayonet.' The French Government, however, and their plenipotentiary, returned to the charge again and again with the most persistent importunity; but Lord Palmerston held firmly to the position which he had taken up. These fortresses, he reiterated, were never intended for aggression against France; but, in the opinion of the highest military authority, they are indispensable for the defence of Belgium against France, and it would be preposterous to permit the selection of the places to be dismantled to be made by that very France whose aggression they were destined to prevent. 'There really would be something in the proceeding so utterly repugnant to common sense, and

so incompatible with the condition of an independent nation, that it is quite and entirely impossible.' In the end, the French Government were obliged to withdraw their troops unconditionally; and on the 30th of September, Belgium was entirely evacuated. On the 14th of December following, a definite convention respecting the destruction of the fortresses was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the four Powers; and after a careful consideration of the whole circumstances, it was agreed to demolish Menin, Ath, Mons, Philippeville, and Marienburg, 'the last two of which the French had first wished to acquire, and then desired to have left, with a wish (not improbably) of subsequently obtaining them.' The whole of the correspondence on this subject shows in a very painful light that eager desire for conquest, aggrandizement, and military glory which, from the time of the first Revolution, has distinguished the French nation and their rulers, as well as the unscrupulous means they take to gain their ends, and the underhand intrigues and tortuous diplomacy by which they have sought to conceal their schemes. There is reason to fear that the terrible calamities which have thus been brought upon their country have not even yet eradicated these vices from the national character.

The settlement of the dispute between Holland and Belgium seemed as far off as ever. The Dutch Government, as we have seen, had acceded to the first plan of separation, while the Belgians obstinately and violently refused their assent. In order to facilitate the election of Prince Leopold, the Conference had altered their original stipulations, as contained in twenty-four articles which they had declared to be irrevocable, and had adopted a new basis of separation contained in eighteen. To these the Belgian Congress were persuaded, with great difficulty, to agree; but Holland firmly refused her consent. The inroad of the Dutch army, and the ignominious defeat of the Belgians, had completely obliterated the

effect of the expulsion of the Dutch from Belgium by the successful revolution, and had shown that with little more than half the population Holland was decidedly superior to her rival in military power, organization, and generalship. It was evidently a difficult and a dangerous task to compel such a country to accede to a treaty which she had repudiated from the first, and which differed in various important points from the terms which the Conference had pronounced equitable and fundamental. It had clearly become necessary once more to modify the articles of separation; and the Conference resolved to take the settlement of the case into their own hands, and to make the acceptance of the terms they now proposed compulsory by both parties. The left bank of the Scheldt and Maestricht were still assigned to Holland, along with Venloo, as had been originally proposed; the navigation of the Scheldt was to be regulated according to the general Act of the Congress of Vienna; and Belgium was to have the right of navigating certain canals which lay wholly within the Dutch territory. Luxembourg was to be divided, and Holland was to receive, as 'a territorial indemnity' for the part she relinquished, a portion of the province of Limburg which had been originally assigned to Belgium, but which contained a population less by 50,000 than the territory that Holland was required to surrender. In apportioning the debt, the Conference made an alteration favourable to Belgium in the arrangement originally prescribed by them. The interest of the debt, which had been incurred since the Union, was to be divided equally between Holland and Belgium. The debt that had existed before the Union was allotted to Belgium, which was also required to pay an additional sum of 650,000 florins in consideration of 'the advantages of navigation and commerce which Holland is called on to concede, and the sacrifices of various kinds to which on her side the separation leads.' The result was that of 27,700,000 florins of interest annually paid

by the kingdom of the Netherlands before the separation, Belgium was in future to pay only 8,400,000. The conditions now prescribed by the Conference were to be inserted *verbatim* in a direct treaty between Holland and Belgium, placed under the formal guarantee of the five Powers. They were declared to be 'the final and irrevocable decisions of the five Powers, who of common accord are resolved to bring about their full and entire acceptance by any party adverse to them.'

It appeared at first as if these conditions would be rejected by both parties. The Belgian Congress were indignant at the refusal of the Conference to comply with their preposterous demands that the whole of Luxembourg, along with the left bank of the Scheldt and Maestricht, should form part of their state. The Dutch Government, on the other hand, with much more reason refused to withdraw from the engagements which the Conference had originally prescribed and they had accepted, or to admit the right of the Conference to dispose of the hereditary territories of their sovereign without his own consent, and by treaties in which he was not permitted to take any part. The general European public could not shut their eyes to the fact that Holland had been treated with harshness and injustice, in order that Leopold might be offered and induced to accept the crown of Belgium, and that France might be prevented from making herself mistress of that country.

The Belgian Congress ultimately agreed, by a majority of fifty-nine to thirty-eight votes, to accept the treaty—a result mainly due to the exertions of Leopold himself, who saw clearly the folly and futility of resistance. He was, at the same time, not the less bitterly mortified at the failure of the expectations which he alleged had been held out to him. 'Here am I,' he said in a letter to Lord Palmerston, 'who was only induced to accept the throne of Belgium on certain conditions, which the allies solemnly guar-

anted to me. The King of Holland defies the allies, and attacks me in consequence of these conditions; and now I am required to agree to things which, if they had been imposed upon me originally, I should have refused.'

The King of Holland, however, obstinately refused to accept the treaty on the conditions prescribed, and pleaded with great force, that when Holland accepted and Belgium refused, Belgium was admitted to negotiate, and to negotiate successfully, for alterations unfavourable to Holland in the decree which had been declared both final and irrevocable. But now that Belgium accepted and Holland refused, claiming on far stronger grounds the same right, she was told that the Conference would never admit modifications on what it had declared to be irrevocable. His Majesty met with great sympathy in England; and if it had not been for the absorption of public interest in the Reform Bill, the treatment which the ancient ally of Britain received from the Conference might have been highly injurious to the Government. But the people were so engrossed at this time with their home affairs that the Foreign Secretary was allowed to take much his own way in settling the affairs of Holland and Belgium. Several months were spent in tedious and fruitless negotiations. The King of Holland expressed his willingness to concur in the territorial arrangements prescribed by the Congress, provided the conditions respecting the use by Belgium of the rivers, and canals, and roads of Holland were modified, and an equitable arrangement made respecting the pilotage and superintendence of the Scheldt below Antwerp. The Conference and the British Government, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, were satisfied with these moderate and equitable proposals; but the Belgians took the alarm, and, supported by France, clamoured loudly for their rejection. Prince Leopold was married at Compiègne in August, 1832, to the eldest daughter of Louis Philippe. 'It is under-

stood,' says the Duke of Wellington, 'that the plan for breaking off the negotiations with the King of the Netherlands was settled at Compiègne. Upon Leopold's return to Brussels the Belgian Ministers discovered that they could not remain in office if any change were made in the treaty of November, 1831, unless the citadel of Antwerp were surrendered as a preliminary.' They accordingly resigned, and a partial and collusive change of the administration in Belgium took place, which afforded an excuse to the king for declaring that he could not consent to any negotiation on such of the twenty-four articles as were susceptible of modification until the respective territories should have been reciprocally evacuated. As the demands of Belgium were the demands of France, the Conference, though with evident reluctance, resolved to comply with them; but at the same time offered to make some modifications in the secondary articles of the treaty. These proposals, however, failed to give satisfaction to the King of Holland; and the Belgians, supported by the French, clamoured loudly for military coercion. The three Northern Powers were averse to the employment of force, and were of opinion that a pecuniary pressure upon Holland would be sufficient for the purpose; but the two Western Powers thought this mode of action more dilatory, more uncertain, and in reality more oppressive to the Dutch nation. Count Orloff was despatched by the Emperor Nicholas as a special envoy to dissuade the King of Holland from a useless resistance. It is matter for regret that this advice was not followed by His Majesty, now that it had become unmistakable that prolonged resistance could have no beneficial effect, but would uselessly cause expense and loss of life to his own subjects, and would postpone the settlement of a question which events might again render troublesome and dangerous to Europe. But the king was immovable. The Northern Powers refused to take any part in coercive measures, and it was left to France and England to enforce

the treaty imposed upon Holland. The harbour of Antwerp was blockaded by a British fleet, and the fortress attacked by a French army, under the command of Marshal Gerard, consisting of 50,000 infantry, with 6000 cavalry, and a strong battering train. The Dutch garrison amounted to between 4000 and 5000 men, commanded by General Chassè, a veteran officer of distinguished courage and military skill, who was instructed and resolved to defend the citadel to the last. The besiegers opened their fire on the 4th of December, and night and day between sixty and seventy pieces of battering artillery and howitzers rained shot and shell on the fortress. General Chassè returned the fire with equal vigour and resolution, and held out for twenty-three days, until almost every building in the citadel had been battered to pieces, and its surface presented one mass of ruins.

At length, when even the bomb-proof places were ruined, and the external walls

laid open to an extent which made an assault quite practicable—the overwhelming numbers of the enemy leaving no doubt of its success—the stout-hearted old general, believing that he had done every thing in his power to defend the post intrusted to his charge, offered on the morning of the 30th to surrender the citadel and to retire with his garrison into Holland. The French marshal, however, insisted that the surrender of forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek, farther down the river, should be included in the capitulation. But the King of Holland refused to accede to this demand, and the garrison, with their brave old commander, were conveyed as prisoners of war into France. The citadel was made over to the Belgian troops, and the French army returned into their own country. An indefinite armistice was established in 1833 between Holland and Belgium; but an ultimate agreement was not concluded until April, 1839.

CHAPTER III.

Excitement produced on the Continent by the French Revolution—Polish Insurrection—Constitution of Poland in 1815—Barbarities of the Grand-duke Constantine—Their results—Tyranny of the Czar—Preparations of the Poles—Manifesto of the Diet—Sympathy for the Polish cause—Invasion of Poland by the Russians—Mistaken strategy of Marshal Diebitsch—Victories of the Polish General Skrzynecki—Death of Marshal Diebitsch—Prince Paskievitch, his successor, changes the plan of operations—The Poles driven back on Warsaw—Fall of that city—Cruelties of the Russian Government—Remonstrances of Lord Palmerston—Insurrections in the Italian Principalities, Modena, and the Papal States—Suppressed by the Austrians—Barbarities of the Papal Troops—Renewed Insurrections—Austrian interference—French expedition to Ancona—Proceedings in Spain—Repeal of the Salic Law by Ferdinand II.—Rising of the Spanish Liberals, and of the Carlists—Queen Christina appointed Regent—Formation of a Liberal Ministry—Miserable condition of Portugal—Cruelties of Don Miguel—British interference—Don Miguel's submission—His ill treatment of French subjects—Measures adopted by the French Government—Invasion of Portugal by Don Pedro—Protracted war with Don Miguel—State of matters in France—Insurrection of the Republicans—Successive Ministries—Resignation of the Lafitte Cabinet—Casimir P  rier becomes Prime Minister—His firm and moderate policy—Insurrection in La Vend  e—The Duchess de Berri—Ravages of the Cholera in France, England, and Scotland—Deaths of Goethe and Sir Walter Scott.

THE excitement and agitation produced by the revolution which drove Charles X. from the throne of France was not confined to Belgium; the whole continent of Europe was affected by it. An insurrection broke out even in Hanover; but with no real grievances to support it, the commotion speedily subsided, and the insurgents quietly dispersed before the Government had time to take any steps for their suppression. The little Duchy of Brunswick had been constrained formally to dethrone its foolish and turbulent ruler, whose conduct had brought him under the ban of the Germanic Diet, and had compelled him to flee from his state. By the advice of the British Ministers and the Diet the younger brother of the absconding duke had assumed his place and government, in accordance with the expressed wish of his subjects, and the princes related to the House of Brunswick. In Hesse Cassel the disturbances occasioned by the personal character and conduct of the Elector made it necessary for him to admit his eldest son to a share in the Government. There was a dispute about the succession of Baden. Saxony, too, had its clubs and its agitations, and the demand for reform was so strong that the king was obliged to associate his nephew with him in the Government as joint-regent, and to promise that an improved constitu-

tion would speedily be promulgated, and a law passed to allow the redemption of feudal rights. Switzerland also was thrown into a state of commotion by the demands made in Basle, Schwyz, Berne, Lucerne, and other cantons, for the abolition of exclusive privileges, the reform of abuses, and a more liberal constitution, which in most cases were granted without open violence or an appeal to arms, though in some instances the insurgents employed force to gain the objects they had in view. There were insurrections in several other minor states which were speedily suppressed without bloodshed. But the rising of the Poles against the intolerable oppression and cruelty of the Russian Grand-duke Constantine led to a fierce and sanguinary war.

After the downfall of Napoleon the Congress of Vienna settled that a portion of ancient Poland, comprising the chief part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with a population of about 4,000,000, should be erected into a separate kingdom under the sovereignty of the Russian Czar, with its own constitution recognized and solemnly guaranteed by the other European powers. The new kingdom of Poland was proclaimed on the 20th of June, 1815; and on the 24th of December following a constitutional charter was granted to it of an unexpectedly liberal character. The liberty of the press

and the inviolability of person and property were guaranteed in the fullest extent. The legislative authority was vested in the king and in two chambers—one of senators, and another of deputies. The former were to be nominated by the king, and to hold office for life; the latter were to be chosen by a numerous constituency, comprising all landowners who paid any contribution towards the support of the state, all manufacturers and shopkeepers possessing a capital of 10,000 florins, all rectors and vicars, and all artisans or mechanics distinguished for talent and skill. The deliberations of the Diet, which were to be public, extended to all subjects of a legislative or administrative character; but the initiative belonged exclusively to the king and the Council of State. The great departments of the state were to be presided over by responsible ministers. All public business was to be transacted in the Polish language, and all offices, civil and military, were to be held by natives alone. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be the national religion; but dissenters of all denominations were placed on a footing of perfect equality, as to civil rights, with the members of the established church.

During the first four or five years after the establishment of the kingdom of Poland in 1815, the Government was conducted on the whole in a fair and moderate spirit. The provisions of the charter were generally observed, and the viceroy, Count Zayonezek, a Pole, strove to attach his countrymen to the Government of the Czar. This policy had the effect of disarming, to a considerable extent, the antipathies and prejudices of the people; and the opposition to the ministers in the Chamber of Deputies was comparatively trifling. But the Spanish revolution of 1820, and the spirit of impatience under the control of arbitrary power, which at that time manifested itself throughout the continent, alarmed the Czar and his brother despots of Austria and Prussia. The Holy Alliance which had been formed by these Powers began to

bear fruit; recourse was had to repressive measures rapidly increasing in severity, and undisguised efforts were made to suppress entirely the spirit of national independence in Poland. The Grand-duke Constantine, Commander-in-chief of the army, though nominally under the control of the Imperial Lieutenant, in reality wielded supreme authority in the country. He possessed considerable force of character; but he was savage and brutal in the extreme, and was liable to paroxysms of passion so violent as to make him act like a madman. He had no regard either for the rights or the feelings of others, and was habitually guilty of outrages which display a mixture of ferocity, cruelty, and cowardice almost incredible. All classes and both sexes were alike subjected to his brutalities. It was a common practice of his to cause the heads of such women as displeased him to be shaved; and he not unfrequently, in addition, made them to be tarred and feathered. He took a special pleasure in witnessing the perpetration of these barbarities, and altogether treated the unfortunate Poles as if he thought that they belonged to an inferior order of beings.

While the Grand-duke was thus giving unrestrained license to his violent and capricious temper, the political rights and privileges of the Poles were systematically trampled under foot. The liberty of the press was abolished, in direct violation of the charter, by an ordinance dated the 31st of July, 1819. This was followed by the suppression of the Patriotic Association, modelled by General Dombrowski after the recommendations of the Czar himself. A military commission was next appointed, which tried and condemned civilians, without observing any of the rules and formalities prescribed by the laws. Great numbers of spies were kept in Constantine's pay; and the liberty, and life even, of every man was at the mercy of a common informer. Arbitrary arrests by the secret police, illegally supported out of the public revenue, were incidents of almost daily

occurrence, followed by secret condemnations to imprisonment or banishment. The dungeons of the state prison, which had been erected in Warsaw, were crowded with the victims of the execrable tyranny of the Grand-duke, with whom suspicion was equivalent to the clearest evidence of guilt. The charter expressly stipulated that when Russian troops required to pass through Poland, they were to be maintained at the expense of the Imperial Treasury; but for years a large body of soldiers had been stationed at Warsaw, and paid by the inhabitants of the capital, whom they were employed to overawe. To crown all, the senators nominated by the Czar were without the qualification prescribed by the charter, and were, besides, poor worthless tools of the Government; and bribery was lavishly employed to procure the return to the Chamber of Deputies of men of a kindred spirit, and who were ready to co-operate with the senators and the Ministers in destroying the liberties of their country. Even the convening of the Diet was to a great extent dispensed with. The charter required that one should be held every two years; but no meeting was convoked from 1820 to 1825, and only one from the year 1825 until after the accession of Nicholas in 1829.

These arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings excited deep indignation among the Poles, and hatred of their oppressors. The country was ready for an explosion, and the insurrection in Paris in July, 1830, produced an almost electrical effect on the whole Polish nation. There is reason to believe that secret encouragement to throw off the Russian yoke was held out to them by leading French Liberals, and that they were led to believe that they might rely on the sympathy and support of the friends of liberty in every country of Europe. At the same time it is certain that there were no preparations made for a general insurrection at this time, and that when it took place it did not arise from any political intrigues or from the incitement of clubs or revo-

lutionary demagogues, but mainly from the intolerable oppressions of the half-madman, half-savage Russian Grand-duke. His freaks of cruelty, and his barbarous and illegal treatment of all who had the misfortune to incur his disapprobation or even suspicion, had at length become intolerable. The feeling of abhorrence which they excited was shared by the soldiers, who suffered no less than the civilians from his savage and brutal freaks. He was a martinet in military discipline and regulations; and it was his custom, when an officer swerved a hairbreadth from the minute and cumbrous rules which he had laid down, to make him leap his horse over a row of bayonets, which were elevated bit by bit until the horse was often impaled, and the rider severely wounded or killed.

The long-expected crisis was at length brought about by Constantine's treatment of some students attending the military school at Warsaw. At a social banquet they had drunk a toast to the memory of Kosciusko and other popular Polish heroes. The Grand-duke appointed a commission to inquire into this offence, and they reported that there was no ground for inflicting punishment on the youths. A second inquiry was ordered, with the same result; which so exasperated the Prince that he took the affair into his own hands, and without warrant of law ordered some of the students to be flogged and others to be imprisoned. Their companions in the Military School were so indignant at this gross violation both of law and justice that they rose in arms, on the 29th of November, to resist this arbitrary proceeding. Their first project was to seize the person of Constantine himself, who resided at the palace of Belvidere on the outskirts of the city. At seven o'clock in the evening they forced their way into the palace, where they were opposed by Lubowedizki the director of the police, who, on being wounded, took to flight. They next encountered the Russian general, Gendre, a

man detested for his cruelties and crimes, who was killed in the scuffle. But Constantine himself succeeded, by the help of a valet, in escaping through a window. He fled to the barracks of three regiments of guards at a short distance, and they immediately turned out to suppress the mutiny. The Polish troops in the garrison then joined the students. The towns-people next took part in the fray, and, assisted by the friendly soldiers, forced their way into the arsenal and supplied themselves with arms. The contest raged for some time with great fury; but in the end the Russian troops, after a very sanguinary struggle in the streets, were driven out of Warsaw, and compelled to retire to the other side of the Vistula. The troops suffered severely in the contest, having lost three or four generals, besides many other officers and a large number of common soldiers.

Warsaw was now in the hands of the Poles, of whom 30,000 were in arms. The functionaries of the Government having fled, six of the most popular and influential of the nobility—Adam Czartorinski, Michael Radzivil, Michael Kochanowski, Count Louis Pabz, Julien Niemcenciez, Secretary of the Senate, and General Joseph Chlopicki—were appointed in the place of some obnoxious members of the Council of Administration. This was done in the name of the Emperor-king of Poland, whose authority was still recognized though his ministers were thus dismissed from office, and his troops driven out of the city. In the hope of an accommodation, a deputation of the most influential citizens waited upon the Grand-duke, who still lingered in the vicinity of Warsaw, and laid before him their grievances. Their demands were both moderate and reasonable. They requested that the emperor would fulfil the promise made by his father to incorporate with the kingdom of Poland the Polish provinces which had been united with Russia; that the Lithuanian corps, under the command of the Grand-duke, should not enter the Polish territory; and

that all the ancient parts of Poland, now under the dominion of Russia, should be re-united to the kingdom of Poland. Constantine was constrained by his position and his fears to receive these representatives in a temperate manner very unusual with him; but he had neither the power nor the inclination to grant the requests of the deputation. The present use of force, however, was now out of the question, as the troops under his command were not numerous, and besides their fidelity could not be relied on. He therefore gave permission to the Polish regiment of chasseurs of the guard, and some detachments of Polish infantry whom he had forced along with him, to return to Warsaw, and next day (December 3) took his departure along with the rest of the troops for the frontiers, 'recommending all establishments, property, and persons to the protection of the Polish nation.'

The real character of the Czar Nicholas was as yet imperfectly known to Europe; and even his own subjects were not aware of the extent to which his imperious and ferocious disposition would carry him in inflicting punishment on those who ventured to resist his authority or to disobey his commands. The Poles seem, therefore, to have cherished some faint hopes that the emperor, on learning the facts of the case, might regard their proceedings with lenity. At the same time they thought it prudent to be prepared for the worst, in case he should determine to treat them as rebels. The Poles were a warlike people, and the Russians had kept up their military organization and discipline. All the Polish regiments joined the national cause; and General Chlopicki, a skilful soldier, though not an experienced statesman, who was appointed Commander-in-chief, speedily found himself at the head of a regular and well-trained army. Their prospects were certainly not very hopeful, for their country had been dismembered and divided among the three Northern Powers, who were very likely to make common cause against

any attempt to restore the ancient kingdom of Poland. It might have been taken for granted that Russia alone, with its immense armies and military resources, would have no difficulty in crushing the insurgent Poles in their isolated position, with no port at their command through which they could obtain the assistance of those friendly to their cause, or supplies of military stores. And if they should, contrary to all expectation, prove able to hold their ground against the gigantic might of Russia, Austria and Prussia were almost certain to interfere in her support, in order to prevent the revolutionary flame from extending to those portions of ancient Poland which had formed their share of her spoliation.

The Poles, however, brought to bay, and compelled to choose between an armed resistance to tyranny and cruelty, or humble submission to whatever punishment the Czar might think fit to inflict, prepared resolutely for the unequal contest. In imitation of the old Roman republic in times of imminent danger, they invested the Commander-in-chief with the powers and the title of 'Dictator,' in order to secure energy and promptitude in the adoption of the measures necessary for their defence. In assuming this office, General Chlopicki was careful to disclaim any intention on the part of the Poles to throw off their allegiance to their king, Nicholas I., or to demand anything more than the free constitution which the Czar had promised them. In the proclamation which he issued announcing his acceptance of the offer, he said, 'The Poles know how to be faithful; and when all Europe abandoned him before whose victorious eagles the nations had prostrated themselves, the Polish battalions, firm in the hour of reverses, never ceased till the last moment to range themselves around the fallen conqueror. But in the present instance the power of evil had outstripped all bounds; it was impossible to convey the language of truth to the head of the State; flatterers,

greedy of reward and prodigal of calumnies, gave us every day new chains instead of liberty. Never was insurrection more legitimate! No; the king himself will be forced to admit the justice of our cause when he comes to know the extent to which he was abused.'

Two commissioners were despatched to St. Petersburg to lay a full statement of their case before the Czar, with the hope that he might even yet be induced to grant them reasonable terms; but he demanded unconditional submission before he would listen to their representations or consider their complaints, and he issued a proclamation threatening to inflict on the Poles signal vengeance for 'their horrid treason.' 'I am King of Poland,' he said; 'the first cannon-shot fired by the Poles shall annihilate Poland.' The die was thus cast, and nothing remained to the insurgents but to fight to the last in vindication of their outraged rights and liberties.

The Diet assembled at Warsaw on the 18th of December, and continued Chlopicki in his office of Dictator. Having drawn the sword, he should have thrown away the scabbard; but he seems not yet to have lost all hope that the Czar might be persuaded to grant them terms, and attempted again to open negotiations. Poland, he said, wished only 'a reasonable liberty,' and 'the nation was very far from the thought of dissolving the ties which bound it to His Majesty.' Nicholas, however, declined to treat with 'armed rebels,' and the Diet on their part disapproved of the attempt to negotiate, and resolved to elect a new commander-in-chief. The choice fell on Prince Radzivil, and Chlopicki resigned his office of Dictator and returned to the ranks of the army. The executive authority was intrusted to a Council of State, consisting of five persons, under the presidency of Prince Adam Czartorinski.

As hostilities were now imminent, the Diet published a manifesto stating the grounds upon which it had renounced the authority of the Russian Autocrat and

taken up arms to vindicate their national rights. The Congress of Vienna, they said, desirous to make some reparation for the grievous wrongs which Poland had suffered, had stipulated that it should form a separate kingdom under the rule of the Russian Czar, with a charter and constitution of its own, freedom of commerce, and a recognized nationality. A constitution had indeed been granted by Alexander, as we have seen; but it had been set aside at the pleasure of the Czar, who evidently dreaded that if the Poles were permitted the enjoyment of constitutional rights, his Russian subjects would demand similar liberties for themselves. Poland, therefore, saw herself successively deprived of all her privileges. The Chambers were no longer allowed to vote the supplies; new burdens were imposed, new monopolies created; and the large sums obtained by these measures were lavished on vile sycophants and despicable spies; pensions were multiplied and augmented in a most scandalous manner, and new and needless offices were created solely for the purpose of increasing the number of parasites in the pay of the Government. In this and similar ways the money was wasted which had been wrung from the Polish people, and especially from the down-trodden peasantry. Personal liberty, which had been solemnly guaranteed, was habitually violated, and the state prisons were crowded with the most distinguished members of the Diet, and the army, as well as private citizens, who had been arbitrarily deprived of their liberty. The Polish tribunals and civil law had been annihilated by imperial ukases. Councils of war were authorized to pronounce judgment in civil cases. Individuals, whose only fault was a desire to save the spirit and character of the nation from corruption, had been subjected to infamous punishments. The youth of the first families had been transported to Siberia, or compelled to serve as common soldiers in the ranks of the army. Public education was corrupted; even the religions

faith of the Polish nation had been treated in the most intolerant manner, and every effort had been made to compel them to submit to the united Greek ritual, instead of the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. Groundless accusations had been brought against persons of high rank and spotless character. In utter contempt of the laws, a special committee of inquiry had been appointed, composed mainly of military officers, who by protracted tortures, promises of pardon, and ensnaring questions, had sought to extort from the accused a confession of guilt. After lying two years in prison, the accused had been tried before the High National Court, and acquitted of any offence against the State. Yet instead of being set at liberty, they had been conveyed to St. Petersburg, and imprisoned there in the forts. To crown all, it was evidently the design of the Russian Government to employ the army, the treasure, and the national resources of Poland to fight against the liberties of the European nations who had thrown off the yoke of their oppressor, and preparations had already been made to carry this design into effect. For these and other cogent reasons, they had taken up arms, which they declared they would never lay down till they had not only secured their liberties as an independent kingdom, but had likewise emancipated the Polish provinces at present incorporated with Russia. This manifesto was followed up on the 25th of January, 1831, by a decree of the Diet declaring the throne of Poland vacant.

The deepest sympathy was felt throughout Europe, especially in Great Britain and France, for the gallant nation engaged in this unequal contest. 'The fight made by the Poles,' wrote Lord Palmerston while the conflict was raging, 'is deserving of the greatest admiration, and it is impossible not to wish them heartily success; but the odds against them are still very great, unless the rising in Lithuania should prove extensive and embarrassing to Russia.'

There was a strong desire on the part of the French people, which was shared even by some in our own country, that the Western Powers should interpose by force of arms in behalf of the Poles; but this could not have been done without bringing on a European war. 'We must stand upon our treaties,' said Lord Palmerston to the Russian ambassador, 'and while on the one hand we should remonstrate if Russia tried to depart from the Treaty of Vienna, on the other we could not do so ourselves by helping to make Poland entirely independent.'

The Poles, however, entered upon the struggle with great energy and indomitable resolution. They set themselves at once to train and arm the people during the breathing time afforded them before the Russian forces had made their entrance into the country. They had already in the field an army consisting of 30,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, well disciplined and equipped, round which the new recruits could be formed, and they raised a national guard for the maintenance of order in Warsaw.

The Russian Czar had, in the meantime, made extensive preparations to suppress the insurrection by force. He had assembled a powerful army in the province of Grodno, to the north of Warsaw, to be in readiness to advance against that city when the time for action should arrive. Marshal Diebitsch, designated Zabalkanski, on account of his passage of the Balkans and his victory over Turkey in the campaign of 1829, was intrusted with the command of the Russian forces destined for the suppression of the Polish insurrection. He was evidently quite unaware of the difficulties with which he had to contend, and expected an easy victory over the undisciplined Polish insurgents. He seems to have had little or no acquaintance with the country which he had to traverse, and as Wellington remarked, expected to have passed the Vistula 'express like a post-boy.' He speedily found out his mistake.

The Vistula, one of the largest of European rivers, which has its origin in the

Carpathian mountains, after leaving Galicia runs in a north-westerly direction through Poland, dividing it into two sections. Warsaw, the capital of the kingdom, stands on the left bank of the river, nearly in the centre of the country. After leaving Warsaw the river is joined on the right by its chief tributary the Bug, which separates Poland from the Russian provinces of Grodno and Volhynia. Warsaw is thus protected on the east and the north by these two great rivers, which in winter and spring are swollen by the melting snows, and impeded by the blocks of floating ice.

The principal road, which leads from Russia to the capital of Poland, crosses the Bug at Brzesc, and leads almost due west to that city. Another road enters Poland on the north at Kevno, and crosses the Narew, a tributary of the Bug at Ostrolenka. A third route enters the country from the Austrian territory, crosses the Vistula at Gora, and runs along its west bank to the capital. The Russian general resolved to direct his troops upon Warsaw by all three routes, and at the head of 80,000 men he marched along the central and most direct route to the Polish capital, while a detachment of 20,000 approached it from the north, and 10,000 from the south. Diebitsch evidently did not understand the nature of the country in which he was about to operate, or the resistance which he was about to encounter, otherwise he would not have arranged his strategy in such a manner as to separate the three divisions of his army from each other by deep and broad rivers, full of blocks of floating ice, which rendered it difficult to construct and maintain temporary bridges. The main army of the Poles, commanded by Prince Radzivil in person, took up a position to the north of Warsaw, between that city and Grodno, the Russian headquarters; while a corps under General Dwernicki watched the movements of the Russian forces under Generals Geismar and Kreuz, which were marching against Lublin and Zamosc to the south of Warsaw.

As the invading army advanced towards the capital, the Poles gradually withdrew their posts, and fell back towards the city, evidently with the hope that they might delay the advance of the Russians until the breaking up of the ice on the Vistula, the Bug, and the Narew, should endanger their communications and impede the movements of the troops and the artillery. Occasional skirmishes took place between the advanced posts of the Poles and the invading forces; but Diebitsch encountered no serious resistance until, on the 19th of February, he reached Grodno, a league in front of Warsaw, where the Polish commander had resolved to make a stand. His right was protected by the Vistula, his left by a thick wood, and his centre was stationed at the village of Grochow. In his rear was the village of Praga, which was separated from Warsaw by the Vistula. The Russians made a furious attack on the Polish left and centre, but failed to make any impression on their positions. Next day they renewed the attack in two divisions, one commanded by Count Pahlen, the other by General Rosen. The Poles, with the most determined bravery, contested every inch of ground, and at one period compelled Count Pahlen to retreat; and though he obtained large reinforcements, and a powerful battery of artillery, he could obtain no advantage over the patriots. Night put an end to the conflict, in which Diebitsch admitted he had lost 2000 men killed and wounded, among whom were several generals.

The Russian commander-in-chief remained inactive during the three following days, and occupied himself in repairing his losses. Having been joined by powerful reinforcements, on the morning of the 25th he made a general and vigorous attack on the Polish position, directing his main efforts against the wood in front of Praga, held by the left wing of the defenders, under General Skrzynecki—an officer of conspicuous gallantry and skill. After a desperate struggle, which lasted two hours, the assailants, by the assist-

ance of their formidable artillery, carried the position. But the Poles, rallied by their general, and by Chlopicki the ex-dictator, succeeded in retaking the wood. A fresh reserve, however, was brought up and new batteries erected, and in the end the defenders, greatly outnumbered, were compelled to abandon this important post. Though they had been successful in repelling the Russian attacks on other points, the loss of the wood made it necessary for the Poles to retire under the fortifications of Praga. Encouraged by their success the assailants next made a vigorous attack on that village, but were repulsed with great loss. The Polish commander, however, deemed it advisable to quit Praga, and withdrew his troops across the Vistula into Warsaw, which he did at leisure and in the most orderly manner, without being molested by the Russians. He took this step from an apprehension that the breaking up of the ice on the Vistula might carry away the bridge, and cut off his communications.

Diebitsch had now discovered the mistake he had made in under-estimating the difficulties of the task intrusted to him. The losses he had suffered in his unsatisfactory conflicts with the Poles were very heavy, and he was placed in a situation of great embarrassment and no small danger. He withdrew the main body of his troops towards Plozk, in order that they might be more readily joined by the reinforcements which he expected from Russia. Strong divisions, however, were left in front of Warsaw, one under General Geismar at Wawer, and another under General Rosen at Dembiewilkie, both on the road to Minsk, to watch the movements of the Poles and keep them cooped up within the city. With the exception of a few unimportant skirmishes in the vicinity of Praga, the month of March passed in a state of inaction, partly owing to the inundations of the Vistula through the melting of the snow, and partly to the necessity of obtaining reinforcements before the Russians could undertake operations on an extensive scale.

Meanwhile Prince Radzivil had resigned the command of the Polish army and was replaced by Skrzynecki, who had displayed such conspicuous courage and conduct in the battles of the 20th and the 25th of February. He availed himself of the opportunity afforded him, by the inactivity of the Russians, to recruit his troops and renew their equipments and artillery. Having completed his preparations, he resolved to assume the offensive and to make a sudden attack on the cantonments of the enemy scattered over the country. On the 30th of March he crossed the Vistula at Praga with 25,000 men; and aided by the darkness of the night he reached unperceived the forest of Narew, near Grochow, where a division of the Russians, consisting of 8000 or 10,000 men, under General Geismar, was stationed, and suddenly and unexpectedly attacked them with great vigour. The Russian entrenchments were stormed, and they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat to Dembiewilkie, which was held by a much stronger force under General Rosen. The victorious Poles pressed with great energy on the retreating columns of the enemy, attacked them again in their new position, and after a conflict which lasted for five hours totally defeated them and put them to flight. The Russians lost 5000 men in killed and wounded in these encounters, and 6000 prisoners. Two standards, fifteen pieces of cannon, and a number of ammunition waggons also fell into the hands of the victors.

The Russian general was both weakened and disheartened by these serious disasters, and fell back with all speed on his supports. The Poles, encouraged by their success, pressed forward in pursuit, and came up with him on the 10th of April near the little village of Iganie, on the Kostrzyn, a tributary of the Bug, about half-way between Warsaw and the Russian frontier. Here, after a fierce contest, the Poles gained another victory over their invaders, who were driven back in great disorder to their

former position at the little town of Siedlec beyond the Kostrzyn.

Diebitsch having failed in his attempt to concentrate the three divisions of his army on Warsaw, took up a new position with his right wing at Ostrolenka, on the left bank of the Narew, and his left at Siedlec on the direct road to the capital. He evidently expected that the Polish general would follow up his victory at Iganie by attacking the defeated troops now stationed at Siedlec. Skrzynecki, however, by a masterly movement executed with remarkable rapidity, crossed the Bug and assailed the Russian right at Ostrolenka. His object was to force back this division of the invading army and to throw a body of troops into Lithuania to assist the insurgents in that ancient province of Poland, and thus to place the Russian army between two fires, or to compel them to retreat into their own country in order to maintain their communications. The movement was at first completely successful. Crossing the Bug, Skrzynecki marched along the right bank of the Narew and threw himself upon the Russian right at Ostrolenka, which he carried on the 18th. The invading forces, though they comprised the flower of the Imperial Guards, were compelled to abandon their fortified position, and to fall back in the direction of Bialystock. Pursuing their advantage, the victorious Poles pressed onward, and on the 29th made themselves masters of Lomza. Next day they assaulted Tykocin, in which the retreating enemy had taken refuge. The contest lasted during the whole day, but the Russians evacuated the place in the course of the following night. The road to Lithuania was now laid open, and a corps of the Polish army, under General Chlapowski, marched into that province. Marshal Diebitsch, who had hitherto remained with the main body of his army on the south or left side of the Bug, crossed that river, in order that he might effect a junction with his shattered right wing, and save it from total destruction.

The Russian general, by this retrograde movement, succeeded in concentrating his whole force on the frontier of his own country. On the 21st of May he recrossed the Bug, and next day marched to attack the Poles with his entire army. They immediately began a retreat, but their rear guard was nearly cut off, and had to fight its way through dense Russian columns in order to rejoin the Polish army. The corps under General Guielgud was, however, separated from the main body, and Skrzynecki weakened by this loss, was obliged to retreat before the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. At Ostrolenka, where he recrossed the Narew on the 25th, his rear guard was overtaken and attacked by the Russians; and though they ultimately made good their passage of the river and rejoined the main body, they had not time to destroy the bridge by which they had crossed. The Russians immediately followed, and a sanguinary battle took place on the bank of the river. The Russians were striving to bring on fresh bodies of troops, and the Poles were making the most vigorous efforts to regain possession of the bridge by which the enemy were crossing. When night separated the combatants, the Poles remained masters of the field, but the result was not decisive; and the Polish general having lost nearly 5000 men, including thirty staff officers, and finding that the Russians were bringing an overwhelming force to act against him, resolved to withdraw from the scene of action and retire upon Warsaw. The losses in these engagements told much more severely on the Poles than on their oppressors, whose enormous numbers enabled them with greater rapidity to fill up the blanks in their ranks; and it was evident that from the shape the contest had now taken, the master of the largest battalions would ultimately gain the day. The Czar sent fresh levies after every disaster to recruit the ranks of his soldiers; but the Polish patriots had only a very limited circle from which they could draw recruits,

and must therefore in the long run be crushed.

At this crisis, too, the cholera began to make havoc in the ranks of the Poles. It broke out in the Russian army in the spring of 1831, and the infection was communicated to the Polish troops by the prisoners taken at Iganie. Though less deadly in their case than in that of their assailants, the patriots felt its ravages more severely, as they had far fewer men to spare than the Russian autocrat. The private soldiers in both armies were, of course, the chief victims; but the plague was no respecter of persons. On the 10th of June it cut off Marshal Diebitsch himself at Pultusk; and a few days later the Grand-duke Constantine, the cruel oppressor of the Poles, who had accompanied the invading army, succumbed along with his wife to the fearful malady. Diebitsch was succeeded as commander-in-chief by Count Paskievitch, who had gained distinction in the Armenian campaign. It was suspected, though without reason, that Diebitsch had made away with himself, for he had failed so signally in his campaign against the Poles that his military reputation was tarnished, and his recall had been decreed by the Czar. There is no reason, however, to doubt that he fell a victim to chagrin, fatigue, and disease.

The success which had thus far attended their contest with the gigantic power of Russia, increased the sympathy of France and Great Britain for the Polish patriots in their struggles for freedom. The Parisians clamoured so loudly for assistance to a people so shamefully oppressed, and who had proved their fitness for national independence by the sacrifices they had made in their country's cause, that the Ministry were constrained to propose that a joint mediation should be made on their behalf by Great Britain and France. But Palmerston, though expressing deep sympathy with the Poles, felt that a remonstrance would be of no real service unless the two Powers were prepared to follow it

up, if necessary, by active measures, which at this juncture neither was prepared to do. Lord Grey, who detested the Russians, expressed his deep regret, in a letter to the Chancellor, that 'we had no power of sending a fleet into the Baltic to settle the matter in Poland.' As this step could not be taken, mediation was not attempted, and the poor Poles were left to continue their hopeless struggle singlehanded.

After the death of the Russian Marshal active operations were suspended for some months by the main armies on both sides; but subsidiary movements were made by the Poles for the purpose of encouraging the partial risings that had taken place in Podolia, Volhynia, and Lithuania. A body of troops, under General Dwernicki, which had been sent to raise an insurrection in Volhynia, after various successful operations was ultimately compelled by a greatly superior force under General Rudiger, about the end of April, to take refuge in the Austrian territory, where they were disarmed and removed from the frontier by the Austrian authorities. A force of 8000 men, under General Chrzanowski, was immediately despatched to Volhynia to arrest the progress of the victorious Russians. By forced marches he succeeded in carrying some of their posts before they were aware of his approach, and defeated and took prisoners, on the 6th and 8th of May, several of their detached divisions. But the Russians hastily concentrated their forces, and by their greatly superior numbers, after an obstinate resistance, drove him across the Wieprz into Old Zamosc, with the loss of his ammunition and 600 prisoners. Rudiger, having thus freed himself from the forces sent against him, once more approached the Vistula. A strong corps was detached against him, under General Jankowski; and Chrzanowski was directed to march from Zamosc, and attack the Russians in the rear. The strategy was skilfully planned; and if carried out, Rudiger's division would have been surrounded and overwhelmed by a greatly

superior force. But the activity of the Russian general averted the danger. Instead of waiting for the united attack he at once assailed the hostile armies in rapid succession, and compelled them to retreat in opposite directions.

The attempt to raise an insurrection in Lithuania ended still more disastrously. The two corps despatched to that province, commanded respectively by Generals Chlapowski and Gielgud, were separated from Poland by the position taken up by the Russian army after the battle of Ostrolenka. After gaining some successes over detached bodies of the enemy, they united in an attack on the Russian forces stationed at Wilna. They were repulsed, however, and driven across the river Wilna with considerable loss. One division, of about 3000 men, being cut off from the road which leads southward into Poland, fled towards the Prussian frontier, and having been overtaken by their pursuers at Kovno, were driven into Prussia, where they were disarmed. Another division, of nearly equal numbers, commanded by General Dembienski, manœuvred and fought their way with remarkable skill and courage back to the banks of the Vistula, and on the 2nd of August entered Warsaw with all their cannon, amid the acclamations of the citizens.

Paskievitsch profited by the experience and failure of his predecessor. The three divisions of the Russian army, separated from each other by the Vistula and the Bug and their tributaries, had been attacked in their isolated positions and defeated in detail by the Poles. He therefore resolved to follow a different plan; and instead of approaching Warsaw from the right bank of the Vistula, where he had first to carry the strongly-fortified suburb of Praga, and then to force his way across the broad and brimming river, he resolved to cross the Vistula farther down and to advance on Warsaw from the west, where he had no serious obstacle to encounter. He could not have carried out this plan unless he

had relied on the friendly co-operation of Prussia, from which alone his supplies could be obtained. But though the two powers, Austria and Prussia, who had shared in the spoils of Poland, had not ventured to comply with the appeal made to them by the Russian autocrat for direct assistance in suppressing the Polish insurrection, they did what they could to promote this object by affording every sort of indirect aid to the Russians, and thwarting the Poles as much as possible. The quarantine restrictions, Greville asserted, were always dispensed with for officers passing through the Prussian territory to join the Russian army. Count Paskievitch was allowed to pass without performing any quarantine at all; and stores and provisions were permitted to be conveyed to the army with every facility afforded by the Prussian authorities, and every relaxation of the sanitary laws.

Relying confidently on this partiality and violation of the laws of neutrality, the Russian general quitted Pultusk and Prassnitz, where his army had been quartered, and, on the 7th of July, crossed the Vistula at Plock by a temporary bridge which he had constructed, and thus threatened Warsaw in the rear. The passage of the river, which was made without opposition, was facilitated by a mistaken movement on the part of the Polish general, who marched up the Narew for the purpose of intercepting the communications of the enemy with their own country. But confidently relying on supplies from Prussia, Paskievitch was in no degree disconcerted by this movement, and continued his advances on the Polish capital. Meanwhile the Government had summoned the whole body of the citizens to arms; and they were occupied night and day in forming entrenchments and strengthening the defences of the city on the side from which it was now threatened by the enemy. The army took up a position between Kolo and Lowicz, a few leagues to the westward of the capital, but were driven from it by the

greatly superior numbers of the Russian force, amounting to 60,000 men. They established themselves in a new position between Rauka and Bzura, still nearer Warsaw; but it too had to be abandoned in turn.

Slowly but steadily the Russians advanced on the devoted city; and the Government, convinced that further resistance was hopeless, attempted to open negotiations with the Russian general, but without any satisfactory result. To add to their difficulties and perplexities, the populace took into their heads the notion that their military leaders were either incompetent or untrustworthy, and broke out into riots which were not suppressed without bloodshed. Skrzynecki, feeling that he had become the object of popular distrust, withdrew from the command on the 12th of August, and was succeeded by Dembienski, whose masterly retreat from Lithuania had gained him great applause. The Government resigned their powers into the hands of the Diet, who invested General Krukowiecki with supreme authority.

While the Poles were thus divided and distracted the Russian forces continued to gain ground, though Paskievitch was apparently unwilling to press closely on the beleaguered city until he was joined by the corps under Rudiger, which was employed in clearing the country to the south. On the 16th and 17th of August the Poles were compelled to abandon their position behind the Bzura, and to retire within the entrenchments immediately in front of Warsaw. On the 18th the Russian commander had established his head-quarters within three miles of the city; but he allowed several days to pass in inaction, probably with the expectation that the failure of supplies, and the hopelessness of farther resistance, might induce the garrison and the inhabitants to surrender. On the 6th of September he made a furious attack on the Polish entrenchments, and after a prolonged and desperate struggle made himself master of

the first line. The assault was renewed on the next day, when the combat was even more sanguinary than before. Every inch of the ground was contested by the defenders; but the overwhelming numbers and the formidable artillery of the assailants carried everything before them, and ere evening they had made their way over the inner line of entrenchments, and Warsaw lay at their mercy. On the 8th it capitulated, and the victorious general, accompanied by the Grand-duke Michael, the brother of the Czar, entered the city with his troops. The Russians admitted that they had lost 3000 killed, including 63 officers, and 7500 wounded in this murderous combat. The remainder of the Polish army was allowed by the terms of the capitulation to quit the city and retire to Plozk. They took possession of the fortress of Modlin, and made preparations to continue the struggle. But the Russian forces promptly marched against them from different directions, and hemmed them in on every side. They had no mountain fortresses where they could have found shelter and continued the struggle for freedom; and rather than submit to the authority of the Czar they crossed the Prussian frontier and laid down their arms. In the course of a few weeks after the surrender of Warsaw the whole of Poland was at the mercy of the Russian Emperor.

It was speedily seen by his conduct that the 'tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.' The barbarities now inflicted on the unhappy Poles were shocking to humanity, and covered their Muscovite oppressor with indelible infamy. He showed what he termed his 'paternal solicitude for his faithful subjects' by abolishing their constitution and declaring their country 'an integral part of Russia,' closing their schools, prohibiting the teaching of their national language and literature, removing their libraries and public collections into Russia, banishing their nobles to Siberia, or compelling them along with thousands of the people to serve as privates in the Russian army, delivering over their high-born ladies

for wives to the common soldiers on the frontier, deporting whole families (the men, and even children, chained together on their march into the interior of the empire), and carrying away the infants of the higher classes in waggon loads, to be brought up as Russians, separated for ever from their parents, and ignorant of their extraction.

The whole civilized world stood aghast at outrages so absolutely revolting, perpetrated by a ruthless savage, who was guilty of the blasphemy of offering a public thanksgiving to the Deity for his triumph over his rebellious subjects, and declaring that the result of the contest was an evident proof of the favour with which the Almighty regarded the good cause of the Russian Czar. His treatment of Poland created the deepest abhorrence both in France and Britain, and was once and again indignantly denounced in the House of Commons. The British Government made an effort to obtain favourable terms for the country now lying prostrate under the heel of the merciless despot. Lord Palmerston instructed Lord Heytesbury, the British ambassador at the Russian court, earnestly to recommend that Nicholas should grant a full and complete amnesty to the Poles, and to point out that the Treaty of Vienna declared that Poland should be attached to Russia by its constitution, and that the constitution carefully guards against any change by mere act of executive authority. It declares that the Polish nation shall for ever possess national representation, and a Diet composed of the king and two chambers, who alone possessed the power to modify or change organic statutes and codes of laws. The revolt of the Poles could afford the Russian Government no grounds for departing from the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna. Every king of Poland was bound to swear before God and on the Holy Scriptures to maintain the constitution, and cause it to be executed; and this solemn oath had been taken both by Alexander and the present Czar. The Treaty of Vienna made a marked distinction

between the kingdom of Poland and the provinces incorporated with the Russian empire, and to abolish the constitution was to reduce that kingdom to the condition of a province. The ambassador was also to remind the Czar that Europe looked to the re-establishment of law and justice from the submission of the Poles, and not to acts of retaliation and vengeance. Such acts could not be palliated when resorted to by a power which had subdued all opposition, and could not plead for its measures the necessity of any pressing emergency.

Such remonstrances, unsupported by any warlike demonstration, had no effect on the mind of a sovereign in whose estimation might made right, and who had the insolence to claim the possession of Poland by the right of conquest of 1815. His minister, Nesselrode, in reply to Lord Palmerston's despatch, asserted that 'the Treaty of Vienna imposed no other obligation on Russia than to maintain the union which that treaty had formed.' And he had the effrontery to add, that 'the constitution was not given in consequence of that treaty, but was the spontaneous act of the Emperor Alexander, and was annulled by the rebellion of the Poles.' But though no hand was raised in vindication of the European stipulations and the rights of the Polish people, their cause has not been unavenged. The day of vengeance, though long delayed, came at last. The death-bed of the tyrant and oppressor at the moment when disasters and misfortunes were gathering thick around his empire; the assassination of his son, and the state of constant apprehension and anxiety in which his descendants are now living, are proofs that 'He that is higher than the highest regardeth' violated faith and deeds of merciless oppression and cruelty, and that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children who walk in their ways, unto the third and fourth generation.

Italy was ripe for revolt against the petty sovereigns who, supported by Austrian arms, had trampled on the rights and liberties of

their subjects, and had suspected, watched, persecuted, and imprisoned all who were believed to entertain liberal opinions. The example was set by the Austrian authorities in Lombardy, who had arrested and condemned to death Silvio Pellico, Count Gonfalonieri, Marroncelli, and other distinguished literary men, but had afterwards commuted their sentences into imprisonment in the castle of Spielberg. The King of Naples had not only put to death in 1827 a number of young men belonging to Boscotrecase, who raised a demand for a constitution, but had massacred many of the inhabitants and razed the village itself to the ground, effacing even its site by the plough. In the Papal States a coercive policy of the most oppressive character had been systematically carried out by Pius VII. and his successor, Leo XII. All civil offices were filled by ecclesiastics, and the most shocking cruelties were inflicted on all who ventured to express dissatisfaction with the tyrannical proceedings of the Papal Government. The Duke of Modena was alleged to be insane, and he certainly conducted himself like a madman; and it was in his little State that an insurrection first broke out at this time (3rd February, 1831). The movement was led by a young man named *Ciro Menotti*; but the insurgents were in the first instance defeated by the troops of the Duchy, and their leader was taken prisoner. The rising was more successful, however, in the Papal States. A Provisional Government was formed in Bologna, a city of 60,000 inhabitants; and this example was followed by all the principal towns in the Legations with such rapidity, that in the course of four days the Papal authority on the north of the Apennines was completely overthrown. Encouraged by this example, the Modenese again raised the tricolor, as did Reggio, and this renewed rising received such general support, that the duke with his family fled to Mantua, carrying along with him the insurgent leader, *Menotti*, whom he afterwards caused to be shot. The infection

of revolt spread to Parma, and the Duchess Marie Louisa, ex-empress of the French, withdrew to Piacenza. Lombardy was too completely under the iron heel of Austria to move. Tuscany was, on the whole, ruled with mildness and moderation, and the dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans had been allayed by the amnesty and the promise of reforms with which the new sovereign, Ferdinand II., had commenced his reign in 1830, so that the rousing appeals which the insurgents in the Legations and the Duchies addressed to the inhabitants of these provinces failed to stir up a revolt.

The fugitive rulers—the Pope, the Duke of Modena, and the Duchess of Parma (who was the daughter of the Austrian emperor)—at once implored assistance from the court of Vienna to enable them to suppress the rebellion which had expelled them from their thrones; and Austria was quite as ready to grant, as they were to ask, the required aid. The policy which had been proclaimed at Laybach by the Holy Alliance was still predominant at Vienna, and no changes in legislation or administration were regarded as lawful, except those which had originated with the sovereigns themselves. The Emperor Francis had massed nearly 100,000 soldiers in Lombardy, and he at once proposed to put his army in motion to suppress the insurrections in the Legations and the Duchies. But France was not prepared to regard with indifference this attempt on the part of Austria to interfere in a quarrel between the Italian rulers and their subjects; and the French ambassador at Vienna was instructed to inform the Imperial court that France would not permit an Austrian army to enter the Papal States. Europe was on the verge of a war in which the whole continent would have been involved; but at this critical juncture the Ministry of Lafitte resigned office, and Casimir Pèrier became Prime Minister of France. His policy in regard to Italy as well as to Belgium was pacific, and Sebastiani, his

Foreign Minister, had to explain that the declaration against the interference of Austria with the Italian States did not bind the French Government to make war in order to prevent it, and that France would not take any steps to hinder Austrian troops from marching into the revolted districts, provided that they did not prolong their occupation. The Austrian court thus relieved from the apprehension of French interposition, lost no time in marching a powerful army into the provinces which had thrown off the established authorities; and in the course of eight days they suppressed without bloodshed the insurrection, and restored the Pope and the rulers of Modena and Parma to their sovereignty. The troops then retired from the country in terms of the stipulation.

Though the Vatican was once more supreme throughout the Roman States, there was not much reason to expect that the new pontiff, Gregory XVI., who had succeeded to the Papal chair on the 2nd of February, 1831, would govern his subjects with greater wisdom and moderation than his predecessors; and the five Powers thought it necessary to recommend His Holiness to introduce important reforms into his administration—among which the admission of the laity to public offices, the establishment of municipal and provincial councils, and the regulation of the finances of the State on sound principles were prominent. The Pontiff agreed to make some modifications in the municipal institutions and several fiscal reforms, but these changes gave no satisfaction to the people; and no sooner had the Austrian troops withdrawn across the frontiers than the inhabitants of the Romagna once more took up arms. Fresh disturbances broke out in the Legations, and the people began to take the management of their affairs into their own hands, disregarding the authority of the Papal legates, and acknowledging little more than a nominal subjection to the Roman See.

The Pope, on the retirement of the

Austrians, had collected a body of 5000 or 6000 men, whom he employed to restore order. They attacked and defeated the insurgents at Casena, and then advancing to Forli, of which they obtained peaceable possession, they shot down a number of the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants who had assembled in the streets to witness their entrance into the town. This cruel and unjustifiable massacre so exasperated the people, that the assistance of the Austrian troops was once more solicited by the Pope; and, accordingly, towards the end of January, 1832, they again entered Bologna. Their presence was regarded by the citizens as a protection from the barbarities of the Papal soldiery.

The French Government, however, was not disposed to tolerate this reiterated interference of Austria in the affairs of the Italian States, and they at once resolved to despatch a man-of-war and two frigates, having on board a body of troops, to take possession of Ancona. The vessels came to an anchor off that town on the 22nd of February; and having without opposition effected a landing, they took possession of the citadel, hoisted the tricolor, and drove away the Papal troops. The Pontiff remonstrated vehemently against this aggression, but without effect. It was openly declared in the French Chamber of Deputies that the expedition had been intended 'as a counter-check to Austria, and to assert an equal right of interference.' The Pope was informed that the independence and integrity of his dominions would always be the basis of the French policy in Italy, but that 'high considerations' did not permit the immediate recall of the French troops. Finding all his remonstrances without effect, the Pontiff was fain to make a virtue of necessity and to intimate that he would acquiesce in the stay of the French troops as a matter of accommodation, and in order to show to the world his desire to preserve the general peace. It was stipulated, however, that the troops were to be withdrawn as soon as the Pope should be able to dispense with the

assistance of the Austrians. This arrangement, in the meantime, prevented the outbreak of hostilities between the two Powers; but it afforded a presage of the ultimate expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and the union of all the states of the peninsula in one free and independent kingdom.

In no country of Europe could the French revolution have been expected to produce a greater effect than in Spain, for none stood in more need of political regeneration. But it excited much less sensation here than was expected. The Liberal party had been almost destroyed by the sword, the scaffold, the dungeon, and exile; and the Spanish refugees in France and other countries were without money or organization, and differed so widely among themselves that united and energetic action against the Government was hopeless. The Spanish Liberals, who had taken refuge in France, as soon as the Bourbon dynasty was overthrown, hastened to the frontiers for the purpose of exciting their countrymen to imitate the example of the French revolutionists. They succeeded in collecting at Bayonne a few hundreds of French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish sympathizers, but they had neither money, nor arms or ammunition, nor a commissariat. They had not even taken means to ascertain the state of feeling among their countrymen, or whether they were likely to obtain reinforcements in Spain. The disunion in their ranks was of itself sufficient to ruin their cause. General Mina was appointed Commander-in-chief, but a number of the subordinates refused to obey his orders. Colonel Valdez, one of those self-willed and turbulent officers, set out on his own account to invade the country, and crossed the frontier of Navarre at Urduch, at the head of a force of about 800 men. He speedily came in contact with a body of from 6000 to 8000 royal troops, and after a brief but stubborn conflict the refugees were driven back across the frontier. Mina, who was in the vicinity of the field, sent the greater part of his men to the assistance of Valdez,

and after many romantic and hairbreadth escapes he succeeded in making his way back into France.

The Carlist insurrection against King Ferdinand was a much more formidable affair. By the old laws of Spain females were included in the order of succession to the throne; but in 1713 the Salic law was introduced by Philip V., limiting the succession to heirs male. Charles IV., however, re-established the ancient rule, but the Cortes in 1812 restored the Salic law. The infant Don Carlos was therefore at this time presumptive heir to the crown. Ferdinand's queen (his third) died in May 1829, and in November following he took for his fourth wife a Neapolitan princess, Christina Maria, his sister's daughter.* She was about to make him for the first time a father, and in order to secure the crown to his own child, whether it should be male or female, Ferdinand resolved to revoke the Salic law, which excluded females from the throne. His design was kept so secret that it was first made known to the Carlists by the public proclamation of the decree, with the usual formalities, in the streets of Madrid. The partisans of Don Carlos were so indignant at the mode in which the claims of their chief had been set aside that, without waiting for the expected heir, they at once entered into rash and ill-concerted plots against the king and the Government, which were detected before they were ripe for execution. A number of the leaders of the Carlist party, including the Archbishop of Toledo and several other ecclesiastical dignitaries, along with some persons who had held important offices in the state, were banished the capital.

* The marriages of this weak, cruel, and worthless despot were an outrage on morality and all right feeling. His first wife, a daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, was his cousin. His second wife, Isabella, daughter of John VI. of Portugal, was his niece, and her sister was his brother's wife. His third wife was Maria of Saxony. His fourth was his own niece, and, on her father's side, was niece to Ferdinand's first wife. Of course a Papal dispensation was necessary to legitimize these disgusting violations of the Canon law.

Ferdinand's precaution in removing the restrictions of the Salic law on the succession to the throne showed his foresight, for the infant born by his queen, on the 10th of October, was a daughter, who was named Isabella Maria Louise. In order to give additional security that the crown should descend to her, and not to his brother, Ferdinand summoned a meeting of the Cortes, before which the repeal of the Salic law was repeated and confirmed, and the Infanta Isabella recognized as Princess of Asturias. The country continued to be disturbed by the plots both of the Liberals and the Carlists. An insurrection, concerted by a band of refugees at Gibraltar, broke out at Cadiz in 1831, at the head of which was General Torrijas. But the insurgents received no assistance either from the populace or the garrison; and their leader, with fifty-three of his followers, fled to Malaga, where they were taken prisoners and all put to death in cold blood. In the month of September, 1832, Ferdinand was seized with a dangerous illness, and was apparently dying. The Carlists urged their master to take advantage of his brother's condition, and at once to seize the crown. But a less dangerous plan was adopted to restore his claims. The priests, and their coadjutors in the Ministry who surrounded the king's sick-bed, prevailed upon him, at what seemed his last hour, to disinherit his daughter and give his assent to a decree re-enacting the Salic law. But after he had been for some time in a state of unconsciousness, the disease unexpectedly and at once took a favourable turn, and a partial and temporary recovery took place. The young queen found no difficulty in exciting the indignation of her feeble and facile husband against the men who had taken advantage of his bodily and mental weakness, when he was apparently in the agonies of death. The Ministry were immediately dismissed, and their chief was imprisoned in a fortress. The queen was appointed Regent during the illness of the king. A new Ministry

was formed by her, composed of moderate Liberals, at the head of which was placed M. Zea Bermudez, who was recalled from the London embassy for the purpose. The Universities, which had been closed by their ultra-absolutist predecessors, were opened by a decree which dilated in strong terms on 'the ignorance that like a disease had spread so extensively throughout all classes of the nation.' A general amnesty was also proclaimed for past political offences; and the Liberals who had been compelled to flee the country were now allowed to return, and to resume possession of their property as well as the exercise of their professions. And on the last day of the year, Ferdinand issued a decree formally recalling the ordinance by which he had restored the law of Philip V., excluding females from the succession, and declared that it had been extorted from him not only when immediate decease was expected, but by false representations that it was demanded by the whole Spanish nation, and was necessary to preserve the inviolability of the monarchy, whereas it had only been desired by an ambitious and unscrupulous faction, and was opposed to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The Liberal policy, thus inaugurated through the influence of the queen, gave the utmost satisfaction to the great body of the people, and such stability to the Government that in Madrid itself the Spanish funds rose ten per cent.

While Spain had thus at last obtained at least partial relief from arbitrary and despotic government and priestly thralldom, affairs in Portugal had gone from bad to worse under the sway of Don Miguel. By a series of acts displaying almost incredible folly, injustice, and cruelty, he had rendered himself odious and contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, as well as of the people who were unhappily subjected to his tyranny. In the year 1830 it was asserted that no fewer than 40,000 persons were under arrest in Lisbon for alleged political offences, while 5000 more were in hiding in different parts of the country. The dungeons of the capital

were crowded almost to suffocation by citizens, many of them of good position in society, who had become the objects of the tyrant's suspicion, but against whom no formal charge was made, and whose urgent demands for a trial before the legal tribunals were obstinately refused. The persons confined in the loathsome dungeon of St. Julian, under the charge of a jailer after Don Miguel's own heart, were lodged in dark, damp, subterranean cells, exposed to rain and all weathers. Fresh air was admitted to these dens only through the fissures of the door, to which the wretched inmates in turn applied their mouths. Salt water was repeatedly given them to drink; their provisions, frequently in a state of corruption, had gravel and dirt purposely mingled with them to render them unfit for food. Sick prisoners were subjected by the governor to solitary confinement for twenty-four and sometimes for forty-eight hours in total darkness, in damp dungeons filled with vermin, and without a bed or water or even food. The treatment received by these miserable victims of tyranny was formally brought under the notice of Don Miguel, but without the slightest effect. The death of his mother, who was justly regarded as the instigator of his cruelties, failed to produce any mitigation of the sufferings endured by the inmates of the Lisbon dungeons; and the transportation of others, guiltless of any crime and not even accused of any offence, to the pestilential shores of Africa continued without intermission. Magistrates, members of the Cortes, and other persons of good families and the most respectable character, were shipped off for Angola, chained in company with the most abandoned ruffians, robbers, and assassins; and after enduring the horrors of a slave ship in the middle passage, the survivors were condemned to the same punishment with those criminals.

The impunity with which Don Miguel was allowed to perpetrate such barbarities on his own countrymen emboldened him to commit lawless outrages on British

subjects. Vessels were seized under the pretext that they intended to break the blockade of Terceira, and their crews were subjected to the most cruel and unmanly treatment. The houses of British residents in Lisbon were forcibly entered during the night, and their inmates thrown into prison without any cause assigned, and in one instance ostensibly by the express order of Don Miguel himself. Reparation for these and other similar cases of maltreatment were repeatedly demanded, but in vain. The Portuguese ministers were loud in their expressions of regret for those untoward occurrences; but no punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators, and no means adopted to prevent the repetition of such excesses. At length Mr. Hoppner, the Consul-General at Lisbon, assured the British Ministry that 'so long as the authorities of this country are permitted to entertain the conviction that His Majesty's Government will be appeased by the mere protestations of their regret for acts which are unparalleled among any other people pretending to civilization, neither the persons nor the property of British subjects can be considered as secure in this country, nor must we be surprised if not a week passes without a repetition of similar insults.'

On receiving this communication the Government instructed the Consul-General to demand within ten days the formal dismissal from the public service of the commander of the frigate who had maltreated the crew and passengers of the *St. Helena* packet, and of the magistrates who had violated the privileges and forcibly entered the houses of British residents in Lisbon. He was also to require that adequate compensation should be given to the individuals who had been subjected to these outrages; that the illegal exaction of excessive duties on the importation of articles of British manufacture should immediately cease; that a positive engagement should be given that the rights of British subjects should henceforth be duly

and strictly observed; and that the dismissal of the offending officials, along with the reasons for their disgrace, should be notified in the *Lisbon Gazette*. A squadron of six British ships of war cruised off the mouth of the Tagus while Don Miguel and his ministers were deliberating what reply should be sent to the requirements of the British Government; and they were informed by the Consul-General that if they should refuse to comply with these demands he was directed to quit Lisbon, and the squadron would forthwith carry into execution the instructions of the Lords of the Admiralty to detain and send to England all vessels bearing the Portuguese flag. Don Miguel, bully and ruffian as he had shown himself, was too well aware of the consequences which would follow a refusal of reparation for the outrages he had committed, to decline compliance with the demands of the British Ministry. Before the limited time allowed him for consideration had expired, every one of these demands was acceded to; and the *Lisbon Gazette* announced, on the 2nd of May, the dismissal of the whole of the obnoxious magistrates and officers for having been guilty of illegal and oppressive conduct towards British subjects.

Don Miguel, however, had not yet drained the cup of humiliation which his lawless outrages on the rights of other nations had filled and put to his lips. The French residents in Lisbon had received the same brutal treatment as the British at the hands of the Portuguese authorities. Monsieur Bonhomme, a French student at Coimbra, was accused of behaving in an indecent manner in the cathedral during Passion Week; and though the evidence was quite insufficient to sustain the charge, he was found guilty, condemned to be publicly whipped through the streets of Lisbon, and then transported for ten years to Angola. Monsieur Sauvinet, a French merchant seventy-six years of age, was charged with complicity in a conspiracy to excite an insurrection, the signal for which,

it was said, was to be given by a discharge of sky-rockets. The only evidence adduced in proof of this accusation, was the testimony of a serjeant, who affirmed that he had seen a rocket ascend from M. Sauvinet's garden. Other French subjects had been subjected to arbitrary imprisonment at Lisbon and Oporto. The French Government demanded 'an immediate and peremptory satisfaction' for these outrages. The demand was not only refused, but orders were issued that the sentence pronounced upon Monsieur Bonhomme should be immediately executed, and Don Miguel remarked that 'the French should have him, but with his back well flayed.' At the same time the cruel treatment of Monsieur Sauvinet was studiously and meanly aggravated. 'His food was carried to him in a bowl by a galley-slave, and thrust before him on the ground as if he were a dog; and he was allowed neither knife nor fork to eat it.' On the 15th of May a French squadron, consisting of two frigates and some smaller craft, appeared off the mouth of the Tagus and demanded the immediate liberation of Bonhomme and Sauvinet, the dismissal of the judges who had condemned Bonhomme, and compensation to these and the other French subjects who had suffered cruel and illegal treatment.

These demands were refused, and the French squadron immediately began reprisals on the Portuguese flag. Don Miguel, strange to say, had flattered himself with the hope that the British Government would protect him from the merited punishment which France was about to inflict upon him. He claimed the aid of that Government on the plea that as he was not at war with Britain, she was bound by treaty to defend him against all aggressors. Lord Palmerston, however, promptly rejected the application, and stated that, while perfectly aware of the obligations towards Portugal imposed by treaties, 'His Majesty's Government do not admit that the true meaning of these treaties can compel them blindly to take up any quarrel into which a Portuguese administration may, in its infatuation,

plunge its country, or to defend that administration, right or wrong, against all whom it may choose to injure or affront.' His lordship, however, was of opinion that the British Government would be bound to interpose their good offices according to the stipulations of the treaty, and it was only because they thought Don Miguel very much in the wrong, that they did not do so; and the heavy responsibility of all the calamities that may issue from a contest with a Power with which they are utterly unable to cope must be with those who now govern Portugal, despising all considerations of ordinary prudence, and neglecting and rejecting the counsels given them by their disinterested advisers.

The Portuguese usurper, however, with his characteristic perversity and stupid obstinacy, refused to follow Palmerston's advice to satisfy the French without delay, and persisted in his brutal treatment of Bonhomme and Sauvinet. The French squadron, in consequence, continued their captures of Portuguese vessels; at the same time causing it to be known through the prisoners whom they liberated, that they were making war against Don Miguel, and not against the people of Portugal. As the capture of Portuguese merchantmen, followed by the battering of a fort which had fired upon the French cruisers, produced no redress, the French Government resolved to adopt more energetic measures to enforce their claims. On the 6th of July the French squadron, which had been largely reinforced, and now had on board a considerable body of troops, took up a position at the mouth of the Tagus, and three days later the Commander, Admiral Roussin, sent in a flag of truce repeating the demands of his Government, and requiring in addition a pecuniary indemnity to cover the expenses of the expedition. Don Miguel was now willing to relieve the two French subjects, whom he had so brutally maltreated; but he still refused compliance with the other demands of France, proposing to treat for a settlement of these under the

mediation of England. On receiving this reply, Admiral Roussin, on the 11th of July, forced the entrance of the Tagus with little loss from the cannonading of the Portuguese forts which lined its banks, and anchored his squadron within gunshot of the royal palace. The vessels of Don Miguel at once surrendered without resistance, and were carried as prizes to Brest, and their master was then at last compelled to intimate his compliance with all the demands of the French Government.

This result gave much satisfaction to France and to the Liberal party in Britain, but was exceedingly distasteful to the English Tory party, who professed great indignation, mixed with a feeling of shame, when they learned that 'the tricolor flag was displayed under the walls of Lisbon.' But as Palmerston remarked, 'It would have been the height of injustice if we had turned round upon France and said, "You shall get no reparation for 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 your wrongs, you must prepare to meet an English fleet upon the ocean and an English army upon the field."' 'Faith and justice,' as Mackintosh observed, 'were indissolubly bound together' in the treaty between our country and Portugal. 'Were it otherwise, it would be a league between robbers, and not a defensive treaty between nations.'

Don Miguel, thus humbled to the dust by Great Britain and France, revenged himself after his manner by inflicting increased brutalities on the victims of his tyranny at home. A special commission was appointed at Lisbon, consisting of four judges and three military officers, to try all persons accused or suspected of sedition. The proceedings were to be 'summary and merely verbal, without the legal formalities of which

persons guilty of such execrable acts are unworthy,' and the sentences were to be executed within twenty-four hours after they were passed. The treatment which this tribunal meted out to the persons alleged to be guilty of seditious designs was revolting in the extreme. Even after death their bodies were treated with ignominy, and were ultimately burnt, and their ashes thrown into the Tagus. The dungeons were crowded with prisoners, and even on the public streets persons suspected of dissatisfaction with the existing arbitrary domination were attacked and beaten by ruffians who, there was good reason to believe, were in the employment of the police.

While Don Miguel, like other bullies and cowards, was thus cowering before the strong and tyrannizing over the weak, he was threatened by a danger from a new and formidable quarter. His elder brother, Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, who had resigned his South American crown in favour of his son, returned to Europe in the end of May, 1831, when the French fleet was blockading the Tagus, bringing with him his daughter, Donna Maria, who was by right Queen of Portugal. Indeed, it was only as Regent during her minority that Don Miguel had first obtained the power which he employed to usurp the government of the country. After issuing from Terceira a decree in favour of his daughter, Don Pedro proceeded to France, where he was received in the most friendly manner by the Government; and though no direct assistance was given him, he was permitted without hindrance to make preparations to vindicate his daughter's claims to the crown of Portugal. The British Government acted in a similar manner, and a great number of officers of both nations, as well as of British seamen, enlisted in Donna Maria's cause.

The news of Don Pedro's arrival in Europe made Don Miguel and his ministers redouble their cruelties, instead of trying to regain the confidence of the nation by

mildness and moderation. A system of espionage and persecution now extended throughout the whole kingdom, and not a few even of the most loyal subjects were consigned to the overcrowded dungeons of the capital on mere suspicion, or the denunciations of common informers or personal enemies. These atrocities, of course, only increased the general dissatisfaction, and at length even the military were alienated from the Government. On the 21st of August, a regiment of the line quartered at Lisbon mutinied, and declared for Donna Maria. A sharp encounter took place between the mutineers and an overpowering force of the royalist troops, which led to a heavy loss of life on both sides, and terminated in the defeat of the insurgents. But this success only renewed and increased the brutal outrages of the Miguelite troops. All who were suspected of adherence to Don Pedro were treated as rebels, and the fortresses and state prisons were crowded with persons guiltless of any crime. The English and French resident merchants, and even the officers of the British ships of war in the Tagus, were attacked by the armed volunteers who were enlisted to support Don Miguel. The British Government insisted that the perpetrators of these unprovoked outrages should not go unpunished. As the Portuguese authorities professed their inability to do so, the commander of the British squadron in the Tagus was obliged to station two of his vessels off the quarters of the city which were threatened by these ruffians, who were encouraged rather than repressed by the police; and the British Ministry, on receiving information respecting the state of anarchy existing in Portugal, sent additional ships of war to the Tagus and the Douro, for the protection of the British residents.

Meanwhile Don Pedro was busily engaged in organizing an expedition on the shores of France; 3000 British volunteers enlisted in his service, including several officers of the royal navy. Four vessels,

laden with troops and warlike stores for his equipment, were permitted to sail from the Thames without hindrance. Captain Sartorius, an officer of the Royal Navy, was appointed commander of the fleet. His name was removed from the Navy List, but the Government exhibited no other indication of their disapproval of the enterprise.

Belleisle, a small island near the mouth of the Loire, was the appointed place of rendezvous. Thence the expedition proceeded to Terceira, which had throughout remained faithful to Donna Maria. The Regency which governed the island in her name had recently captured St. George, another island of the Azores, and had followed up this success by an expedition, commanded by Villa Flor (who, with the Marquis of Palmella and Councillor Guerreiro, constituted the Regency), against St. Michael, which was garrisoned by 3000 men. The Miguelite force made a vigorous resistance, but were completely defeated; and in the course of three days the whole island submitted to the invaders.

Some months elapsed before Don Pedro was prepared to undertake an attack upon his brother's Government in Portugal; but at last he sailed from St. Michael on the 27th of June, 1832. The expedition consisted of two frigates, three corvettes, three armed brigs, and four schooners, besides transports and a number of gunboats to cover the landing. The fleet had on board an army of about 10,000 men, of whom about 1500 consisted of French and British volunteers. They were scantily provided with cavalry and artillery, but appear to have been well equipped in other respects. The point at which a landing was to be attempted was carefully concealed, and in consequence Don Miguel, though fully aware of the intended invasion, could not take any effective measures to prevent the disembarkation of the invading forces.

At length, on the 8th of July, Don Pedro's fleet appeared off the Douro, and a landing was at once effected without oppo-

sition, a little to the northward of that river. Next morning the troops advanced upon Oporto, and took possession of that city, the second in the kingdom, in the course of the day, without the loss of a single man. The small force which Don Miguel had stationed in the neighbourhood was too weak to offer any opposition, and retreated towards Lisbon.

While the invaders were completing their arrangements for maintaining the important position which they had so easily gained, Don Miguel on his part was preparing to attack them. His troops menaced Oporto from two points. An encounter took place on the 18th of July, and another on the 22nd, in both of which the Miguelites were worsted and driven back. The results, however, were not of a decisive character, and the attacks which the Constitutionalists in turn made upon the positions of their opponents failed of success. The country, meanwhile, continued indifferent to the struggle; and either through ignorance and apathy, or the influence of the priesthood, who to a man were the partisans of Don Miguel, the great body of the people showed no desire to promote the interests of Donna Maria.

The operations of the naval squadron were of the same undecided character. Admiral Sartorius, as soon as Oporto had been occupied by the land forces, put to sea with a part of his ships, and on the 3rd of August came in contact with the fleet of Don Miguel, which he discovered to be superior in strength; and after two or three broadsides had been exchanged, having the weather-gage, he sheered off. Another partial engagement took place on the 10th between the two fleets, but no advantage was gained on either side. The hostile fleets encountered a third time shortly after near Vigo. The engagement lasted four hours, and a great deal of damage was inflicted on the vessels in both squadrons, and a considerable number of their crews were killed and wounded. Both sides, as usual, claimed the victory.

Don Pedro remained some months in Oporto, occupying himself in strengthening the fortifications of the city, while Don Miguel was actively engaged in preparations to drive him from that position. He had succeeded in largely increasing both the number of his troops and the strength of his artillery; and on the 8th of September, after a stubborn contest, they made themselves masters of the suburb of Villa Nova, from which they kept up a harassing fire upon the city, and made reiterated, though not successful, assaults on the convent of Serra, which overlooked that suburb. On the other hand, the attempts of the Constitutionalists to drive the Miguelites from Villa Nova were equally unsuccessful. On the 29th of September a general attack was made by the latter on all the works round Oporto, which lasted for seven hours, and was attended with great loss of life on both sides, especially on the part of the French and British battalions. Don Pedro claimed the victory, but his assailants were allowed to retreat without molestation to their former positions. On the 13th of October another furious attack was made upon the Serra, but the Miguelites after suffering heavy losses were forced to retire within their lines. Finding that he was unable to carry Oporto by storm, Don Miguel resolved to cut off all supplies from the city. The positions occupied by his army already prevented the Constitutionalists from receiving provisions and forage from the interior, and a vigorous effort was now made to close the mouth of the Douro by the erection of batteries along the south shore. The attempt was only partially successful, but it had the effect of reducing both the troops and the citizens to great straits. At the close of the year matters remained in this unsatisfactory and unpromising state. Don Pedro had made no progress in persuading the Portuguese nation to take up arms in his daughter's cause, or in ejecting his brother from the throne which he had usurped. He had not only been unable to advance beyond the

position which he had first occupied, but he found himself blockaded by a superior force, and hemmed in by the works which they had erected, his supplies cut off, and his troops diminished in number, badly clothed, and scantily fed—suffering under the deficiency of military equipments, and their pay largely in arrears. There was at this time little prospect that the tide would turn in his favour, and that his enterprise would ultimately be crowned with complete success.

It remains only to notice the results of the revolution of 1830 in France itself, as regards its internal tranquillity and prosperity, and its relations with other countries. For a while the new king and the royal family were popular, and the people apparently contented. But the stagnation of trade, commercial depression, and distress among the working classes, which unfortunately existed at this time, soon began to produce uneasiness and discontent, and led to disturbances and riots in the capital and other large towns. The plots and seditious movements which occurred at brief intervals kept the Government in continual anxiety. The first cabinet of Louis Philippe was formed by a coalition of three parties; the Duke de Broglie being President of the Council, with Dupont de l'Eure, Gerard, Molé, Sebastiani, Louis, Guizot, Lafitte, Pèrier, Dupin, Aîné, and Bignon as his colleagues. His Ministry was soon torn by dissensions, and was dissolved about the end of October, 1830, during the trial of the ex-ministers in consequence of a dispute respecting the dismissal of Odillon Barrot, Prefect of the Seine. Lafitte, the eminent Parisian banker, was made President of the Council in the new Cabinet, Soult became Minister of War, and Sebastiani of Foreign Affairs. The declaration of the Prime Minister that the Cabinet was unanimously of opinion that liberty should be accompanied by order, and that the inflexible execution of the laws was indispensable, made the Parisians aware that no further concessions would be made to the demands

of the revolutionary party. The public finances were in a most unsatisfactory state, and a great fall took place in the funds. At the same time the public expenditure was largely increased, in consequence of the addition which had been made to the national army owing to the hostile attitude of the three northern Powers towards France, and the complication of affairs in Belgium. The Republican party in the Chamber of Deputies clamoured loudly for the immediate union of that country to France; and though the Cabinet, supported by the majority of the Chamber, repudiated the proposal, there can be no doubt that some of the Ministers were inclined to look upon it with favour, and would have actively promoted the scheme, but for the resolute opposition of the British Government.

The budget of 1831 made public the unsatisfactory financial condition of the country. The floating debt, for which it was necessary to provide, amounted to £58,500,000, being an increase of nearly £20,000,000 on the budget of 1815. Taking into account every source of revenue which the country possessed or the Ministry could suggest, there still remained a deficit of £8,450,000 to be provided for by loan, or carried forward as a floating debt. To increase the perplexities of the Government, commerce was at a stand still, manufactures were in the lowest state of depression, and vast numbers of unemployed and starving operatives crowded the streets and clamoured for bread. The populace interrupted a funeral service in memory of the Duke de Berri, held on the 14th of February, the anniversary of his murder; pillaged and demolished the church, the house of the priest, and the palace of the archbishop; and also attacked religious edifices in other towns. When explanations were asked in the Chamber of Deputies respecting these outrages, the Minister of the Interior, the Prefect of the Seine, and the Prefect of Police, indulged in mutual recriminations, which served only to dis-

play the feebleness and want of union in the Ministry, and led to their speedy downfall. It was felt by all the respectable classes of society that a strong Government was necessary in the critical position of the country. The Lafitte Cabinet resigned, and on the 13th of March, 1831, Casimir Pèrier became Prime Minister of France.

The new President of the Council was distinguished both for his firmness and his moderation, and his colleagues were equally determined to resist the dictation of the mob at home and aggressive war abroad. His weak and vacillating predecessor had allowed his intriguing war minister, Sebastiani, to counteract the efforts of Talleyrand to maintain amicable relations with England, and to settle the Belgian question on an equitable and judicious basis. But though that minister was still allowed to retain the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, the policy of the Cabinet underwent an entire change. The new Prime Minister, on his accession to office, publicly declared that he entered the Cabinet as a minister 'of resistance.' 'The revolution of July,' he said, 'was founded on a principle, not of insurrection, but of legitimate resistance to the oppression of power; it had only changed the political system, but had not destroyed social order; it had founded a Government, not inaugurated anarchy. France required from her Government that order be maintained, that the laws be executed, and that authority be respected. Order is the chief of all our wants. The maintenance of tranquillity is the maintenance of liberty. All sedition is a crime, under whatsoever flag it is arrayed; any act of violence is the beginning of anarchy. We shall propose to you laws to repress sedition and violence.' In regard to foreign affairs, he said, 'No Power had a right to interfere by force of arms in the internal affairs of other nations, but France was prepared to interfere wherever that principle was not respected. He was prepared to sustain the principle of non-intervention by negotiation, but the safety or the honour of France ought alone

to call upon them to take up arms. The blood of Frenchmen belongs alone to France. As to the nations of Europe who wished to emancipate themselves from a tyrannical yoke, their destinies were in their own hands; liberty ought always to be a self-created privilege of home growth.

The revolutionary party were, of course, very much dissatisfied with this explicit declaration, that the new Ministry would maintain order at home and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. But it gave great satisfaction abroad, and especially to the British Ministry, who had been seriously annoyed by the intrigues of Sebastiani, the organ of the aggressive party in France. That Minister found himself placed in a very awkward position when Lafayette questioned him in the Chamber of Deputies whether he had not declared that the French Government would never consent to the Austrian troops suppressing the Italian insurrections. 'Between not consenting and making war,' was his reply, 'there is a great difference.' 'And I,' said Lafayette, 'aver that after an official declaration, such special pleading as this is unworthy the dignity and honour of the French people.'

The Chamber of Deputies was prorogued on the 20th of April, and dissolved on the 3rd of May. On the 23rd of July the session of the new Chamber was opened by the king in a speech which bore the impress of the firmness and good sense of the Prime Minister. The intervention in the case of the French residents in Portugal had contributed somewhat to strengthen the Government; but it was still by no means stable, and a combination of disappointed and dissatisfied deputies threatened its existence. A trial of strength took place on the choice of the President of the new Chamber. The Opposition candidate was Lafitte, the Ministerial, Girod de l'Ain—a somewhat unfortunate choice, as he had hitherto filled only the subordinate office of prefect of the Parisian police. Pèrier staked the existence of his Ministry on the

election of his candidate, and declared that he would resign if Lafitte should be chosen by the Chamber. But notwithstanding, Girod de l'Ain obtained a majority of only four votes. Pèrier was so much mortified at this result, that along with his colleagues, Sebastiani, Louis, and Montalevet, he immediately resigned. The king was thus placed in a state of great perplexity; but while efforts were being made to form a new ministry, intelligence was received that the King of Holland had commenced hostilities against Belgium, and the situation of affairs appeared so critical, that Pèrier and his three colleagues were induced to recall their resignations, and an army of 50,000 men, under Marshal Girard, was despatched with all speed to interpose between the combatants in the Netherlands.

This prompt interposition in behalf of the Belgians contributed not a little to strengthen the Ministry; but they were made aware in a very striking manner, that the Chamber of Deputies did not approve of their refusal to assist the Poles in their death-struggle with the colossal power of Russia. When General Lamarque exclaimed, during the discussion on this subject, 'Let us save Poland,' the whole Assembly rose like one man. The terms employed by Sebastiani to describe the fall of the capital of Poland—'Order reigns at Warsaw'—gave deep offence to the moderate royalists, as well as to the republicans; and a duel, fortunately harmless, which took place between that Minister and General Lamarque, to whom he publicly gave the lie, did not tend to raise him in general estimation. Still, notwithstanding this untoward occurrence, the Ministry continued to gain strength; and while Pèrier's non-intervention policy gained him the confidence of the foreign Governments, the services which France rendered to Belgium in the siege and capture of Antwerp, together with the expedition to Ancona, gave stability to his administration at home. But notwithstanding, a series of plots and street riots kept the Government in a con-

tinual state of apprehension and anxiety. At one time there were risings of workmen, in consequence of the want of employment and the pinchings of hunger. At another the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by the conspiracies of the Bonapartists. The Society of the Friends of the People kept up the general excitement by disseminating publications advocating the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic; then violent collisions took place between the public authorities and the Legitimists at Toulouse, Marseilles, and other towns. Bands of Chouans and Vendéans traversed the western departments, committing all kinds of excesses on the supporters of the existing dynasty; so that it required all the firmness and energy of the Prime Minister to repress disorder at home and to maintain peace abroad.

The most important question of the session, as regarded domestic affairs, was the abolition of a hereditary peerage. At the recent general election, a strong feeling was exhibited against all hereditary privileges of every kind, and a great majority of the Deputies had declared themselves in favour of their abolition. The Prime Minister himself was friendly to a hereditary peerage; but the public feeling was so strong on the other side, that he was forced to yield to its pressure. The Government accordingly submitted to the Lower Chamber a proposal that the hereditary peerage should be abolished, and on the 18th of October the bill was carried by a majority of 316 to 40 votes. It was ascertained, however, that a majority of the members of the Upper Chamber were hostile to the ministerial project, and it was found necessary to make a new creation of peers (20th November, 1831), to the number of thirty-six, in order to carry it. Even after this step had been taken, there was only a majority of thirty-three in its favour. This measure was followed by a bill banishing from France all the members of the elder branch of the Bourbon family and their descendants, and

along with them all the kindred of Napoleon were excluded from the kingdom.

The progress of order and good government in the country was unfortunately arrested by the lamented death of the Prime Minister. The cholera made its appearance in Paris in the month of March, and excited such alarm that, in order to allay the panic, Louis Philippe paid a visit on the 2nd of April to the cholera patients lying in the Hôtel Dieu. He was accompanied by Casimir Pèrier, and four days later the Minister was seized with this fatal malady. His constitution, weakened by the toils and cares of office, and the excitement of the debates in the Chamber, was unable to resist the attack. He lingered, however, for several weeks, but died on the 16th of May, causing an irreparable loss to the Government and the country. He had by his firmness and resolution resisted the progress of anarchy in France, established social order on a firm basis, and preserved peace abroad. He had strictly followed the principles of the Constitution, and had governed the country by the Chambers only, resisting alike the intermeddling of the king and the dictation of the mob. His death created a blank in the Ministry, which it was impossible adequately to fill up.

The enemies of the Government availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the removal of the firm hand of the Premier, to make a vigorous effort for the overthrow, not only of the Ministry, but of the existing monarchy. A conspiracy was formed by a combination of Republicans and Carlists to attack the Tuileries on the 1st of February, when a ball was to be held there; and it was alleged that it was their intention to assassinate the king, as well as to overturn the Government. The plot was fortunately discovered by the police, and the whole body of conspirators were arrested at the moment when they were preparing to rise in arms. A commotion, not arising, however, from political causes, broke out at this time in Grenoble, which the mili-

tary had to be called in to suppress. In the department of La Vendée, and some of the neighbouring districts of the west, bands of the Legitimists traversed the country, collecting money and weapons, declaring in public proclamations that they did not recognize Louis Philippe as their lawful sovereign, and warning the people not to pay taxes to his Government. At this period, too, the Opposition issued the famous manifesto, entitled the 'Compte Rendu,' signed by 140 Deputies. It accused the Ministers of having violated their promises, adopted coercive measures against the liberal party, given way before hostile monarchs, sown division among the National Guards, and fettered the press by their prosecutions, and of having been guilty of many other political crimes and misdemeanours.

In the meantime the movements of the Legitimists in the south and west of the country were becoming more alarming; and preparations were evidently making by them for a general rising. An insurrection broke out prematurely at Marseilles on the 30th of April, but was so badly arranged and managed that it was quelled without difficulty. At this juncture the Duchess de Berri, who had for some time been residing in the states of the Duke of Modena, landed in the bay of Ciotat, between Marseilles and Toulon, accompanied by Marshal Bourmont, and made her way across the country into La Vendée. As soon as her arrival in that district was ascertained, a royal ordinance was issued on the 3rd of June, placing under martial law the four departments of Maine and Loire, La Vendée, Loire Inférieure, and Deux Sevres. Two days later it became necessary, in consequence of a dangerous insurrection, to place Paris itself in a state of siege. General Lamarque, an old soldier of the empire, who on the downfall of Napoleon had become a violent republican, died of cholera, and his funeral obsequies were performed on the 5th of June. The Government had been warned that the

republican party intended to avail themselves of the opportunity to rise in arms, and numerous detachments of troops had been posted on the route which the funeral car was to take. An immense multitude assembled in the streets, and alarming symptoms of an intended outbreak speedily became apparent. On the Place de la Bastille funeral orations of a highly inflammatory nature were delivered. General Lafayette, who was present, earnestly recommended the crowd to return quietly to their homes; but on the conclusion of his address, when he had been carried off in triumph by his friends, the multitude who surrounded the hearse raised the cry, 'To the Pantheon! To the Pantheon!' and at the same time a red flag was displayed bearing the inscription, 'Liberty or Death.' A body of cavalry who were brought up at this instant were fired on by the mob, and several of the men and horses were wounded. They were at length compelled in self-defence to discharge their carbines, and ultimately succeeded in expelling the rabble from the Square. The troops then proceeded by repeated charges to sweep the line of the Boulevards, and the thoroughfare through the Faubourg St. Antoine. But the insurgents had prepared for such a movement by erecting barricades, formed of waggons and other vehicles filled with stones taken from the pavement, across the narrow streets which open on the Boulevards and on the wider thoroughfares. They also succeeded in disarming or driving out the soldiers stationed in the isolated military posts in that neighbourhood. The troops were now compelled to fall back until reinforcements and artillery could be obtained from the barracks in the vicinity of the city, and the National Guard could be called out. An express was also sent to St. Cloud, where the king was residing, to make him aware that his crown was in danger.

The insurgents availed themselves of the temporary withdrawal of the troops from immediate conflict to extend their move-

ments, and to push forward and strengthen their positions on both banks of the Seine. They had in fact obtained possession of one half of the city, and had strongly barricaded the avenues by which their posts could be approached and assailed. About three o'clock in the morning the troops, assisted by the National Guards, having arranged their movements, made a simultaneous attack on the positions held by the insurgents. They offered a stubborn resistance, and the conflict was kept up for four or five hours with great spirit. At length the soldiers succeeded in carrying the barricades, and the insurgents took to flight in all directions. The loss of life in this miserable internecine contest was considerable on both sides. The troops had fifty-five men killed and 240 wounded. Of the National Guard, eighteen were killed and 104 wounded; and of the insurgents it was estimated that ninety-three were killed and 291 wounded; but the full amount of their losses was probably not made known.

On the morning of the 7th a royal ordinance was published proclaiming Paris in a state of siege. Numerous arrests were made, not only of persons charged with taking part in the insurrection, but of editors of the public journals and members of the Chamber of Deputies; and during the night of the 6th the agents of the police seized the printing presses of the republican newspapers in order to prevent the publication of articles hostile to the proceedings of the Government in regard to the insurrection. This was clearly an illegal step, as martial law was not proclaimed till several hours later. A number of the most eminent lawyers, with M. Mauguin at their head, published an opinion declaring that the ordinance itself was illegal, as it proceeded solely on the authority of the executive power; and that even if it were legal, it could have no retrospective effect.

The Government ordered all the persons accused of complicity in the late commotion

to be tried by courts-martial. The greater part of those brought to trial were acquitted; but one of them was sentenced to hard labour for twenty years, another to ten years' imprisonment; while a young painter, who was proved to have had in his possession the flag bearing the inscription, 'Liberty or Death,' and to have supplied the insurgents with ammunition, was condemned to death. But all the prisoners who were convicted appealed against their sentences on the ground that they had not been tried by a competent tribunal; and the Court of Cassation declared the proceedings illegal, and quashed all the sentences. On the following day a royal ordinance appeared in the *Moniteur*, declaring that the siege of Paris was raised and the ordinary law of the country restored. The persons accused were then brought before the Court of Assizes, and a few of them were found guilty and condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted by the king. The editors of the *Journal du Commerce*, the *Messenger des Chambres*, and the *National* were prosecuted for publishing seditious articles; but in all the cases the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. A number of the pupils of the Polytechnic School had taken a prominent part in the insurrection, and the school was now closed by a royal ordinance and the scholars disbanded. The Veterinary School of Alfort received similar treatment; and one of the mayors of Paris was deprived of his office.

The presence of the Duchess de Berri in La Vendée kept that department and the adjoining districts in a state of commotion. The most eminent leaders of her party, Chateaubriand, the Duke of Fitz-James, and Hyde de Neuville, recommended her to withdraw from the contest and to quit France; but she persisted in remaining for the purpose of exciting an insurrection on behalf of her son, now a boy of twelve years of age. She had intended that an insurrection of the Legitimist party should take place on the 24th of May, but owing to the

remonstrances of her friends it was countermanded as premature and hopeless. Proclamations, however, were profusely scattered by her as Regent of France, exhorting the people to remain faithful to their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and promising rewards and decorations to the army. Some partial risings took place in the beginning of June, in spite of the remonstrances of the most influential friends of the cause; but they led to no result, and were easily suppressed. M. Berryer the eminent advocate, the confidential counsel of Charles X. and his family, undertook a difficult and somewhat dangerous journey from Paris to La Vendée on purpose to persuade the Duchess to relinquish her plots and to leave France; but she continued immovable. On his return from this fruitless visit Berryer was very unwisely arrested at Nantes; and shortly after Chateaubriand, Fitz-James, and Hyde de Neuville were arrested in Paris. Berryer was brought to trial at Blois, on the 16th of October, on the charge of having instigated the Vendean conspiracy, tampered with the allegiance of Frenchmen, and endeavoured to enlist superior officers in the cause of Henry V. But the evidence adduced in support of these charges proved to be a mass of contradictions, impossibilities, and falsehoods; and the case not only broke down completely, but was most discreditable to the police and injurious to the Government. The crown counsel threw up the case in mingled shame and disgust, and the court acquitted M. Berryer of the charges brought against him.

Meanwhile the Duchess de Berri continued to lead a wandering and perilous life in the district most devoted to her cause; and in order to elude the vigilance of the police, she changed almost daily her abode and her disguise. There is reason to believe that the Government would gladly have connived at her escape, in order to avoid the embarrassment of not knowing how to deal with her if she were apprehended. But she persisted in remaining

in the country, having apparently become enamoured of the life of adventure which she was now leading. The police and other agents of the Government were on the alert in searching for her in all the districts which she was known to have visited, and she made many hairbreadth escapes from their hands. She at length quitted the rural districts for the town of Nantes, where she had repeatedly found refuge, and took up her residence in the house of two ladies of the name of Duguigny, staunch adherents of her cause. Here she was betrayed to the police on the 6th of November by one of her most trusted agents, a German Jew named Deutz, who while in Rome had been induced to exchange the Jewish for the Romish faith, and had in consequence gained the favour of the Pope and the Jesuits. He had frequently been employed by the Duchess in secret missions, which he had executed faithfully and successfully; but in the beginning of October he offered to the Minister of the Interior to betray his employer into the hands of the police, and was rewarded for his treachery with a large sum of money. The house which he pointed out as the place in which the Duchess was concealed, was surrounded by gendarmes during the whole of the 6th, and subjected to a most minute and careful search; but no person was found, and no place of concealment was discovered in it. In one of the apartments a fire had been kindled during the night by the gendarmes, but had been allowed to go out. It was rekindled in the morning; and at ten o'clock, when the authorities were about to give up the search in despair, voices were heard behind the fire-place, and the inmates of a secret recess who proved to be the Duchess and three companions, unable any longer to endure the heat, came forth from their hiding place and surrendered themselves. They had remained for fifteen hours in this confined hole till they were almost suffocated.

The Duchess was immediately conveyed

by sea to the castle of Blaye on the banks of the Gironde. Some months later, when the Government were considering how to dispose of her case, and were a good deal at a loss what course to take, she was found to be pregnant, and declared that she had been privately married in Italy to Count Hector Lucchesi Palli, a Neapolitan nobleman. On the 10th of May the Duchess was delivered of a daughter; and as soon as she was able to travel, the Government, having no longer any reason to fear her exertions on behalf of Henry V., caused her to be put on board a French frigate along with her infant and attendants, and conveyed to Palermo, where she joined her husband. In this unromantic manner terminated, after many strange adventures, the public career of the Duchess de Berri.

The legality and propriety of the course adopted by the Ministry in their treatment of the Duchess formed the subject of a keen discussion, both in the Chambers and the Press. The same party that had attacked them for detaining her, now censured the Ministers as severely for having released her. Soon after the arrest of the Duchess Chateaubriand published a pamphlet on the alleged illegality of her detention, in which, apostrophizing her, he used the words: 'Your son is our king.' The Ministry were so indignant at his conduct, that they very unwisely ordered the Viscount to be prosecuted for 'exciting hatred and contempt against the Ministry, for attacking the rights which the king holds from the will of the nation,' and for provoking the overthrow of the Government. The editors of no less than six journals were tried, along with Chateaubriand, for reporting a speech which he had made in reply to an address presented to him by the students of the university. They were all unanimously and unhesitatingly acquitted. So also were the two ladies in whose house the Duchess was apprehended. These prosecutions and their results did not tend to strengthen either the Government or the Ministry.

On the death of Casimir Pèrier the office

of President of the Council was for some time left vacant; and as the Ministry, deprived of their chief, were insignificant and weak, it became evident that Louis Philippe was resolved to make a vigorous effort to combine the office of sovereign with that of head of the Administration, and to govern as well as to reign. The attempt of the king to conduct the government by means of men without character or administrative ability, proved a failure, as might have been expected. Events soon revealed the incompetency of the persons whom he had placed at the helm of affairs, and the 'Ministry of transition,' as it was called, succumbed to the difficulties that gathered around it, with which it was manifestly unequal to cope. Marshal Soult became President of the Council, as well as Minister of War; M. de Broglie succeeded General Sebastiani as Minister for Foreign Affairs; Guizot became Minister of Public Instruction; Thiers, of the Interior; and Hermann of Finance. They were cordially supported by the great majority of the Chambers, and M. Dupin, their candidate for the office of President, was elected by a majority of 234 votes to 136 over his opponent Lafitte. Their proceedings in declaring Paris to be in a state of siege, and respecting various other matters, were attacked with great severity by the Opposition; but the Address was carried by a majority of 114—only 119 having supported the amendment, against 233 who voted for its rejection. Emboldened by this decisive victory the Cabinet commenced a series of aggressive measures against the public journals, which were carried on during the whole remainder of Louis Philippe's reign. Within three years of his accession to office the number of prosecutions of the press, on the part of the Government, amounted to 411. Out of this number they were successful in obtaining 143 convictions; but the security of the monarchy, and the peace and prosperity of the country, were certainly not promoted by these proceedings.

The cholera, whose ravages had been

experienced by both parties during the war between Poland and Russia, and had been peculiarly virulent at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and in Hungary, appeared at Paris about the end of March, 1832. It attracted little notice at first; but its ravages speedily became so frightful that the Parisians were seized with a universal panic, which no doubt contributed to spread the disease. The mortality rose to an alarming extent, and increased from an average of twenty deaths daily from the 27th of March till the 1st of April, to 861 on the 9th of that month. By the end of April upward of 17,000 persons had died of the disease in Paris alone, and its ravages throughout the country districts, to which it rapidly spread, were not much less fatal. It not only carried off great multitudes of the poor and needy and dissolute classes, but not a few also of persons in the higher ranks:—peers, members of the Chamber of Deputies, of the courts of justice, and of the diplomatic body—were amongst its victims. The Prime Minister himself, Casimir Pèrier, as we have seen, was stricken down by it, though his illness was more protracted than in ordinary cases. The alarm was universal, and Paris was deserted to such an extent that it was with difficulty a sufficient number of the members of the two Chambers could be collected to form a House and wind up the necessary business of the session. The populace in Paris, as in Hungary, took up the notion that the poisoning of their water and their wine was the cause of the pestilence; and under that impression they imitated the example of the Hungarians in perpetrating the most frightful excesses, and murdering in the streets obnoxious persons whom they chose to suspect to be poisoners.

This terrible disease made its appearance in Sunderland, as has been already mentioned, on the 26th of October, 1831, and had thence spread over the north of England, until it penetrated into Scotland about the close of the year. At Haddington, where it first broke out, nearly one half of the cases proved fatal, and at Musselburgh, within six miles

of Edinburgh, its ravages were peculiarly extensive and malignant. It did not reach the capital until about the end of January; but proper precautions on the most ample scale had been taken by the authorities, with the advice and active assistance of the whole medical school of that city, to ward off the disease and to lessen the virulence of its attacks. So effectual were the measures thus skilfully and energetically employed that in no place in the United Kingdom, taking into account the extent of the population, did the visitation pass off with fewer fatal results. Passing over the whole intervening district, cholera appeared all at once at the village of Kirkintilloch, about seven miles from Glasgow, from which it speedily penetrated to that great seat of manufacturing and commercial industry. Its attacks were naturally the object of great dread to the citizens of a town swarming with hordes of Irish, and other poor, squalid, and dissolute inhabitants; but though the cases were very numerous, the mortality was smaller than in many other places, amounting to only one in three. The disease was much more fatal in the manufacturing villages in the vicinity of Glasgow, and even in the Highland counties of Caithness and Sutherland. In no part of Scotland was it more virulent than in Dumfries, where, according to the official reports, out of 837 persons attacked by the pestilence, 421 died. But the real number of fatal cases was considerably larger than those reported to the authorities, and there is good reason to believe that the total amount was not less than 550.

In the beginning of February, 1832, this scourge showed itself in London; and as the whole country intervening between Newcastle or Sunderland and the capital remained unaffected, and the disease first appeared among the crews of vessels lying in the Thames, the probability is that the infection was carried by sea. As might have been expected from the character and condition of a large proportion of the inhabitants, and the state of their dwellings,

the mortality was very great in London—more than one half of the cases having terminated fatally. The Parliament, now that the plague was at their own doors, hastened to intrust the Privy Council with large powers to make regulations for arresting its progress. A central Board of Health was instituted in London, and similar boards and hospitals for the reception of the sick were authoritatively established in other parts of the country, and supported by local assessments.

Notwithstanding these judicious precautions, the pestilence soon extended itself to almost every part of the kingdom, and as might have been foreseen, it proved very fatal among the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and squalid population of Ireland. The ignorant and superstitious peasantry of that country had more faith in magical charms than in medical skill, and fancied that they had found a sovereign remedy for the disease in a holy turf, which was set on fire no one knew how. In the month of June, throughout the whole of the central counties of Ireland, messengers were seen running and riding, leaving a small piece of partially burned turf at every cabin, with the following recommendation—‘The plague has broken out; take this, and while it burns offer up seven Paters, three Aves, and a Credo in the name of God and of holy St. John, that the plague may be stopped.’ The messenger laid each house under an ‘obligation,’ as it was called, to kindle his piece of turf, set fire to seven other pieces, quench them, and run through the country to seven other houses where no turf had as yet been left, and to repeat in each the same injunction, under a penalty of falling a victim to the cholera himself. Men, women, and children were seen traversing the country in every direction, carrying pieces of this charmed turf, each contending for priority in reaching houses not yet visited. One peasant, residing in the Bog of Allen, had to run thirty miles in one day before he could finish his task. Various contradictory stories were

told respecting the origin of this 'holy turf,' but all agree that one piece was blessed by a priest and sent through its round in this manner among the peasantry. The extraordinary state of excitement thus produced, together with the belief that the charm would prove effectual, may not improbably have contributed somewhat to diminish the violence of the disease in the central districts of Ireland. But on the whole, the ravages of the plague were much less severe in the United Kingdom than in any other country which it had visited, and it gradually disappeared in the course of the autumn.

Apart from the ravages of the cholera, the year 1832 witnessed an extraordinary mortality among men of the highest standing in literature, science, law, divinity, and politics. Casimir Pèrier Prime Minister of France, Baron Cuvier the eminent naturalist, Sir James Mackintosh the historian and philosopher, Charles Butler the Roman Catholic controversialist, Miss Porter the novelist, the Duke of Reichstadt the ill-starred son of the first Napoleon, Dr. Adam Clarke the learned commentator, Sir John Leslie the distinguished author of the *Essay on Heat* and various other original scientific works, Lord Tenderden the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Spurzheim the celebrated phrenologist, and numerous other persons eminent for their rank, ability, or learning, passed away in the course of this year. But there were two men of transcendent genius, whose decease at this time attracted the notice of the whole world—Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Walter Scott. The former, who had attained the great age of eighty-three, is the object of almost idolatrous veneration among his countrymen. The Germans declare broadly and unequivocally, that Goethe created their literature and their speech, and that before him both were without value in the world-mart of the nations of Europe. 'There is a crowd of people in Germany,' says a distinguished French writer, 'who would discover genius in the

address of a letter directed by him.' The admiration for Goethe is a kind of freemasonry, the adepts in which are known to each other by catchwords. At the Shakespeare tri-centenary at Stratford, the spokesman of a German deputation said that he and his friends had come to do honour to 'the *second* greatest poet that ever lived; Goethe being the first.' Though no impartial person can concur in the extravagant enlogiums of his countrymen on Goethe's genius, it cannot be denied that he exercised a great influence on the age in which he lived, and that he occupies a high place, though not the highest, in the ranks of the immortals. He was a chief among the giants of literature; 'but he attained not to the first three.' The worshippers of the poet, in their blind admiration for his genius, have even attempted to conceal or extenuate his moral delinquencies, and the heartlessness and selfishness which characterized Goethe's intercourse through life with the female sex. He appears to have been constitutionally cold-hearted; and this defect in his character was increased by the injudicious coddling of his family in his youth, and the adulation and flattery of his admirers in his after years. He said of Balzac, that each of his best novels seemed dug out of a suffering woman's heart. Balzac might have returned the compliment. In reference to his early fondness for natural history, Goethe says, 'I remember that when a child I pulled flowers to pieces to see how the petals were inserted into the calyx, or even plucked birds to observe how the feathers were inserted into the wings.' Bettina remarked to Lord Houghton that Goethe treated women much in the same fashion. All his lovers, high and low, were subjected to this kind of vivisection. His powers of fascination were very remarkable, but were exercised purely for his own gratification; and when his passion cooled, or another object attracted his capricious fancy, he whistled the old love down the wind without the slightest scruple or compunction. Verily he had his reward, and might have

read his sin in his punishment through the domestic discomfort and discredit which he brought upon himself in his mature manhood and old age.

With at least equal genius, Sir Walter Scott's personal character, and especially his domestic life, presented a marked contrast to that of his great German contemporary. The 'Waverley Novels,' as they were called, have thrown Scott's poetry, fresh and picturesque as it is, somewhat into the shade. The fame of these immortal fictions rests not so much on their plots, which are frequently unskilful and defective, as on the creative and graphic power which they display in the invention and delineation of character, the life and vigour of the narrative, the unequalled brilliancy, ease, force, and felicity of the descriptions, and the deep and large insight into human nature exhibited by the author. The novels of Scott far surpass the literary productions even of his most eminent contemporaries, and are rivalled only by the dramas of Shakspeare in the endless variety of the original characters, scenes, historical incidents, and adventures which they present; though it must be admitted that Scott's historical portraits want the deep and subtle traits by which Shakspeare so wonderfully individualizes his characters. On the other hand, the *created* characters of Scott, which owe their existence to his own powerful imagination acting on his vast stores of accumulated knowledge, are drawn with at least equal vigour and distinctness, and

seem equally familiar to his readers—the highest triumph of genius to give to the fictitious the reality of the true.

The noble character of the great poet and novelist shone out with special lustre amid the clouds and darkness which overshadowed his closing years. Mainly through his over-trustful disposition rather than any fault of his own, he was involved in pecuniary embarrassments which would have crushed almost any other man. The case seemed to others desperate; not so to Scott himself. He would listen to no offers of composition with his creditors, though his obligations were incurred largely, not on his own account—he asked no discharge from them, but determined that they should be paid to the last farthing. His only demand was for time. He pledged himself to devote the whole labour of his subsequent life to the payment of their claims, and he fulfilled his pledge, though the effort cost him his life. Advanced in years and with failing health, lonely, deprived of his family all but his youngest daughter, bereaved by death of the sharer of his thoughts and counsels, this glorious old man kept firmly to his self-imposed task until it was completed. Every claim made upon him was paid in full; but when the goal was in sight his health gave way under the pressure of his Herculean labours. On the 21st of September he entered into his rest, and five days later was laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors in the old abbey of Dryburgh.

CHAPTER IV.

Results of the New Elections—Opening of Parliament—Election of Speaker—Parties in the New Parliament—Unreasonable expectations from the Reform Bill—The Debate on the Address—State of Ireland—The Coercion Act—Stanley's vindication of the Measure—Bill for Reforming the Irish Church—Mr. Stanley appointed Colonial Secretary—The Question of Irish Tithes—Government defeated on the Malt Tax—The Assessed Taxes—Hobhouse defeated at Westminster—The Bank Charter—East India Company's Charter.

THE last unreformed Parliament was dissolved on the 3rd of December, 1832, and a new election speedily followed as the writs were to be returned on the 29th of January, 1833. It was admitted, even by the most strenuous opponents of the Reform Act, that the machinery of the measure worked much more smoothly than they had anticipated. The new plan of taking the votes at several polling places instead of only one, and the diminution of the time over which the polling might extend from fourteen days to two, greatly lessened the amount of rioting and drunkenness which used to prevail; and though there were tumults and riots in some populous places, such as Sheffield, Huddersfield, and Walsall, on the whole the elections were conducted in such a manner as showed that the great body of the new electors were well qualified to discharge the duties now for the first time intrusted to them. The result was pretty much what might have been anticipated. In by far the greater number of instances the contests terminated in favour of the Ministerial candidates, or of Reformers who were inclined to carry their principles further than the Government were at that time disposed to recommend. But most of the leaders of the Opposition retained their seats; or, in the cases where they had represented disfranchised burghs, were elected by other much more important constituencies. Mr. Alex. Baring, one of the most uncompromising opponents of the Reform Bill, who was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer if the Duke of Wellington had succeeded in forming a

Government, was returned for the county of Essex, defeating Mr. Western, a zealous supporter of the Reform Act. Sir Richard Vyvian, one of the most extreme members of the Tory party, who had represented the disfranchised burgh of Okehampton, was placed at the head of the poll by the populous city of Bristol. Lord Sandon was re-elected as one of the members for Liverpool, at that time the second city in England. Lord Mahon, the historian, and Lord Ingestre, by the aid of Lord Salisbury's long purse Greville said, replaced Tom Duncombe, with his Liberal colleague, as representatives of Hertford; Sir Robert Peel was re-elected for Tamworth; Herries for Harwich; Hardinge for Launceston; Charles Wynn for Montgomeryshire; and Goulbourn for the University of Cambridge. The Universities of Oxford and Dublin also continued firm in their adherence to the Tory party. Sir John Walsh, who had written several pamphlets against the Reform Bill, was returned for the notoriously venal burgh of Sudbury. In the counties the influence of the great Tory nobles and landed proprietors secured a good many seats for their party. The Lowther interest, for example, was still supreme in Westmoreland, and gained one of the seats in West Cumberland. Two of the three members for Dorsetshire belonged to the Tory party, and generally the Chandos clause conferring the franchise on fifty pounds tenants at will, as might have been foreseen, greatly strengthened the influence of the Conservative landed proprietors. On the other hand Sir Charles Wetherell,

one of the most effective and amusing speakers of the Ultra-tory party, was defeated at Oxford. Sir Edward Sugden lost his seat at Cambridge. Sir George Murray, who had been Colonial Minister in the Duke of Wellington's administration, was defeated by Lord Ormelie in Perthshire; and Mr. Croker, Under-secretary to the Admiralty, was so disgusted at the passing of the Reform Bill that he refused to sit again in the House of Commons, and retired from public life.

As might have been expected, the leading members of the Government had no difficulty in retaining their seats. Lord Althorp was elected for South Northamptonshire, but with Mr. Cartwright, a staunch old Tory, for his colleague; Sir James Graham was returned for East Cumberland, and Lord John Russell for South Devonshire; Charles Grant for Inverness-shire; Lord Palmerston for Hampshire; and Mr. Stanley exchanged the burgh of Windsor for the northern division of Lancashire; Poulett Thomson, the new President of the Board of Trade, was chosen by the new constituency of Manchester. Thomas Attwood, the founder of the Political Union found an appropriate seat at Birmingham; Cobbett was defeated at Manchester, but he found a seat at Oldham; Hunt, the notorious demagogue, was rejected by Preston; Macaulay, after a severe contest, defeated Sadler at Leeds; and Lord-Advocate Jeffrey carried his election by a great majority for his native city of Edinburgh, with Mr. Abercromby as his colleague. The Radicals were especially successful in the metropolitan burghs, but several of the victorious candidates were men of high standing. Grote, the historian of Greece, headed the poll in London; Burdett and Hobhouse, in Westminster; Sir William Horne, the Attorney General, obtained a seat in Marylebone; and William Brougham, the Chancellor's brother, was elected by Southwark; Mr. Joseph Pease, a member of the Society of Friends, was returned as one of the representatives of

South Durham. No member of that religious body had ever sat in the House of Commons; and it was referred to a committee to report on the laws and precedents bearing on the question whether a Quaker could be allowed to take his seat without taking the usual oath but on making his solemn affirmation. The committee reported in the affirmative, and on the motion of Mr. Charles Wynn, who acted as its chairman, the House unanimously agreed to admit Mr. Pease in the manner proposed by him. In Scotland out of fifty-three representatives, only ten belonged to the Tory party; but in Ireland, though there were few Tories returned, a considerable number of the members were by no means friendly to the Government. O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union and his fierce denunciation of the Irish policy of the Ministry, had the effect of greatly increasing the number of his retainers. He himself carried his election for Dublin, and other four O'Connells were returned by Irish constituencies.

The new Parliament consisted of three parties. First the Ministerialists, who composed a large majority of the members, and had in their ranks politicians of a greatly diversified character, from Whigs who were almost Tories, and Liberals who were almost Radicals. Then came the Tories, who now for the first time assumed the designation of Conservatives; though greatly outnumbered by their opponents, they were still powerful from their large possessions, their rank, and their hereditary influence. The third party consisted of Radicals and Repealers, who were prepared to go great lengths at once in overturning or carrying through a radical reform of almost every existing institution civil or ecclesiastical, and who very speedily became a thorn in the side of the Ministry, annoying and thwarting them at every turn because Earl Grey and his colleagues declared their unwillingness to make a revolution every year. The most unreasonable and extravagant expectations

were formed as to the immediate effect of the bill which had just become law. It was regarded as a necessary consequence, that every grievance would be at once redressed and every evil cured. Another and much more extensive reform of the representative system was demanded. Church rates, tithes, and church establishments were to be immediately abolished; taxes reduced, food cheapened, and the wages of labour increased; public offices of all kinds diminished in number and in emoluments; the poor laws reformed; corn laws and game laws swept away; the House of Lords either demolished or its powers greatly modified. In short, every national institution was to be put upon its trial, and remodelled or destroyed as the popular feeling might dictate; and all this was to be done with the utmost possible expedition. The unreasonable hopes and wishes of the extreme party at this time were exposed and ridiculed by Sydney Smith in his usual felicitous style. 'All young ladies,' the witty Canon said, 'will imagine that they will be instantly married; school-boys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished, and that currant tarts must ultimately come down in price; the corporal and sergeant are sure of double pay; bad poets will expect a demand for their epics; fools will be disappointed as they always are; reasonable men, who know what to expect, will find that a very serious good has been obtained.'

It is noteworthy that the great Tory leader in the House of Commons at once recognized and publicly acknowledged the change which the Reform Bill had made in the position of his party, and the necessity of their accommodating their policy to this altered state of affairs. 'He was for reforming every institution,' he said, 'that really required reform; but he was for doing it gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting. There were no means of governing this country but through the House of Commons; and

therefore he was determined to take his stand in defence of law and order from motives as truly independent as those by which any member of the most liberal opinions, and representing the largest constituency in the kingdom, was actuated.' This declaration, though not relished by the Tories of the Eldon and Wetherell school, gave great satisfaction to all moderate and cautious Reformers, while at the same time it intimated resolute opposition to the schemes of the Radicals and Repealers.

The Parliament was opened by commission on the 29th of January, and the first business of the new House of Commons was the election of a Speaker. Mr. Mannors Sutton, eldest son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, had filled that office since the retirement of Abbot in 1817; but towards the close of the session of 1832 he had intimated his intention to retire from the chair, no doubt under the feeling that he could not be in sympathy with a House containing a great majority of members whose political opinions differed widely from his own. On receiving this announcement the House awarded Sutton, in return for his long service, a pension of £4000 a year; and it was expected that, as a matter of course, he would be raised to the peerage. This mark of royal favour, however, was withheld, and at the general election the late Speaker was returned as one of the members for the University of Cambridge, which he had for a good many years represented in Parliament. It soon after became known that the Ministry had not conferred a peerage on him, because they had obtained his consent to put him in nomination for the Speakership. They felt that in a House composed to so large an extent of new members, it would be of great importance to place in the chair a person of his long experience, and intimate knowledge of parliamentary forms and rules.

This proposal afforded the Radicals an opportunity of displaying their dissatisfaction with the policy of the Whigs, as well

as with the appointment of a Tory Speaker to preside over a reformed House of Commons. Joseph Hume, anticipating the nomination of Manners Sutton, at once proposed that Littleton, one of the members for Staffordshire, should be raised to the chair, on the ground that the political opinions of the Speaker should be in harmony with those of the majority who were to elect him. O'Connell, who seconded Hume's motion, in his characteristic manner denounced the proposal to appoint Sutton as 'another instance of the paltry truckling of the present Administration.' Although well aware that the contest was hopeless, they pressed the matter to a division in spite of Littleton's remonstrances; but they were only able to muster thirty-one votes for him, while 241 were given for Manners Sutton.

After the members had been sworn in, the king opened the session in person on the 5th of February. His speech showed that the Ministry were well aware of the laborious work that awaited them, and of the difficulties they would have to encounter. 'The approaching termination,' he said, 'of the charters of the Bank of England and of the East India Company will require a revision of these establishments.' Attention would also have to be given to the temporalities of the church, especially with regard to the collection of tithes, which had caused such bitter disputes as to show that a change of system had become necessary. The correction of the abuses of the Church, and a more equitable and judicious distribution of her revenues was also suggested; and a commutation of tithes in Ireland was earnestly recommended. The administration of justice and the local taxation of that country also required consideration. Particular attention was directed to the increased disturbances in Ireland; 'the spirit of insubordination and violence which had risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, and defying the authority of the law.' Additional powers were therefore to

be asked by the Government for 'controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries,' which was declared to be 'indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of the people.'

The address in reply to this speech led to a discussion in the House of Lords on Holland and Portugal, but no remarks appear to have been made there respecting Irish affairs. It was otherwise in the Commons. As soon as the address had been moved by Lord Ormelie, member for Perthshire, and seconded by Mr. Marshall, one of the members for the new borough of Leeds, O'Connell rose in great fury and denounced it as 'bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional.' The increase of crime in Ireland, he said, had been occasioned, not by agitation, but by misgovernment. Increase of crime had always followed increase of force. Never had there been such a persecuting government as the present. They had persecuted the press, the people, and even the priests; but they had done nothing to restore tranquillity to the country. He proceeded to complain bitterly of the magistracy, of the administration of justice by the bench, of the mode of appointing juries, of the grand jury system, of the bigotry and intolerance of the municipal corporations, and especially of the payment of tithes; and after denouncing the present Irish Secretary as the worst enemy of Ireland, O'Connell concluded his violent and acrimonious speech by moving an amendment that 'the House do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider of the address to His Majesty.'

Mr. Stanley replied to the furious attack of the Irish agitator with his usual ability and acerbity. He taunted O'Connell with shrinking from the discussion of that measure—repeal of the Union—which he had held out as the grand panacea for all the miseries of Ireland, and contended that the state of that country showed the necessity for some stronger measure than the

ordinary administration of the law. The record of the crimes perpetrated in Ireland at this time almost exceeded belief. In Kilkenny there had been during the last twelvemonths thirty-two murders and attempts at murder, thirty-four burnings of houses, 519 burglaries, thirty-six houghings of cattle, and 178 assaults of such a nature as to be attended with danger of loss of life. In Queen's County during the same period the number of murders was still greater—namely, sixty; of burglaries and nightly attacks on houses there had been 626, of malicious injuries to property 115, and of serious assaults on individuals 209. This list, formidable as it was, contained only the crimes of which notice had been given to the police, and these in fact constituted only a small portion of the offences really committed. So complete was the system of organization established by the midnight murderers and disturbers of the public peace, that their victims dared not complain. He had been willing to try the unaided powers of the law; the experiment had been tried, and it had proved to a demonstration that the law was inadequate. It was in point of fact a dead letter, inasmuch as no reliance could be placed on the moral courage of juries. It was almost impossible to find a jury who dared to convict a criminal connected with popular associations. If they did discharge their duty honestly, they did so under the threats of popular vengeance; their persons were marked, their houses perhaps burned, and their crops destroyed. At a trial at Kilkenny the jury were unable to agree on a verdict, and were in consequence dismissed. The names of the members who voted for a conviction were immediately printed in red on a placard headed 'Blood! Blood! Blood!' and they were forced to leave the country in order to save their lives. Even when juries were willing to do their duty and to convict the midnight incendiary or murderer, witnesses could not be induced to give the necessary evidence for the jury to act upon, though the guilt of the culprit

were as manifest as the sun at noon-day. In these circumstances, as Mr. Stanley argued with unanswerable force, it was hopeless to attempt to remedy grievances, unless the majesty of the law was in the first instance asserted. A Government to be loved must first be feared, and no Government could be said to be feared unless it possessed the means of protecting the lives and properties of the king's subjects.

The debate, which lasted for four nights, was continued by Colonel Davis, Roebuck, Althorp, Hume, Cobbett, Lytton Bulwer, Macaulay, Shiel, Sir Robert Peel, and others. Stanley, who had been the main object of the attacks of the Irish brigade, had some reason to complain of the want of support from his colleagues; but his official procedure was generously defended by Sir Robert Peel, who, as Greville said, made a most dexterous and judicious speech. 'I am afraid,' he said, 'of saying what I think of his conduct; for however impartial my testimony as a public man may be, I am afraid that my testimony might only increase the efforts to ruin his reputation. Mine, however, is the independent testimony of an independent public man; and I only withhold the eulogy, which I should otherwise bestow as his due upon the right hon. gentleman, lest it should increase the number of his enemies. I have heard the right hon. Secretary often taunted with his aristocratical bearing and demeanour. I rather think that I should hear fewer complaints on that head, if the right hon. gentleman were a less powerful opponent in debate.'

Supported by Peel and the great body of his followers, the Ministry carried their address by a majority of 428 votes to 40 over O'Connell's amendment—thirty-four of the minority being Irish Repealers. Another amendment proposed by Tennyson, the member for Lambeth, which promised to combine coercion with 'a close and deliberate investigation into the causes of the discontent, with the view of applying an effectual remedy,' was opposed by the

Government, because it did not declare an opinion upon the subject of the Union; and was rejected by 393 to 60. A third amendment, proposed by Cobbett, was supported by only 23 votes against 323.

It was evident to all candid and reflecting men, that no time must be lost in dealing with the reign of terror which was rapidly reducing Ireland to a state of anarchy and barbarism; and a bill for the suppression of disturbances in that unhappy country was introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Grey, and read a first time on the 15th of February. The statement of the Premier on bringing forward the bill was even more appalling than that of the Irish Secretary, and might indeed have been almost supposed to have been made to describe the outrages perpetrated at the instigation of the Land League in 1880 and 1881. The Whitefeet Pacificators and other emissaries of secret societies did not, as had been pretended, merely proceed against tithes; 'they prescribed the terms on which land should be let, and any who disobeyed these orders were subject to have their property destroyed or to be put to death. They dictated what persons should be employed; forbidding labourers to work for obnoxious masters, and preventing a master from employing such as were not obedient to their orders. They enforced their commands by acts of cruelty and outrage, by spoliation, murder, attacks on houses at dead of night, by dragging the inmates from their beds, and so maltreating them that death often ensued, or by inflicting evils scarcely less than death. The ordinary tribunals had been rendered almost powerless, for witnesses and jurors were equally terrified into silence. The son-in-law of a gentleman who had been murdered in sight of his own gate, refused to give evidence against the supposed murderers. 'He would submit,' he said, 'to any penalty the crown or the law might impose upon him; but he would not appear at this trial, because he knew that if he should come forward as a witness on

the occasion his life would inevitably be forfeited.' A poor old man, seventy years of age, had been ordered by the Regulators to give up a piece of ground which he rented, but disobeyed the mandate. He was dragged out of his house by four armed men and shot. His son, who was believed to have been an eye-witness of his father's murder, refused to disclose the names of the perpetrators. Assassination, in short, was the order of the day, and the habitual practice of those who made robbery their occupation. No wonder that outrage and anarchy had become triumphant. The catalogue of Irish crimes between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, 1832, contained 242 homicides, 1179 robberies, 401 burglaries, 568 arsons, 290 cases of houghing cattle, 161 serious assaults, 203 riots, 353 illegal reviews, 2094 illegal notices, 427 illegal meetings, 796 malicious injuries to property, 753 attacks on houses, 328 instances of firing with intent to kill, 117 of robbery of arms, 163 of administering unlawful oaths, &c., making altogether a total of 9002 crimes committed in one year, and all crimes connected with and growing out of the distracted state of the country.' 'Unfortunately this system,' the Premier added, 'is in a state of progress, and is increasing rather than diminishing.' The total number of crimes committed in July, August, and September, was 1279; the total number committed in October, November, and December, was 1646.

The bill submitted to Parliament for the purpose of repressing and punishing these outrages was, as Greville termed it, 'a *consomme* of insurrection-gagging Acts, suspension of Habeas Corpus, martial law, and one or two other bands and straps.' Strong measures were necessary, and the Ministry had the courage to bring forward an adequate remedy for the lawless and barbarous proceedings of the Irish agitators and their emissaries. The bill proposed to give the Lord-Lieutenant power to proclaim disturbed districts, to substitute courts-martial for the ordinary courts of justice, which had

been rendered powerless to convict offenders. These courts were to consist of not less than four or more than nine officers, and they were to be assisted by a king's counsel or serjeant-at-law, who was to sit as judge-advocate. It was penal for persons to be absent from their own houses, in a disturbed district, between sunset and sunrise. Powers were given to enter houses in search of arms and ammunition. The distribution of seditious papers was a punishable offence. But the courts-martial were not, without the express authority of the Lord-Lieutenant, to try any offence to which the penalty of death was attached or to inflict a severer punishment than transportation for seven years.

In the Upper House the bill, severe as were its provisions, met with a highly favourable reception; the Conservative peers merely expressing their regret, as they did in regard to a similar measure in 1881, that the Government had not sooner had recourse to coercive measures. In the course of a single week it went through the various stages, and passed on the 22nd of February. Ominous indications had already been given that the bill would meet with the most violent opposition in the House of Commons, and apprehensions were entertained and expressed that it would not be possible to pass it unaltered. The Government, however, resolved to stake their existence on the success of the measure; and Stanley made an explicit declaration to the effect that, if it was rejected, they could not continue to conduct the affairs of the country. 'Ministers,' he said, 'were ready to stake their responsibility as a Government and their continuance in the offices which they had the honour to hold; they were ready to stake their political character as members of the Legislature, and their honour as gentlemen on this measure; and if they did not vindicate the position and absolute necessity of it, he was willing to acknowledge that they would be unworthy of the public confidence, whether they were regarded as men or as ministers.'

The bill came down from the House of Lords on the 22nd of February; but the first reading was postponed till the 27th, when, on the motion of O'Connell, there was a call of the House. On that evening the first reading was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. 'But,' says Lord John Russell, 'While Althorp was as fully persuaded as any member of the Cabinet of the necessity for this bill, he was little fitted to persuade a Liberal House of Commons to acquiesce in a proposal repugnant to their dispositions, and at variance with their settled opinions. It was thought right, however, that he, as the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, should introduce the Coercion Bill. He did so in a manner tame and ineffective. His detail of the outrages committed in Ireland was like reading a few of the blackest pages of the Newgate Calendar. The Liberal majority were disappointed, sullen, and ready to break out into mutiny against their chief. Mr. Stanley, who was sitting next to me, greatly annoyed at the aspect of the House, said to me—"I meant not to have spoken till to-morrow night, but I find I must speak to-night." He took Lord Althorp's box of official papers, and went upstairs to a room where he could look over them quietly.' Tennyson, the member for Lambeth, expressed the general feeling of the House at this moment when he said the Government had failed to prove that the ordinary laws of the land would not be sufficient to put an end to the disturbances, and proposed that the bill should be postponed for a fortnight in order that the House might receive full and authentic information respecting the state of Ireland. The amendment was supported by Mr. Lytton Bulwer, Mr. George Grote, and other influential members.

'After the debate had proceeded for two or three hours longer, with no change of temper in the House,' continues Lord John, 'Stanley rose. He explained with admirable clearness the insecure and alarming state of Ireland. He then went

over, case by case, the more dreadful of the outrages which had been committed. He detailed with striking effect the circumstances attending the murder of a clergyman, and the agony of his widow, who, after seeing her husband murdered, had to bear the terror of running knocks at the door, kept on all night by the miscreants who had committed the crime. The House became appalled and agitated at the dreadful picture which he placed before their eyes; they felt for the sorrows of the innocent; they were shocked at the dominion of assassins and robbers. When he had produced a thrilling effect by these descriptions, he turned upon O'Connell, who led the opposition to the measure, and who seemed a short time before about to achieve a triumph in favour of sedition and anarchy. He recalled to the recollection of the House of Commons that at a recent public meeting O'Connell had spoken of the House of Commons as 658 scoundrels. In a tempest of scorn and indignation, he excited the anger of the men thus designated against the author of the calumny. The House, which two hours before seemed about to yield to the great agitator, was now almost ready to tear him in pieces. In the midst of the storm which his eloquence had raised Stanley sat down, having achieved one of the greatest triumphs ever won in a popular assembly by the powers of oratory.*

The Coercion Act was followed by another bill, which also received the sanction of Parliament. By this measure the Court of King's Bench was empowered to change the venue from the county in which the offence had been committed to an adjoining county, or even to Dublin, in cases where intimidation had been used towards prosecutors, witnesses, or jurors. The passing of these two Acts was attended with very satisfactory results, as has always been the case when Irish outrages are treated with a firm hand. The Coercion Act was at once put in force in Kilkenny,

where the Whitefeet had been peculiarly active in carrying out their lawless proceedings. The Lord-Lieutenant lost no time in proclaiming both the town and county; and such was the terror which this step inspired that it was not found necessary to hold a single court-martial. There was an immediate and large diminution in the number of offences committed in that district. The total number of offences perpetrated there during March, the month preceding the passing of the Act, was 476; but during May, the month that followed the bill becoming law, the number diminished to 162. The Association of Irish Volunteers, a body that had contributed largely to the murders and robberies which prevailed in the country, was dissolved by proclamation, and disbanded without any attempt at resistance, contenting themselves with passing a resolution 'that all the acts and functions of the Association shall be confided to one individual—the parent of his country—Daniel O'Connell.'

The Ministry had promised that coercion should be accompanied by conciliatory measures; and in fulfilment of this pledge Lord Althorp, on the 12th of February, introduced a bill for reforming the Irish Church establishment, which was regarded by the Liberal party as 'the greatest grievance of Ireland.' There were hundreds of parishes in that country which did not contain a single Protestant, and out of a population of 8,000,000 there were not more than 800,000 who were adherents of the Irish Episcopal Church. For the religious instruction of this comparatively small number of people the State provided and supported 1400 parochial incumbents, who divided among them at least £600,000 a year. They were superintended and ruled by twenty-two bishops, whose aggregate incomes amounted to £150,000 a-year. The revenues of the deans and chapters were estimated at £25,000, exclusive of the livings held by them as prebends. The incomes of the bishops and the capitular establishments were derived mainly from

* *Recollections, &c.*, by Earl Russell, p. 112.

landed estates, which yielded a gross rental of £600,000 a year; but owing to the mode in which they were let, little more than one-sixth part of that sum was received by these dignitaries. The church rate or cess, imposed for the purpose of maintaining the ecclesiastical buildings and meeting the expenses connected with religious services, yielded about £70,000 a year, and was regarded as a great grievance by the Roman Catholic population. Altogether, in one way or another, the revenues of the Irish Church establishment amounted to upwards of £800,000 a year. The Government proposed to lighten somewhat the burden of this costly institution by imposing a graduated tax, varying from five to fifteen per cent., on incumbents whose benefices yielded upwards of £200 a year, in lieu of the first fruits which they had hitherto paid. Similar deductions were to be made from the incomes of the bishops and chapters. The sum thus saved, amounting to at least £60,000 a year, was to be placed under the charge of commissioners, who were to expend it in the repair of churches, and the erection of glebe houses and new churches where these might be required; and thus render it unnecessary to levy any longer the obnoxious church rate. It was at first proposed that this assessment should be levied on the present incumbents, but it was subsequently resolved that the provision should only apply to their successors. It was evidently preposterous to maintain twenty-two bishops to superintend 1400 clergymen, and the religious interests of 800,000 persons; and it was resolved to reduce their number to twelve, and to abolish two of the four archbishoprics. By this arrangement a saving of £60,000 a year would be effected, which the Government expressed their willingness to devote to any purpose the Legislature might think fit to appoint.

The bill met with a most favourable reception from the House of Commons. Lord Althorp, who introduced it, was heard throughout his speech with frequent marks

of approval, and he sat down amidst loud cheers. The Irish Protestants and high Tories were the only persons who raised their voices against the measure; and its reception by the country was equally favourable. A large proportion even of the Conservative party regarded it as moderate and equitable. 'The House,' says Greville, 'received the plan of Irish Church reform with almost unanimous applause, nobody opposing but Inglis and Goulbourn; and Peel in a very feeble speech, which scarcely deserves the name of opposition. It will be of great service to the Government. O'Connell lauded the measure up to the skies; but Shiel said he would bite his tongue off with vexation the next morning for having done so, after he had slept upon it. It was clear that Peel, who is courting the House and exerting all his dexterity to bring men's minds round to him, saw the stream was too strong for him to go against it; so he made a sort of temporizing, moderate, unmeaning speech, which will give him time to determine on his best course, and did not commit him.' Shiel was, however, quite mistaken in supposing that O'Connell would regret having expressed approval of the bill. On the contrary, he continued to praise it warmly both in public and private; and spoke with confidence of the happy change that might be expected from it in Ireland. It is probable, as was conjectured at the time, that he regarded the bill as the first step towards the disestablishment of the Protestant church in Ireland. This is the more likely because the bill, as at first introduced, provided that the revenues of the suppressed bishoprics might be appropriated by Parliament to whatever purposes it thought proper.

Althorp somewhat ungraciously declined to accede to the request of Peel, that some little delay should be granted before the second reading, and fixed it for the 14th of March; but he speedily found the truth of the proverbial remark, 'The more haste, the less speed.' When the second reading was proposed on the day appointed, it was

objected by Charles Wynn, a high authority on such matters, that as the bill imposed a tax on Irish benefices, it required to originate in a committee of the whole House. This objection proved to be well founded; and it was not until the 1st of April that the House went into committee on the resolutions embodying the principles on which the bill was based. The second reading was moved on the 6th of May, and was carried by 317 votes to 78. Several important amendments extending the scope of the measure were proposed by the Radicals and Repealers in committee, but were all opposed by the Government, and rejected by the House. But on the motion of Lord Stanley, it was agreed to omit the appropriation clause which enabled the Legislature to apply the surplus revenue of the Church to secular purposes. This was done avowedly for the purpose of conciliating the Lords, by whom it would without doubt have been rejected; but its omission infuriated the Repealers, who regarded the provision in question as the most valuable part of the bill. O'Connell denounced this step as 'the basest act which a national assembly ever perpetrated.' His followers were furious, and talked of breach of faith and the necessity of the repeal of the Union; and Mr. Hume and other Radical members were equally violent in their denunciations. 'No person,' says Le Marchant, 'was more distressed than Lord Althorp; but he complained with some justice, that when he dwelt on the appropriation clause in bringing forward the bill, it was not treated as of any importance, nor did the Irish seem to regard it as such in discussing the measure.' 'I strongly suspect,' he adds, 'that O'Connell, in common with his Irish supporters, was very glad to have an additional pretence for opposition to English rule. It was afterwards known that the whole proceeding caused much discontent and discussion in the Cabinet.'

Even after this concession, the fate of the Irish Church Bill in the Lords was quite uncertain, and Lord Althorp expected

that it would be thrown out. It was violently resisted by the extreme Tories, and Lord Eldon declared that he 'would oppose the sad bill to the last of his life and the utmost of his power. He thought it adverse to every established principle of government, and full of spoliation.' The ex-Chancellor was, of course, zealously supported by the Duke of Cumberland, who was particularly active, and by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Winchelsea, and other peers of that school. But the Duke of Wellington recommended that the bill should be allowed to go into committee, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 157 votes to 98. At one time a collision seemed about to take place while the bill was in committee, in consequence of the Archbishop of Canterbury having carried, by a majority of two, an amendment limiting to ecclesiastical purposes within the parish the revenues of suspended benefices. But after some hesitation, the Ministry resolved to go on with the bill, and on the 30th of June the third reading was carried by a majority of 135 votes to 81.

The Ministry had thus, after a hard struggle, succeeded in carrying the two Irish measures on which they had staked their existence. Both measures had been prepared in the office of the Irish Secretary, and it was universally admitted that it was mainly owing to his firmness and eloquence that the Coercion Bill had been forced through the House of Commons; while his influence and zeal had greatly contributed to the success of the Irish Church Reform Bill. In consequence of the skill, readiness, and ability which he had displayed in conducting these and other important measures through Parliament, this year was, in Lord John Russell's opinion, 'the most distinguished and the most memorable' of Mr. Stanley's career; and clearly marked him out as the future leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. But he was both dreaded and hated by the Irish Repeal members, and for that and other reasons it was considered most desirable

that he should be removed to another office. As far back as December, 1832, Lord Brougham had earnestly recommended that this change should be made, and Stanley himself quite approved of the proposal. The Premier and the other members of the Cabinet, however, were of opinion that the transference of the Irish Secretary to another and higher office could not conveniently or safely be made at that time, and it was found impracticable to create a vacancy in the Ministry which could be offered for his acceptance. A few months later, however, facilities for effecting the desired change somewhat unexpectedly presented themselves. Lord Durham, who was in bad health, and had never co-operated comfortably with the other members of the Cabinet, resigned the office of Privy Seal, and obtained the earldom, which, according to Lord Brougham, had long been the object of his ambition. Goderich was induced very reluctantly to accept the vacant office, and thus open the Colonial Secretaryship to Stanley.* But, as Lord John Russell remarks, 'he was not thereby freed from the responsibility of mastering and defending the details of the Irish Church Temporalities Bill, and therefore, besides the Irish Coercion Bill, which he had carried by the force of his eloquence,

* Greville says Palmerston was charged with the office of breaking the proposed arrangement to Goderich, with the offer of an earldom by way of gilding the pill; but Goderich would not hear of it; said it would look like running away from the Slave question, and on that flatly refused. Stanley threatened to resign, if he was not promoted; and in this dilemma the Duke of Richmond (who was going to Windsor) persuaded Lord Grey to let him lay the case before the king, and inform him that if this arrangement was not made, the Government must be broken up. He did so; and the king acquiesced, and at the same time a similar representation was made to Goderich, who, after a desperate resistance, knocked under, and said that if it must be so he would yield, but *only* to the king's command. 'Prosperity Robinson' and 'Goody Goderich,' as he was called, became Earl of Ripon, and obtained also a promise of the Garter. He at first refused an earldom, but ultimately accepted it in order, as he thought, to qualify himself for the Garter. But this was a mistaken notion, as it is well-known that the Garter has frequently been bestowed upon Barons and even on

he had to conduct through Parliament, and defend clause by clause, the Irish Church Temporalities Bill and the Colonial Slavery Abolition Bill—two of the largest and most important measures that were ever prepared for the consideration of Parliament.'

The question of Irish tithe had also to be dealt with at once, for throughout the greater part of Ireland the collection of tithes had become an impossibility. In the preceding session the Government had been empowered to advance to each incumbent a sum not exceeding the amount due to him as tithes for the year 1831, and was also authorized to buy the arrears of tithes and reimburse itself for its advances out of the sum which it thus succeeded in recovering. But it was soon found that this expedient had aggravated the evil which it was intended to remove, and by turning the Viceroy into Tithe-Proctor-General for Ireland, as O'Connell remarked, had thrown additional odium upon the Government. The new law had not been suffered to remain a dead letter. Between 9000 or 10,000 processes for tithes had been instituted, but with very little effect. All the efforts of the Government to collect the tithes proved unavailing. The police having entirely failed to overcome the resistance of the peasantry, the soldiers were called out to their assistance; but with no better result. It was asserted in the House of Commons that on one occasion a company of Lancers, two pieces of artillery, and two companies of the 92nd Highlanders, were called out to protect the sale of a single cow. Almost every case of an attempt to compel the payment of the obnoxious impost led to a riot, and not unfrequently to bloodshed. The cost of this harassing and expensive process greatly exceeded the sum collected. The arrears due for 1831 amounted to £104,000; but the Government, with great difficulty and some loss of life, only succeeded in obtaining £12,100.

It had clearly become necessary to adopt a different plan, if the tithes were in future

to be collected at all. The arrears for 1831 and 1832 amounted to upwards of £412,000; and if to this sum was added the amount of tithes due for the current year, the gross amount of ecclesiastical tithes due and unpaid during these three years was upwards of £1,000,000 sterling. The Ministry proposed that exchequer bills should be issued for a sum of £1,000,000, to be paid by the tithe-owners on the security of these arrears, which the Irish Government was to be empowered to collect, subject to a deduction of 25 per cent. on the arrears due for 1831 and 1832, and of 15 per cent. on the value of the tithes for 1833; to be repaid by half-yearly instalments in the course of four years. The proposal met with strenuous opposition, and it was confidently predicted that the sum would never be repaid; that the so-called loan would be converted into a gift; and that England, besides paying its own tithes, would have to pay those of Ireland also. The prediction was in due time fulfilled, as the great majority of the Parliament probably expected. But the bill was allowed to pass, mainly because otherwise no provision would have been made for the support of the clergy, who were reduced to a state of great privation and distress.

The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though carped at by the Radicals, gave satisfaction to moderate and reasonable men of all parties, and showed that the administration had made considerable progress in redeeming the pledge of economy which they had made on taking office. The total number of places they had abolished was 1387, with salaries amounting to £231,406. The diplomatic expenses had been lessened by £91,735; the reduction of expenditure in 1831-33 was altogether about £3,000,000. After liquidating the deficit in the preceding year, a surplus of £1,500,000 remained, which Lord Althorp proposed to devote to the reduction of those taxes which pressed most injuriously on the industry of the country, such as the tax on soap,

the duties on marine insurance and advertisements, and several assessed taxes.

The Radicals, however, were not satisfied, and complained that the reductions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been carried further. The agricultural party insisted that they were entitled to relief from at least a part of the duties on malt; and on the 26th of April Sir William Ingilby, a Whig baronet, one of the members for Lincolnshire, moved that the duty should be reduced from 20s. 8d. to 10s. a quarter. Owing to the negligence of the Treasury Whip, the silence of Graham, Grant, and other Cabinet ministers, and the reluctance of the Liberal agricultural members to vote against the wishes of their constituents, the motion was carried, in a House of 314 members, by a majority of ten.

Lord Grey was naturally very angry at this humiliating defeat. In a hurried note to the Chancellor he stated that 'the consequences of the vote were so infinitely serious,' that he had immediately summoned a meeting of the Cabinet, and added, 'I can see but one course to be taken, at least for myself.' If his friends, he said, would not take the trouble of waiting a few hours in the House to carry his measures, they had no right to expect him to sacrifice all his comforts by remaining in office. The king, in great alarm, urged him strongly not to quit his post at a time when his retirement would prove most injurious to the public welfare, and his colleagues united in entreating him to remain. It was evident, however, that the proposed reduction of the malt tax, which would have deranged the whole budget, must in some way be set aside; and the motion of Sir John Key, one of the members for the City of London, for the repeal of the assessed taxes afforded the desired opportunity. These taxes were exceedingly unpopular, and numerous petitions for their repeal had been presented from the large towns, and especially from the metropolitan boroughs. The house tax was especially obnoxious, owing to the unequal and unjust manner in which it

was imposed. The smaller houses, and especially the tradesmen's shops, were always assessed at their full value. The premises of the Bank of England, which the governors valued at £40,000 a year, were rated at only £2500 a year. Sir John Key stated that there were only four houses in Bedfordshire assessed at more than £70 a year, and yet Bedfordshire contained the princely mansions of Woburn Abbey, Wrest, Oakley, Ampthill, Haines, Coplee, Hannes, Bletsoe, Melchbourn, and other seats of the nobility and gentry. Eaton Hall, the seat of the Marquis of Westminster in Cheshire, and Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough, were assessed at £300 a year each; Lowther Castle, in Westmoreland, the mansion of the Earl of Lonsdale, at less than £200; Raby, the seat of the Duke of Cleveland, and Lambton, the mansion of Earl Durham, and many others of the same class, were rated at less than £100. It was not at all uncommon to find a shopkeeper in Cheapside or the Strand paying double the house tax exacted from these wealthy territorial magnates. The window tax, besides being liable to the objections urged against the house tax, was injurious to the health and comfort of the people.

These facts were undeniable, and Lord Althorp made no attempt to defend those taxes as being either equal or just; he could only plead that the repeal either of the malt tax or the assessed taxes alone would be a most partial preference of the interests thus favoured, and that the repeal of both would be incompatible with the maintenance of the public credit. When, therefore, Sir John Key, on the 3rd of April, proposed the motion of which he had given notice, Lord Althorp moved an amendment coupling together the two hostile proposals, to the effect that the deficiency in the revenue occasioned by the reduction of the tax on malt to ten shillings a quarter, and by the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax on property and income, and an exten-

sive change in our whole financial system, which at the present moment would be inexpedient. The Ministry took care on this occasion to muster their supporters; and some even of those who had supported Ingilby's motion, afraid to bring on a crisis, reversed their votes, and Althorp's amendment was carried by the large majority of 355 to 157.

The course which the Ministry had followed in resisting the repeal of the assessed taxes was exceedingly unpopular in the large towns and especially in London, and the feeling which had been excited against them speedily displayed itself in a very annoying manner. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the friend of Byron and an able and accomplished man, who had filled the office of Secretary at War since the dismissal of Sir Henry Parnell, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland on the elevation of Stanley to the Colonial Secretaryship. At the time of his election for Westminster he had expressed himself strongly in favour of the abolition of the house and window taxes; but as a member of the Government he could not vote against Althorp's motion declaring their repeal inexpedient at the present time. He was in consequence vehemently abused by the Westminster tradesmen; and he chivalrously resigned both his office and his seat, but offered himself for re-election. He was opposed by Colonel De Lacy Evans, an extreme Radical, whose cause was so zealously espoused by the mob that they pelted Hobhouse and his friends, on the hustings in Covent Garden, with carrots and cabbages, and refused to hear him speak. The contest terminated in the return of Evans, and the Ministry had to select another Secretary for Ireland. Dr. Lushington and Mr. William Brougham were called on also to resign their seats, but declined to comply with the demand.

Meetings were held in almost every parish in London, at which resolutions were passed pledging those present not to pay the assessed taxes. The Birmingham Political Union petitioned the king to

dismiss from his counsels 'men who had proved themselves either utterly unable or unwilling to extricate the country from the difficulties and dangers with which it is surrounded.' A meeting was also summoned to be held in Coldbath Fields 'for the purpose of adopting preparatory measures for holding a national convention, as the only means of obtaining and securing the rights of the people.' As the movement was fraught with danger to the public peace, a proclamation was issued by the Home Office forbidding the meeting. In spite of this proclamation a considerable number of persons assembled at the appointed time with banners displayed. The police were ordered to disperse the meeting, and, it was alleged, charged the people with their staves with unnecessary violence. One of them was stabbed with a dagger and killed, and other members of the force were wounded. The coroner's jury that sat on the body of the murdered policeman returned a verdict of justifiable homicide, which was quashed by the Court of King's Bench as being utterly unwarranted by the evidence. But when the person accused of the murder was brought to trial he was acquitted, though the clearest proofs of his guilt were adduced by the counsel.

These proceedings raised a loud outcry against the Government in the metropolis and other large towns in England, and their unpopularity was increased by their refusal to adopt the sweeping measures against pensions and sinecures proposed by the Radical members of the House of Commons. In opposition to a motion of Mr. Hume, declaring that sinecure offices and offices held by deputy are unnecessary, Lord Althorp proposed and carried the previous question. But the Ministry were obliged to agree to two resolutions proposed by the economical member for Middlesex, declaring that no new appointments should be made to sinecure offices which fell vacant, and that no person should be appointed to any situation the duties of which are to be discharged by deputy. Another motion,

proposed by one of the members for Dublin, that 'all sinecure places should be abolished throughout the British empire,' was carried against Ministers by a majority of nine.

Though harassed by these and other motions in favour of reforms, which though in themselves desirable were yet premature, the Government succeeded in carrying through in the course of this session a number of very important measures. One of these was the renewal of the Bank Charter, which had been announced in the king's speech. After careful negotiations with the governors of the Bank, Lord Althorp intimated to the House of Commons, on the 31st of May, the terms on which the Government had resolved to propose the renewal of the Charter for twenty-one years, with power to the Government at the end of the tenth year to give twelve months notice to the Bank, in which case the Charter would expire with the eleventh year:—

1. That its promissory notes were to be made a legal tender for sums of £5 and upwards, everywhere but at the Bank and its branches.

2. That one-fourth part of the debt of £14,000,000, at present due by the public to the Bank, should be repaid during the present session of Parliament.

3. That the allowanees hitherto made to the Bank for the management of the national debt and other public business should be continued, subject to a deduction of £120,000 a year.

4. That the laws restricting the interest of money to five per cent., commonly called the 'usury laws,' should be repealed so far as concerned bills not having more than three months to run before they became due.

5. That royal charters should be granted for the establishment of joint-stock banks within a distance of five miles from London; it being, however, understood that Government was at liberty to withhold such charter if it should in any case deem it advisable to reject the application for it.

6. That all banks should enter into a composition in lieu of stamp duties, at present chargeable at the rate of 7s. for every £100 issued in notes.

7. That a bill should be introduced into Parliament to regulate country banks, the provisions of which should be such as to encourage joint-stock banking companies in the country to issue the notes of the Bank of England.

It was found that great opposition would be made to the establishment of joint-stock banks, and that part of the plan was withdrawn for the present by the Government; but the other resolutions were embodied in a bill which readily passed both Houses, with the addition of a provision requiring weekly returns of bullion, and of the notes in circulation, to be sent in to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to publication in the *London Gazette*. Provision was also made for the quarterly publication of the Bank accounts—an arrangement which proved of the highest value and importance, as it enabled financiers and the public generally to obtain an accurate knowledge of the monetary operations of the country.

A measure of much greater importance, which had to be decided at this time, was the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, which terminated in 1833. For nearly two centuries and a half that powerful association of merchant princes had been sovereigns as well as traders, and at this period their rule extended over 200,000,000 of people, inhabiting a territory comprising 1,500,000 square miles. It had long enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with China and India; but at the renewal of its charter in 1813 certain restrictions were made upon its trading privileges, and it was required to publish its commercial accounts separately from its territorial accounts. This regulation brought to light the fact, that the trade with India could not be conducted except at a loss, and the Company had in consequence abandoned it entirely. The traffic with China had also greatly diminished in value; but the Company still retained a monopoly of the trade, and had imposed a duty of 96 per cent. upon all teas sold under 2s., and 100 per cent. on all teas sold over 2s. per lb. Notwithstanding the advantages derived from this monopoly, the trade of the Company had decreased. In 1813 the value of their exports and imports to and from China amounted to £13,500,000. In 1830 they

had fallen to £11,000,000. The extent of the transactions carried on by private traders had meanwhile vastly increased. In 1814 the value of their exports and imports amounted to £9,000,000. In 1830 it had increased to £31,000,000. In these circumstances it was evident that the trading privileges of the Company ought to be entirely withdrawn; and no one doubted that if the trade with India and China were thrown open, the demand for the manufactures of our country would be vastly increased.

It was proposed by the Government that the Charter of the Company should be renewed for twenty years, but that it should henceforth be restricted to the duty of governing India under the control of the British Government. Their trading privileges were now to cease, and their commercial property was to be sold. In return for the surrender of these rights and privileges the proprietors were to receive an annuity of £630,000 a year for forty years, charged on the revenue of India—a sum equal to the amount of the dividends at present paid to them. At the termination of the stipulated period it should be at the option of Parliament to redeem the annuity at the rate of £100 for every £5 5s. of annual payment. The restrictions on the admission of Europeans to India were at the same time abolished, and so were the distinctions based on differences of race, colour, and religion; and the offices under the Government were thrown open to natives and Europeans alike. The measure was very favourably received by both political parties, and became law with little opposition. The results were highly satisfactory. In ten years the trade with China had doubled, and the value of the British exports to India and Ceylon had nearly trebled. But there can be little doubt that an unreformed Parliament would not have undertaken the task of making this important change; and even if it had, it would not have been able to effect it.

CHAPTER V.

Anti-slavery Agitation—Mr. Buxton's Motion on the state of Slavery in the British Colonies—Mr. Canning's Amendments—Opposition of the Planters—Insurrection in Demerara—Shocking treatment of the Negroes—Illegal and cruel persecution of the Rev. John Smith, a missionary—Brougham brings his case before Parliament—Regulations for the protection of Slaves—Slave trade in the Mauritius exposed—Its Abolition—Anti-slavery feeling rising in the Country—The Planters refuse to comply with the Regulations—Cruelties inflicted on the Slaves in Jamaica—Privileges granted to the Free People of Colour—Oppression of the Hottentots by the Boers—The Hottentots set free—Diminution of the Slave Population—The Abolitionists advocate immediate and total Emancipation—Brougham's Great Speech against Slavery—The case of Bridges and of the Mosses—Interference of the Government—Anger of the Planters—Insurrection in Jamaica—Hesitation of the Ministry how to settle the Question—Ministerial Measure for the Total Abolition of Slavery—Grant of Twenty Millions to the Planters—The Apprenticeship System—Conduct of the Negroes on the Day of Freedom.

THE British slave trade, after a protracted and violent contest, had been declared illegal in 1807, mainly by the efforts of Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Stephen, and other philanthropists, who had struggled for twenty years against the system; but slavery itself still flourished in the British West India colonies.

Mr. Wilberforce, the veteran leader of the anti-slavery party, was now, owing to the infirmities of advancing years, unable to continue with his wonted vigour his arduous exertions in behalf of the negroes; and in 1821 he induced Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton to form 'a partnership' with him in what he justly termed 'his holy enterprise.' Buxton was a partner in Trueman's brewery in London. This position necessarily brought him into daily contact with the misery that prevailed in the east of the metropolis, and he zealously co-operated with his sister-in-law, Mrs. Fry, in her efforts to ameliorate the distress which was chronic among the weavers in Spitalfields. He was returned to Parliament in 1818, and immediately began to take a warm interest in the mitigation of the penal code, the improvement of prison discipline, and other benevolent schemes. He became an active member of the African Institution, a society which had been formed to watch over the law that had abolished the slave trade; and he was thus naturally led to concur in the opinion expressed by his brother-in-law, Mr. Forster, that 'it is certainly time to turn the mind of the British public towards

the situation of those in actual slavery.' In May, 1821, Mr. Wilberforce wrote to him that he had for some time been waiting, with no little solicitude, for a member of Parliament who, if he himself were to be laid aside, would be an eligible leader in the crusade against slavery. Such a man he believed Buxton to be, and he therefore earnestly conjured him to devote himself to this 'blessed service.' After long and mature deliberation, encouraged by his brothers-in-law the well-known Quakers, Samuel and John Joseph Gurney, and other friends, Buxton accepted in the autumn of 1822 the weighty charge involved in Mr. Wilberforce's proposal. In January, 1823, a meeting was held by him on the subject with that veteran philanthropist Mr. Zachary Macaulay, and 'long and deep were their deliberations how best to shape those measures which were to change the structure of society throughout the Western World.'

Early in March Mr. Wilberforce published his well-known 'Appeal in behalf of the Slaves.' An Anti-slavery Society was formed, of which Mr. Buxton was appointed Vice-president, and the committee proceeded at once, with great energy and activity, to diffuse information on the subject throughout the country. The lead, as usual, was taken by the Society of Friends, always foremost in 'works of faith and labours of love;' and it was resolved that Mr. Wilberforce should open the Parliamentary campaign with their petition in favour of

the abolition of slavery. He introduced it by saying that 'a similar petition, which he had the honour of presenting thirty years before, had been the first effort against the kindred iniquity of the slave trade,' and that in presenting this one 'he considered that the first stone was laid of an edifice which would stand at some future period an ornament to the land.'

Mr. Buxton then gave notice that on the 15th of May 'he would submit a motion that the House should take into consideration the state of slavery in the British colonies.' On that memorable day took place the first debate in the British Parliament on the subject of negro slavery. Buxton, in his opening speech, declared 'the object at which we aim is the *extinction of slavery*—nothing less than the extinction of slavery, in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions; not, however, the rapid termination of that state, not the sudden emancipation of the negro, but such preparatory steps, such measures of precaution as by slow degrees, and in a course of years, first fitting and qualifying the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom, shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of slavery.' The facts which Buxton stated in support of his motion had been collected for his use by the unwearied industry of Zachary Macaulay, and were enough to make the blood run cold and the heart sicken of every man with a spark of humanity in his breast. A pregnant woman receiving 175 lashes at once for complaining that her child had been punished; a young negress bound hand and foot with a stick passed above her elbows and under her knees, and a chain fastened to her neck, flogged at intervals throughout a day, and left between the floggings with her wounds festering under a tropical sun; a negro slave compelled to flog his own sons for some trumpery fault, and their two sisters receiving twenty lashes each because they cried at the sight; a slave flogged for attending an Independent meeting-house, and his sister, for sighing at her brother's sufferings, punished with

thirty-nine lashes; a negro boy, who ran away to his mother, hanged for endeavouring to rob his owner of his person, and his mother imprisoned for life for receiving stolen goods, in other words, for sheltering her own son; brandings, even of women, on the breast—were all incidents of common occurrence, and hundreds of slaves bore on their bodies the marks of the brutalities inflicted on them. Such were the horrors which Buxton described as the results of the slave system in the British colonies—a system of 'rank, naked, flagrant, undisguised injustice'—on which he based and justified the resolution moved by him, '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.'

The plan which Buxton proposed for the abolition of this shocking system was moderate and reasonable. He suggested that all children born after a certain date should be declared free; pointing out how surely, and yet silently, the curse of slavery would thus die away; and he urged that meanwhile steps should be taken to alleviate the hardships to which the slaves were subjected, and to prepare them for emancipation—that they should be attached to the island, and, under modifications, to the soil; that they should cease to be chattels in the eye of the law; that their testimony should be received in courts of justice; that obstructions to manumission should be removed, effectual provision made for the religious instruction of the slaves, marriages sanctioned and enforced, the Sunday devoted to rest and religious instruction; and that no governor, judge, or attorney-general should be a slaveowner.

The West India interest was too powerful in the House of Commons at this time to allow these proposals, moderate though they were, to be carried into effect; and

Mr. Canning moved the following amendments to Buxton's resolution:—

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 impressment 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.'

The Abolitionists, though they saw that Canning's remedy contemplated rather the amelioration of the condition of the slaves than the extinction of slavery, wisely acquiesced in the plan of the Government, and Canning's resolutions were unanimously adopted. Copies of these resolutions were at once forwarded to all the West Indian Governments by Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Minister. His Lordship at the same time earnestly recommended the colonists to make a beginning in meeting the wishes of the Legislature, by abolishing the flogging of females and the use of the whip in the field, providing the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population, protecting the slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, the legalizing their marriages, preventing the separation of families, admitting the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, removing all existing restrictions to manumission, and granting to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his wife and children at a fair price.

The mode in which these recommendations were received showed at once the demoralized condition of the planters,* and the little hope there was that they would

* The islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Christopher's did not join in the violent outcry raised by the other West Indian islands.

voluntarily take steps to elevate the character and condition of their slaves. The House of Assembly in Jamaica were furious at this interference on the part of the British Legislature with the internal affairs of the island. One member proposed that they should address the king to remove Lord Bathurst from the Ministry; others advocated their separation from the British empire; and the Assembly itself unanimously agreed to a protest against 'a decree whereby the inhabitants of this once valuable colony (hitherto esteemed the brightest jewel in the British crown) are destined to be offered a propitiatory sacrifice at the altar of fanaticism.' The indignation of those colonies that were under the direct administration of the Colonial Office was not less violent, though exhibited in a different way; and the Home Government, not much to their credit, recoiled at the outburst of anger which their very mild recommendations had provoked. Canning said, 'Parliament had obviously three courses before it. It might crush the planters by the application of direct force; it might harass them by fiscal charges; or it might pursue the slow, silent course of temperate but authoritative admonition. Others might press compulsion; for his own part, he was in favour of leaving the planter to meditate on the consequences of his own folly.' 'I would leave him,' he added, 'to found his insurrection, if insurrection he will have, on an abstract admiration of the cart whip, and on a resolute claim of his freeborn right to use that instrument at his pleasure.' Canning's biting sarcasm was entirely lost on men who authorized the flogging of women, and kept their slaves at work by means of the cart whip. They were quite well aware that the exhortations addressed to them might be summed up in the words of the Constable to the Clown in 'Measure for Measure':—'Thou seest, thou wicked varlet, now what's come upon thee; thou art to continue now, thou varlet; thou art to continue.' And continue they did in their old ways. In Trinidad there was

a proposal that the white inhabitants should refuse to pay taxes until the Order in Council was rescinded. In Barbadoes a Wesleyan missionary, who was suspected of having sent home an account of the treatment to which the slaves were subjected, was attacked by a furious mob, his meeting-house destroyed, and he himself compelled to flee from the island. But the proceedings of the planters in the crown colony of Demerara threw these riotous proceedings completely into the shade.

When the circular despatch had been sent to every colony from the Home Government, General Murray, the Governor of that island, shared the feverish anxiety which the news excited among the planters, and resolved to withhold all knowledge of it from the negroes. Some vague rumours of it had, however, reached the ears of the slaves, and the mysterious silence of their masters led them to believe that orders had come from 'the great King of England' that they should be set at liberty. In consequence a portion of them refused to work, and troops were at once called in to suppress what the infuriated planters termed an insurrection. This was easily accomplished, for the wretched slaves were incapable of resistance, and in the course of a couple of days even the very appearance of insubordination had vanished. Though not a single soldier was killed, upwards of a hundred of the insurgents fell on the field, and a good many of those taken prisoners were put to death on the spot. Forty-seven of the insurgent negroes were tried by a court-martial, and at once hanged; but five of them were put to death in a much more horrible manner. They were torn to pieces by a thousand lashes each, of which inhuman torture one received the whole, and two almost the whole, at once. Other four were condemned to receive six or seven hundred lashes each.

The vengeance of the planters was, however, still unsated. The Rev. John Smith, a missionary sent out by the London Missionary Society, had resided since

1816 on a plantation which had been the headquarters of the revolt. It was admitted on all hands that he was a zealous, amiable, and pious man, who, by the force of his high character and consistent conduct, had gained the respect of all who resided in his neighbourhood, and had acquired great influence among the slaves, which he had always employed in persuading them to live quiet and peaceable lives. The planters, however, in their blind fury, chose to imagine that he had in some way helped to excite the revolt, which had been caused solely by their own illegal and unwise proceedings. The insurrection broke out on the 18th of August. Next day Governor Murray proclaimed martial law, and by the evening of the 20th all disturbance was at an end. On the following day, after order had been completely restored, Mr. Smith was dragged from his house with such haste that he was not even allowed to take with him a change of clothes; and at a time when he was in a state of health that made any imprisonment dangerous, he was thrust into the prison—a small, unwholesome, fetid room, exposed to the scorching heat of a tropical sun. He was subsequently removed to a damp dungeon, where the crazy floor was laid loosely on stagnant water, visible through the wide crevices of the boards. In this wretched apartment the unfortunate missionary was detained for nearly two months.

On the 13th of October Smith was brought to trial; and though there was not the shadow of a pretence for continuing martial law, it was determined that he should be tried before a court-martial. In the composition of the court, and the mode in which the trial was conducted, as Brougham stated in the House of Commons, a series of errors was committed 'so gross as to mock belief, and of oppressions which are unexampled in the dispensation of English justice.' The President of the Court, Lieutenant-Colonel Goodman, was Vendue Master of the Colony, who had a commission on the sale of every slave; and

at the time the insurrection broke out between seventy and eighty slaves were advertised for sale with his name attached to each advertisement. The Chief-Justice of the colony was one of the members of this court-martial, having a few days before been appointed a lieutenant-colonel of the militia for this purpose, in order to prevent any appeal to him against the abuses of which the court might be guilty; the Colonial Fiscal was employed to conduct the prosecution, and the Judge-Advocate displayed unexampled zeal in pressing for a conviction. The hearsay evidence of the slaves was readily admitted against the missionary; but evidence of the same kind, when tendered in his defence, was at once rejected by the court. 'Hearsay evidence,' they decided, after the case for the prosecution was closed, 'will not in *future* be received.'* The opening speech of the Judge-Advocate, given *verbatim*, occupies only half a page in the minutes of the trial, but the speech delivered by him after Mr. Smith had closed his defence occupies eighteen pages. 'In this reply,' said Brougham, 'the utmost subtlety is exhibited. Topic is urged after topic, with the greatest art and contrivance. Everything is twisted for the purpose of obtaining a conviction; and, which is the most monstrous thing of all, when the prisoner can no longer reply, new facts are detailed, new dates specified, and new persons introduced, which were never mentioned or even hinted at on any one of the preceding twenty-seven days of the trial.' To crown all, Smith's persecutors had seized his papers, among which was his private journal, intended for no eye but his own, in which he had expressed his opinions and feelings respecting the scenes he was compelled to witness daily and hourly. The planters were guilty of the base act of using the statements in this secret journal, to help out their case against the missionary. It was justly said by Sir James Mackintosh, 'that nothing

like Smith's journal had been used in evidence since Jeffrey's trial of Sidney.'

That nothing might be wanting to crown the villany of their conduct, it was clearly proved that the minutes of the trial had been tampered with and garbled. In spite of the scandalous efforts made by the Judge-Advocate and the court to prevent Smith from adducing exculpatory evidence, it was clearly proved that he had remonstrated with one of the leaders of the insurgent negroes for threatening to use force. Even the overseers were compelled to admit that, in the midst of the insurrection, the slaves had carefully refrained from bloodshed, when there was no force present to resist them, because their pastor had taught them not to take that which they could not give—a peculiarity which occurred in no other case of negro warfare within the West Indies, and which drew from the lips of a minister of the Established Church (the Rev. Mr. Austin) the exclamation that 'He shuddered to write that they were seeking the life of the man whose teaching had saved theirs.'

The result of the trial might have been foreseen from the first, and there can be no doubt that the Governor and the members of this flagitious tribunal had fully made up their minds beforehand respecting the decision they were to give. Smith was found guilty of exciting the slaves to revolt, and sentenced to death, accompanied by a recommendation to mercy if he would ask for it, which, however, he firmly refused to do, standing on his innocence. The court well knew that, hardened as they were, they durst not carry this iniquitous sentence into execution; but indirectly their end was gained. The poor missionary, who was worn out by his long labours in an unhealthy climate, had no strength to sustain the hardships of his long confinement in a pestiferous dungeon, and the anxieties of his protracted trial, and he soon after died, 'expiating,' as Brougham said, 'with his guiltless blood the sin of which there is no remission in the West Indies—the sin of having taught the slaves

* This rule, thus laid down, was subsequently violated in receiving evidence *against* the missionary.

the religion of peace, and consoled them for the cruel lot inflicted by the crimes of this world with the hopes of mercy in another.' His vindictive persecutors carried their malice and barbarity so far as to forbid his widow to follow his body to the grave, and they caused the railings which were placed around his grave to be torn up.*

The men by whom these atrocious deeds were perpetrated had no idea of the effect which their cruelties would produce on the minds of the British people. As soon as the news reached England, the whole country was in a flame. The London Missionary Society, as in duty bound, took the lead in exposing the shocking treatment which their agent had received at the hands of the authorities and planters of Demerara. A great number of petitions was presented to Parliament for the punishment of the wrong-doers. The Ministers were compelled by the force of public opinion to quash the proceedings of the court-martial; but it was felt that something more was necessary to satisfy the claims of justice. The case was brought before the House of Commons by Brougham, who in a speech of extraordinary eloquence and power moved that, 'a humble address be presented to His Majesty setting forth that the House, having taken into their most serious consideration the proceedings which had taken place in the trial of the Reverend John Smith at Demerara, contemplated with the most serious alarm the violation of law and justice which had there been committed; and they did earnestly pray that His Majesty would be most graciously pleased to give orders for such an impartial

and humane administration of the law of that colony as may secure the rights, not only of the negroes, but of the planters themselves.'

Brougham was supported by Mr. Denman (afterwards Lord Chief-Justice), Mr. Williams (who became a judge), Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and other eminent members of the Liberal party. It was in this memorable debate that Mr. Wilberforce, who felt an intense interest in the subject, spoke for the last time in Parliament. The Ministers made a miserable defence, or rather apology, for the proceedings of the court-martial and the Demerara authorities. They seemed at first inclined to resist the motion, and Mr. Wilmot Horton, the Colonial Under-Secretary, said he would meet it with a direct negative. But the feeling of the House and of the country was so strong that the Government saw they were in peril of a defeat. Mr. Canning, who did not very creditably distinguish himself on this occasion, in these circumstances shifted his ground, and had recourse to the shabby expedient of moving the previous question. Even this attempt to evade a distinct decision on the case was not very successful, for Canning's motion was carried, after an adjourned debate, only by a majority of 193 votes to 146.

The substantial success in this contest, however, rested with the minority. Before it took place the Government had become afraid that they had gone too far in their efforts to induce the slaveholders to ameliorate the condition of the negroes; and, alarmed at the outburst of anger on the part of the colonists, the Ministry had resolved to forfeit the pledge which Mr. Canning had given, that if obedience were not voluntarily rendered by the colonial legislatures it would not be enforced. At a meeting held in February, 1824, with Mr. Buxton and other leaders of the anti-slavery party, Canning told them that the Government had determined to yield to the West Indian clamour, and to do nothing except in Trinidad, where there

* While Smith was dying in his prison, he was compelled by his persecutors to draw a bill upon the funds of the London Missionary Society, in order to defray the expenses of his so-called trial. Many years afterwards, the Secretary of the Society, in arranging some old papers, accidentally came on this bill. On examining it carefully, he found written in a minute hand the words, 2 Corinthians iv. 8, 9. The text referred to by the poor missionary in these trying circumstances is, 'We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.'

is no Colonial Assembly. There was at that time hardly more than half a dozen staunch friends to the cause in the House of Commons, while the supporters of the West India slave-holders were both numerous and influential; and if the Government were now to be swayed by the tide of colonial opinion, and abandon its schemes for the benefit of the negroes, the small unaided band of Abolitionists would, it seemed, be powerless. But the debate on Smith's case opened the eyes of the nation to the intolerable and incurable evils of slavery, and its demoralizing effects upon the masters as well as upon the slaves, and excited such a storm of indignation that the Government were compelled to resume their original intention to issue regulations for the treatment of slaves, not only in Trinidad, but in Demerara, Berbice, and St. Louis. In these islands the flogging of women was abolished, and the overseers were forbidden to carry the driving whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority or as a stimulus to labour. No punishment was to be inflicted until at least twenty-four hours after the offence, and no slave was to receive more than twenty-five lashes in one day. Every punishment was to be entered in a written record; and a person was appointed in each colony, whose office it was to protect the slaves from illegal treatment. Sunday markets and Sunday trading were also prohibited. Married slaves were to be protected in the enjoyment of their conjugal rights, and were not to be separated from their children. Slaves were to be permitted to acquire and bequeath property, to purchase their freedom and the freedom of their families; and their evidence was to be admissible in courts of justice. Religious instruction was also to be provided for the slave population, and two bishops were to be sent to the West Indies to superintend it, in order that the interests of the Church of England might be protected.

Encouraged by this success the Aboli-

tionists, headed by Buxton, William Smith, Denman, Mackintosh, and Dr. Lushington within the walls of St. Stephen's, and by Zachary Macaulay, Stephen, and others in the community, resolutely persevered in their efforts to expose the horrid cruelties of the planters, and the dreadful sufferings to which the slaves were still subjected. They were assisted by the opportune publication of the Berbice papers—the official statement by the Fiscal of the revolting barbarities inflicted on the slaves in that island. On the 1st of March, 1826, the London petition against slavery, signed by 72,000 persons, was presented to the House, and a debate took place in which Canning, still unwilling to offend the colonial interest, said he preferred to give the West Indians another year, and then to legislate. Two days later Denman brought forward the case of the negroes who had been executed after the Jamaica insurrection of 1823. He described the treatment of these poor creatures, and portrayed in vivid colours the utter disregard of law and justice in the mode in which they had been sentenced and murdered, and demanded a vote of censure on the planters and officials who had been concerned in these atrocities. The illegal character of the proceedings, and the utter worthlessness of the evidence on which they had been condemned, was strikingly pointed out by Mr. Buxton. 'Next,' he said, 'came the evidence of the constable. He was asked whether he had not found guns among the insurgents? His answer was that he had not, but he was *shown a place where he was told some guns had been.* Then he was asked if he had not found large quantities of ammunition. And he answered that he had not. Had he not found a number of bayonets? No, said the constable, "but I was shown a *basket, in which I was told a great number of bayonets had been.*" Such was the evidence on which these men were hanged.'

The House, as Buxton said, 'was made up of West Indians, Government men, a few partisans, and a few sturdy Aboli-

tionists.' It was therefore quite natural that the Commons should resolve that it would be inexpedient to impeach the sentences that had been passed; but so infamous had been the conduct of these Jamaica planters and officials, that they were constrained to add 'that further proof had been afforded by them of the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of slavery.'

At this period the Abolitionists discovered that though the slave trade had been declared illegal by the British Government in 1807, it was still carried on by British subjects in the Mauritius, which had not been ceded to England by France till 1810. Partly owing to this circumstance, and partly to the facilities afforded by the proximity of the African coast, the vile traffic in slaves, in all its horrors, had never ceased in this island except during the brief administration of General Hall, who had suffered severely in consequence of his activity in suppressing this infamous trade. This fact was brought to the knowledge of Mr. Buxton by Mr. Byers, who had been deprived of his office as Commissary-General of Police on account of his exertions for the same object. That gentleman asserted that the slave trade was still prevailing on that island to a frightful extent; that the inhabitants and the authorities were alike implicated; and that the labouring slaves were treated with atrocious cruelty, the greater because their loss could be so easily supplied. Further investigation showed that these statements were true to the very letter; that slave trading to an enormous extent had for fourteen years been openly carried on; and a Colonial Secretary admitted that over 25,000 negroes had been brought over from the African coast to the Mauritius—in other words, as Brougham said, that 25,000 capital felonies had been committed under the eye, if not with the encouragement, of the Government.

Mr. Buxton brought this flagrant violation of British law before Parliament on the 9th of May, 1826, and proved the extent to

which this infamous traffic had been carried on, by the evidence of one admiral and four naval captains, one general and three military officers, five high civil officers and two out of the three governors of the island. By a return of the number of the black population in the Seychelles he showed that there was only one alternative—either the slave trade had been carried on to a large extent, or every female in that group of islands must have been the mother of 180 children. He concluded by sketching with a powerful hand the features of the trade which he was attacking. After describing the system of capture, &c., he said, 'The fourth step is the voyage, the horrors of which are beyond description. For example, the mode of packing. The hold of a slave vessel is from two to four feet high. It is filled with as many human beings as it will contain. They are made to sit down with their heads between their knees: first, a line is packed close to the side of the vessel, then another; and then the packer, armed with a heavy club, strikes at the feet of the last line, in order to make them press as closely as possible against those behind. And so the packing goes on, until, to use the expression of an eye-witness, they are wedged together in one mass of living corruption. Then the stench is so dreadful, that I am assured by an officer that holding his head for a few moments over the air-hole was almost fatal to his life. Thus it is that, suffocating for want of air, starving for want of food, parched with thirst for want of water, these poor creatures were compelled to perform a voyage of 1400 miles. No wonder the mortality is dreadful.'

Mr. Buxton's statements produced a deep impression upon the House, and he obtained a select committee to inquire whether the slave trade had or had not existed in the Mauritius. Mainly through the laborious exertions of Mr. Stephen, the testimony of 320 witnesses of good character was obtained to attest from their personal knowledge the existence of the traffic in slaves in the

Mauritius. In consequence, first of the excitement of the general election of 1826, and next of a sharp attack of illness due to overwork and excitement, Buxton was compelled to discontinue for a time his exertions for the suppression of the traffic in slaves and the improvement of the condition of the negroes. Meanwhile, however, the Jamaica Assembly, in order to avert further interference with their 'property,' made a pretence of passing an Act to alter and amend the laws in the island, but left untouched the whole of the radical evils of the system. Mr. Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, declined to sanction an Act which was nearly worthless, and recommended the Assembly to adopt measures which would really make some improvement in the condition of their slaves; but, as a matter of course, they turned a deaf ear to his suggestion, and nothing was done.

On Buxton's recovery the attack on the slave trade at the Mauritius was resumed. Sir George Murray, who in 1828 had replaced Huskisson at the Colonial Office, agreed to send out a Commission to make inquiry on the spot as to the truth of the allegations made by the Abolitionists. Every possible obstruction was placed in the way of the Commission, and the inhabitants banded themselves together in a kind of conspiracy to prevent any evidence from being laid before them. But in spite of the great difficulties they had to encounter, the Commissioners both clearly proved the existence of the slave trade in the Mauritius, and ascertained the large extent to which it had been carried since 1810, except during the brief administration of General Hall. On their return, Sir George Murray admitted in the most unequivocal terms that slave-trading to a vast extent prevailed in the Mauritius, and that all the statements of the Abolitionists on this subject had been well founded. He also promised that he would take measures to liberate all slaves illegally imported. Sir George had agreed to the proposition that every slave in the Mauritius should be set free whose master

could not prove a title to his possession. Unfortunately, before this resolution could be carried out, Lord Goderich, who had been appointed Colonial Secretary, had been induced with his usual weakness and facility to lay the *onus probandi*, not upon the master, but on the slave—a difference and a hardship of no small magnitude. Notwithstanding, a considerable number of slaves were able to prove that they had been stolen or forcibly carried off from their native country, and accordingly obtained their freedom. The efforts of the Abolitionists were thus crowned with complete success, and the accursed system, which, owing to the negligence or connivance of the Government at home, and the dishonesty and rapacity of the local authorities, had for fourteen years flourished in rank luxuriance at the Mauritius, was expelled from its last asylum in the British dominions.

The Anti-slavery feeling was now steadily rising in the country; but the planters, utterly blind to the signs of the times, obstinately refused to make any concessions to public opinion, or to take any steps to diminish the evils of slavery. By their invincible obstinacy and their barbarous treatment of the negroes, they had alienated even those who had been inclined to sympathize with their position. The Government were anxious to leave them to carry out for themselves the much-needed reforms in the system, but they had treated the suggestions of the Government with defiance and contempt. 'They had punished the rebel negroes with a severity which had shocked every feeling of humanity; they had condemned Smith to the gallows, and thus turned the Independents against them; they forced Shrewsbury to fly for his life, and the Wesleyans were aroused; the Baptist chapels were burned to the ground, and the Baptists became their enemies.' Buxton might well say to the perverse, wrong-headed slave-owners who were thus exasperating one class after another—'Proceed then faster and faster;

you are doing our work ; you are accelerating the downfall of slavery. A few more such speaking testimonies to the merits of your system, and the people of England with one heart will abhor it, and with one voice will dissolve it.'

Arguments and appeals, however, were entirely thrown away upon the planters, who were utterly impervious to both. Of all the recommendations made by Canning for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, not one had been adopted by any colony except Nevis. That statesman had declared in 1823 that 'the first step towards emancipation would be the abolition of the practice of flogging females;' but even this first step had not been taken in 1830. The House of Assembly in Jamaica indeed, in defiance of Canning's advice, decided by a large majority that women should continue to be flogged indecently. In like manner all the other flagrant abuses which the Government in 1823 earnestly recommended the colonists to mitigate, were still upheld unchecked and unaltered. The slaves still suffered bitterly from the scanty supply of food and clothing. No regard was paid to their domestic ties. Families were still broken up and dispersed, according as the need or the caprice of the owner might dictate. Their religious teachers were persecuted and thwarted at every turn, the day of rest filched from them, and every hindrance thrown in the way of their education. Their masters, indeed, did not hesitate to declare that religious instruction 'is incompatible with slavery.' The slightest offences subjected them to the severest punishments—to the stocks, to the prison, and to the whip; and no matter how grievous might be the injuries inflicted on them, it was almost impossible for them to obtain redress.

The severity of their toil may be judged of by the fact that in Jamaica, where by far the greatest number of slaves were located, the amount of field labour allotted by law and performed under an almost vertical sun, was seventeen hours a day during the

crop time, and fourteen and a half during the remainder of the year. The weak and even diseased slaves were compelled by the whip of a brutal driver to keep up to the pace of their stronger comrades. The prohibition of the use of the whip in the field made their sufferings more severe by adding largely to the number of the regular floggings administered subsequently in private. In the Crown colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, which were under the direct control of the Colonial Office, the ameliorations were carried into effect, which Jamaica and the other islands governed by assemblies rejected with scorn and contempt. And yet even in these four colonies, upon the oaths of the planters themselves, there were registered in the two years 1828-29 no fewer than 68,921 punishments by flogging, of which 25,094 were registered as inflicted upon females. It was estimated that the total amount of stripes inflicted during these two years, in the four colonies mentioned, could not have been short of 1,350,000. In Demerara, which contained 69,000 slaves, 200,000 stripes were inflicted on them annually. Thirty-nine lashes with the cart whip used in flogging slaves were estimated as equal to 300 with the cat. This state of matters in the colonies where slavery existed in its mildest form, after the public had for years demanded a reform of the system, and the Government had tried every method of moral suasion and of earnest recommendation, fully warranted Mr. Stanley's statement 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 Legislatures with the most determined opposition—that England took the work of reconstructing West Indian society into her own hands.'

A presage of the success which was to attend the efforts of the enemies of slavery was afforded in the session of 1828, by the satisfactory result of Dr. Lushington's exertions on behalf of the free people of colour,

who had long suffered the most unwarranted and cruel treatment at the hands of the planters and their subordinates. An Order in Council was issued, by which they were at once placed on the same footing in every respect as their white fellow-citizens—a measure fraught with momentous consequences to the welfare of the West Indies. In the same session Mr Buxton's exertions, made at the instance of Dr. Philip of the Cape of Good Hope, on behalf of the Hottentots were crowned with easy and complete success. These poor creatures had long been shamefully robbed and oppressed by the inhabitants of Cape Colony, and especially by the Dutch Boers; and had sunk even to a lower depth of misery than the negroes. 'Their rich lands and vast herds of cattle had long since become the spoiler's prey. At the caprice of the Dutch Boers they were subjected to the heaviest labours, to every species of harassing annoyance, and to every kind of revolting punishment. Beneath this grinding misery their numbers had dwindled, their persons had become dwarfed, and their minds brutalized till the very negro slaves looked down on them as lower and baser drudges, far below the level of mankind.' In 1820 Dr. Philip had been sent out by the London Missionary Society on a deputation appointed to inquire into the state of their missions in South Africa. On his return to England in 1822, he made known the information which he had obtained respecting the wretched and degraded condition of the Hottentots; and Dr. Lushington moved in the House of Commons for a committee of inquiry to proceed to the Cape, which was granted; and the reports of the commissioners, and especially the publication in 1826 of Dr. Philip's '*Researches in South Africa*,' excited much attention. Mr. Buxton brought forward a motion for an address to the king on behalf of the natives of South Africa. It was at once acceded to by the Government, and Sir George Murray, Secretary to the Colonies, issued an Order

in Council giving entire emancipation to the Hottentots. These poor, down-trodden creatures were thus at once raised to the level of their white oppressors; 'they were protected by the same laws, they could own property, they could demand wages in return for their labour, they could no longer be seized "like stray cattle" if they left their village bounds; in short, they were become a free people; and since that day civilization and Christianity, with all their retinue of blessings, have flourished among them.'

These victories gained on behalf of 'the rights of man and the laws of God' were encouraging omens of a complete triumph over the system of slavery, with all its attendant sufferings, in every part of the British empire. The clouds were breaking away, and light began to dawn; but years of great anxiety and toil still intervened before the slaves reached the promised land. The views of the Abolitionists had been slowly expanding; in 1830 they suddenly assumed a new and more definite form. They had at first coincided in the notion that emancipation would be a disastrous boon to the slaves themselves, unless they were previously trained to enjoy it. Their object, therefore, as Mr. Buxton said, was not the sudden emancipation of the negro, but such preparatory steps, such precautionary measures, as by slow degrees and in the course of years—first fitting and qualifying the slave for the enjoyment of freedom—shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of slavery. But after seven years' unremitting labour to promote these ends, the Abolitionists now came to the conclusion that 'all attempts at gradual abolition were utterly wild and visionary.' The plausible maxim, that no people ought to be free till they are fit for their freedom, Macaulay said 'is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.' It was clearly impossible that the

slaves could be instructed, trained, and made fit for liberty without the hearty co-operation of the planters; and they had doggedly refused to co-operate in any such undertaking. Even if the case had been otherwise, it is exceedingly doubtful whether, from the inherent nature of the system, success could have been attained. Labour must either be extorted by compulsion, with all its attendant evils, or gained by the natural and wholesome inducement of wages. 'A motive there must be,' said Buxton; 'and it comes at last to this: inducement or compulsion; wages or the whip.'

The conviction that there was no hope of the negroes being made fit for liberty while they were still slaves, was necessarily followed by a total change in the policy of the Abolitionists. They had hitherto been merely lopping the branches of the deadly moral upas tree; they now resolved to strike at the root. Not only had all the most degrading features of the system been obstinately maintained by the slave-holders and the colonial legislatures, but the condition of the negroes had undergone a change for the worse. The large and rapid diminution in the yearly amount of colonial produce had placed not a few of the planters in straitened circumstances, and made them try to avert impending ruin by exacting harder work from their slaves. Many of the proprietors, too, were non-resident, and their estates were managed by agents; and the agents employed drivers, whose interest it was to wring the utmost possible amount of work out of the slaves, and to spend as little as possible upon them. Captain S. Hodgson of the 19th Infantry, in his work entitled 'Truths from the West Indies,' published at this time, says, 'There are few *bona fide* proprietors resident on the spot; the greater part of the estates are mortgaged to nearly their full value, and are superintended by some of the mortgagees or their agents. These people have no idea beyond grinding out of the property the largest possible sum in the shortest possible period,

perfectly indifferent to the eventual ruin they must entail by the overworking of the soil; and having no sympathy for the slaves, whom they literally regard as cattle, they think alone of the present gain to themselves. Where the proprietor resides, I have generally observed him kind, and his people happy and contented.'

It need excite no surprise that in these circumstances the slave population had decreased, and was still rapidly decreasing. The free black population in Demerara had increased by one-half in fourteen years, and in Hayti the number of the free negroes had more than doubled in twenty years. On the other hand, in the British West Indies the bond negroes had decreased in the same period from 800,000 to 700,000. In Demerara the slave population had diminished by 12,000, and in Trinidad by 6000 within twelve years. In Tobago within ten years one-sixth of the slave population had perished. If the blacks in slavery, said Buxton, had increased as the free blacks increased, the slave population should have added in the last ten years 200,000 to its numbers, whereas it had diminished by 45,000. To have kept pace with the free blacks, the blacks in slavery should have increased 20,000 a year, whereas they had decreased by 4000 a year. They should have increased fifty a day, whereas they had decreased by ten. In Demerara, Essequibo, Jamaica, St. Christopher's, and St. Vincent, the official returns showed that the loss of life had been greatest in the last three of the twelve years during which those returns of population had been made. It was proved beyond a doubt that this result was produced by forced labour in the sugar colonies, and by nothing else; and the decrease was proceeding at such a rapid rate, that the depopulation of the West India Islands was within a measurable distance. The planters, it was tersely said, were themselves terminating slavery by destroying the slaves.

It was in these circumstances that the Abolitionists raised the banner of total and

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immediate emancipation; and they soon found that they had struck a chord which vibrated through every part of the kingdom. In May, 1830, a crowded meeting was held in Freemasons' Tavern, London, to promote the great cause of the abolition of slavery. Mr. Wilberforce, the veteran leader of the party, emerged from his retirement for the last time to take the chair. Mr. Buxton proposed and Lord Milton seconded the resolution, 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.' Another of the speakers declared, in words which roused the utmost enthusiasm in the large audience, that the time had come when they should speak out, and speak out boldly, their determination *that slavery shall exist no longer*. This resolution was re-echoed in another great meeting held shortly after in Edinburgh, at which Dr. Andrew Thomson, amid the most enthusiastic applause, vehemently protested against any further pretexts for delay, and exclaimed, 'We ought to tell the Legislature plainly and strongly that no man has a right of 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.' At an adjourned meeting of the citizens a petition for immediate emancipation was adopted, to which 22,000 signatures were subscribed in a very few days.

But though the Abolitionists had thus taken a large stride forwards, the Government were quite resolved not to mend their pace. Indeed, it had become painfully evident that an unreformed Parliament, in which the West India interest could without difficulty, simply by the power of the purse, always command at least eighty seats, was not likely ever to carry out the total, much less immediate, emancipation of the negroes. Though the

colonial legislatures had persistently and contemptuously rejected its recommendations, the Government still cherished the most simple-minded faith in the good intentions of the planters, and was as desirous as ever to leave them to the freedom of their own will in their mode of treating their slaves. The friends of the negro, however, were not inclined to put confidence in the good intentions of those slave-drivers who flogged women and caused refractory slaves to be torn to pieces by the lash; and on the 13th of July, 1830, Mr. Brougham brought the question before the House of Commons in a speech of extraordinary power and thrilling interest. He described in vivid terms the shocking outrages which the colonists had inflicted on the clergymen and missionaries who gave religious instruction to the slaves—their chapels attacked, and their houses fired into by a party of the militia; and the ministers themselves, on the most frivolous pretexts and in an utterly illegal manner, thrown into a filthy and loathsome dungeon, where one of them died. The great orator then proceeded to give a description of two cases of horrid cruelty, which must have made the blood even of the most hardened West Indian advocate run cold and his flesh creep.

A slave girl, belonging to an Episcopal clergyman named Thomas Wilson Bridges, had been ordered to dress a turkey for dinner; and the order having been disobeyed her master struck her a violent blow which caused her nose and mouth to flow with blood, applying to her at the same time an oath and a peculiarly coarse epithet highly unbecoming in a clergyman, and indeed in any man, as it is the name most offensive to all womankind. He then commanded two men to cut bamboo rods and point them for her punishment. She was stripped of every article of dress, and flogged till the back part of her, from the shoulders to the calves of the legs, was one mass of lacerated flesh. She made her escape, and went to a magistrate. The

matter was brought before what is called a Council of Protection appointed to protect slaves against harsh and unjust treatment, where, by a majority of fourteen to four, it was resolved that no further proceedings should take place. This cruel and shocking treatment of the poor slave girl was brought under the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who directed the evidence to be laid before the Attorney-General; but nothing was done to bring Mr. Bridges to justice.*

Brougham then proceeded to relate a much more atrocious story, which he had found in a despatch of Mr. Huskisson, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

A Mr. and Mrs. Moss, a lady and gentleman of good position, had a slave girl whom they suspected of theft; but some disobedience in refusing to mend the clothes was the more immediate cause of her punishment. They placed her in the stocks from the 22nd of July till the 8th of August, 1826—a period of seventeen days. The stocks were so constructed, that she could neither sit up nor lie down in an easy posture; and she remained in them night and day. During this time she was flogged six times; and lest sleep should somewhat mitigate her sufferings, her master and mistress rubbed red pepper upon her eyes. After she was taken out of the stocks tasks were assigned her which, even in the opinion of the overseer, she was unable to perform—sometimes because they were beyond her power, at other times because she could not see to do them on account of the pepper having been rubbed on her eyes; and she was flogged for failing to accomplish these tasks. A violent distemper had been prevalent on the plantation during the summer. On one of the days of her confinement in the stocks she complained of

fever, and one of the floggings which she received was the day after she made this complaint. When she was taken out of the stocks she was cramped and stiff with her confinement, and she was again flogged and sent to work in the fields, though she had heretofore been a house servant. On the evening of the third day the wretched victim complained of being ill with fever, and the driver brought her to her inhuman master and mistress, alleging that she was ill and refused to work. She again complained that she had fever. They were of a contrary opinion, but directed the driver to take her to the negro house, and if she should prove to be ill, to bring her to them for medicines in the morning. The only medicine she received was another flogging. She was taken to work in the field at seven o'clock in the morning. Exhausted nature sank under the treatment she had received, and she died there at noon. The verdict was that she had died by the 'visitation of God!'

The Mosses, however, had been cruel overmuch; even the Jamaica colonists felt that they had gone too far. They were tried for their atrocious behaviour, and were sentenced to a small fine and to five months' imprisonment.

The public indignation, as Brougham said, followed the transaction; but it was indignation against the punishment, not the crime, and against the severity, not the lenity of the infliction. General Grant, the Governor, states in his despatch that he had been applied to by the most respectable inhabitants to remit the sentence—that he loses no time in applying to Lord Bathurst to authorize the remission. He speaks of 'the unfortunate Henry and Helen Moss;' says 'they are rather to be pitied for the untoward melancholy occurrence;' and that 'he hastens to prevent the impression which the mention of the case might make on his Lordship's mind.' In a second despatch he earnestly renews the application, describes 'the respectability of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, their general kindness to

* This clerical scoundrel had before this time earned an unenviable notoriety by his scurrilous and libellous attacks on the venerable Mr. Wilberforce, for publishing one of which a bookseller was convicted of libel by a jury. But probably on that very account Bridges was held in good repute by the Jamaica slave-owners.

their slaves, the high estimation in which they were held by all who have partaken of their hospitality,' asserts that 'they have always been favourably spoken of in every respect, including that of slave management;' states his own anxiety that 'persons of their respectability should be spared from imprisonment; and that at any rate 'the verdict should be relinquished, lest they should be thought cruel and oppressive beyond others, and also to remove in some degree the impression of their being habitually and studiously cruel.'

It was justly said by Mr. Fox, that when some grievous crime is perpetrated in a civilized community we are consoled by finding in all hearts a sympathy with the victim, and an approval of the punishment by which the wrong-doer expiates his offence. But in the West Indies there is no such solace to the mind; there all the feelings flow on a wrong course—perverse, preposterous, unnatural. The hatred is for the victim, the sympathy for the tormentor.

When the imprisonment of the Mosses terminated, their release was celebrated by a public procession of the slave-holders and their retainers; and they were welcomed to their home with congratulations and shouts of applause, as if they had suffered for some great and noble cause. To crown this demonstration of public feeling in the colony, the Governor, who had warmly sympathized with the respectable persons that had in such a brutal manner murdered the poor slave girl, was promoted to the Governorship of Trinidad, which, according to Mr. Canning, was about to be made the model by the Crown for all slave colonies.

Brougham concluded his magnificent speech with the motion, 'That this House do resolve at the earliest practicable period of the next session to take into serious consideration the state of the slaves in the colonies of Great Britain, in order to the mitigation and final abolition of their slavery, and more especially in order to the amendment of the administration of justice within the same.' It was, of course, opposed

by the Ministry, and was rejected by the House by a majority of twenty-nine; but Brougham's speech produced a great impression on the country, and mainly contributed to his election a few months after as member for the great county of York.

The House of Lords, however, even more than the Commons, was the stronghold of the West India interest. A considerable number of the leading Tory peers had estates in the colonies, and cordially re-echoed the exclamation of Lord Wynford, who had been Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas—'God forbid that there should be anything like a forcing of the master to abandon his property in the slave! Once adopt this principle, and there would be an end of all property.' At this critical juncture the Duke of Wellington's Ministry resigned, and were replaced by Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and other zealous advocates of the abolition of slavery. Lord Althorp stated, that he thought it was time 'to adopt other measures with the colonists than those of mere recommendations.' As an inducement to them to comply with the wishes of Parliament, he proposed that a distinction in the rate of duties should be made in favour of those colonies which should ameliorate the condition of their slaves. The Ministry resolved that the slaves which were the property of the Crown should be at once manumitted; and Lord Goderich, the new Colonial Secretary, issued a circular despatch to all the colonies, announcing the intention of the Government to arrange measures of substantial relief to the West Indian interests—the relief, however, to be dependent on the colonial legislatures' declaring the Order in Council, already in force in the crown colonies, to possess the force of law. But the colonists were as impracticable as ever. They expressed great indignation at the despatch of Lord Goderich, and at Lord Althorp's declaration that he would 'insist on the enforcement' of ameliorating measures, which they stigmatized as 'unjust and inhuman.' An insurrection, unhappily,

broke out at this time among the negroes in Jamaica, who, from hearing the indignant expressions of their masters respecting the manumission of the Crown slaves, imagined that all the slaves were to be emancipated. 'The great King of England,' it was reported, had ordered that they should all be set free on Christmas-day, 1831, that the 'free paper' had come, but had been fraudulently suppressed by the planters. They consequently held a meeting on the 21st of December, and refused to resume work. The insurrection, which commenced in the parishes of Trelawney, Portland, and St. James, spread rapidly among the negroes in the west of the island. These men assembled together in large bodies, supplied themselves with arms, and marched over the country, burning the plantations and buildings, and spreading devastation wherever they came. Martial law was proclaimed on the 30th of December, the militia were called out, and a body of troops, commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton, were marched into the disturbed districts. But the revolt was not suppressed until many hundreds of lives had been lost, property to the amount of £1,000,000 destroyed, and the atrocities usually attending a servile war perpetrated on both sides.

The spirit displayed by the planters and their subordinates was quite as bad, and much less excusable, than the revolt of the slaves. They had always cherished a strong dislike to the missionaries, and had shown the greatest reluctance to permit religious instruction to be given to the negroes; and they availed themselves of the excitement caused by the insurrection, to inflict on the pastors and their flocks every species of cruelty and insult. 'I stake my character,' said 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 their God.' The planters now chose to imagine that the insurrection had been excited by the teaching of the Baptist

missionaries, and that some even of the Episcopal clergy were implicated in it. The Baptist chapels at Montego Bay, Falmouth, Lucia, and Savannah—seventeen in number—were razed to the ground by a white mob, encouraged by the magistrates and gentry of the island; and two of the missionaries, Messrs. Gardner and Knibb, were arrested on the charge of complicity in the rebellion, and indictments were made out against them. But there was not a tittle of evidence to support the accusation. The case against the former completely broke down, and the case against the other was abandoned by the Attorney-General. Charges of a similar kind were preferred against a Moravian minister, and he was tried by a court-martial, but acquitted.

The colonists were extremely irritated against the Home Government, and denounced the Order in Council as an unnecessary and mischievous interference with their rights and property, and even with their political privileges. The Jamaica Assembly declared that the 'primary and most powerful cause of the rebellion was the increasing and unconstitutional interference of his Majesty's Ministers with our local Legislature,' and they had the effrontery to tell the Governor, Earl Mulgrave, that all measures for the further amelioration of the slave population must emanate from themselves. At a great meeting of the planters in Trinidad it was agreed to protest against the Order in Council, and to petition the king and both Houses of Parliament for its repeal. The West India merchants in London presented a similar protest to the Colonial Secretary against the order, which they asserted to be 'unjust and oppressive, inconsistent with the Parliamentary resolutions of 1823, and destructive of the rights of property.'

The Government seemed to have been to some extent impressed by these clamorous complaints, for they voted a large sum of money to compensate the planters for the losses they had sustained by the insurrec-

tion. They also assented to a proposal made by Lord Harewood, the owner of a large estate in the West Indies, for the appointment of a committee of the Upper House to inquire into the state of the colonies, and the condition of the slaves. 'This committee,' said Mr. Buxton, 'is a pretext for delay and nothing else; I look upon it as a calamity to our cause.' The report of the committee was of course indecisive, but the effect of its investigations was to diffuse more knowledge and sounder principles. The influence of the West Indian party in Parliament was so great that the Government was exceedingly unwilling to bring the question to a decisive issue, and wished to avoid committing themselves to either party. The friends of the negro, on the other hand, were strongly of opinion that a hesitating, undecided policy was attended with great danger; and that it would be both useless and mischievous to defer emancipation till 'a progressive improvement should have been made in the character of the slave population by the temperate enforcement of ameliorating measures.' They therefore resolved to bring the question to an immediate issue. Mr. Buxton, on the 24th of May, moved 'that a select committee be appointed to consider and report upon the measures expedient to be adopted for properly effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest period, compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies.' Lord Althorp proposed to add 'in conformity with the resolutions of 15th May, 1823.' But Mr. Buxton refused to accede to this proposal, for he was of opinion that these resolutions had been the real cause of the long delay that had taken place in the emancipation of the slaves. The strongest efforts were made to induce him not to press his motion to a division. But though 'cruelly beset,' and acutely alive to the pain of refusing the entreaties of personal friends and political allies, he stood firm. Ninety members supported him; and though Lord Althorp's amendment

was carried by a majority of 176, 'the cause made a seven-leagued stride.' The investigations of the committees 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; secondly, that its extirpation would be safe.

It was generally understood that Earl Grey's Government was now at last about to undertake the settlement of the question; but to the great surprise and disappointment of the friends of the negroes, there was no allusion to the subject in the king's speech at the opening of the session of 1833. The king, like all his family, was hostile to the emancipation of the slaves; Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, was weak and irresolute; and the subordinates in the Colonial Office were decidedly unfavourable to any interference with existing institutions. In these circumstances, as there were other important and pressing matters to be settled, the Ministry had resolved to defer for the present the consideration of this difficult and embarrassing question. But the Abolitionists were determined that there should be no longer delay in striking off the fetters of the slave. As soon as the speech from the throne was delivered Buxton hastened to the House of Commons, and gave notice of a motion on the subject for the 19th of March. The Government felt that they had committed a mistake, that it was impossible to avoid dealing at once with this question, and next day they intimated their intention to bring in 'a safe and satisfactory measure.'

The Ministry were greatly at a loss how to settle this question by a measure which would give satisfaction to the country, and yet be fair to the planters. Week after week passed away and nothing was done, and even a specific day for the discussion of the subject was not named. Buxton threatened to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice. Public meetings were held throughout the country, at which

strong resolutions were passed in favour of immediate emancipation, and many hundreds of petitions were poured in from every quarter. One from the females of Great Britain had no less than 187,000 signatures attached to it. Delegates from all the large towns in the three kingdoms assembled in London, and waited in a body on the heads of the Government, and at length Lord Althorp named a day on which their views would be explained. Goderich was 'kicked upstairs' into an earldom and the office of the Privy Seal, and on the 14th of May Mr. Stanley, his successor, laid before the House, in a speech of remarkable ability and eloquence, the leading features of the measure which the Government had resolved to introduce for the purpose of abolishing slavery throughout the British dominions.

Mr. Stanley had been Colonial Secretary little more than a month; but he showed that, short as the time was which he had had for preparation, he had completely mastered the subject, and was thoroughly conversant both with its principles and its details. He began by noticing the extent and depth of public feeling upon the question of slavery, which rendered it impossible to delay longer its settlement. 'There is,' he said, '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, or 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 man who watches the signs of the times can misunderstand.'

He then gave a history of the question from the great debate in 1823 downwards, pointing out the efforts the Government had made to induce the colonists to co-operate in ameliorating the condition of the slaves, how confidently the Parliament had counted on the co-operation of the colonial legislatures, and how grievously the country had been disappointed in these expectations.

'The voice of friendly warning, the voice of authority, had been found to be in vain. Not a single step had been taken by any one of the colonial legislatures with a view to the extinction of negro slavery.' He then stated in most forcible terms the arguments for the total abolition of the system founded on the rapid decrease of the population, and on the shocking facts brought to light by the Abolitionists respecting the immense amount of punishment inflicted by the whip, pointing out the pregnant and dreadful fact that as the population diminished the number of stripes increased. 'We are told,' he said, 'that the slaves at the present moment are unfitted for the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; that they have no domestic ties and no habits of industry; that they do not provide for their wants and would not provide for their families; that they have no forethought, no discretion; and that, in short, they would be utterly ruined were you to throw them loose upon the world. Sir, it is slavery which debars them from acquiring industrious habits; it is slavery which prevents them from exercising the virtues of foresight and prudence; it is slavery which leaves them nothing to labour for; it is slavery which takes away from them all the incentives to industrious labour, which debars them from all the ties of social intercourse; and then you declare them to be ignorant of the duties of social life—that they have no foresight, no industry, no prudence, no discretion, and therefore they must continue in a state of slavery!'

The Colonial Secretary then proceeded to unfold the plan which the Ministry had resolved to submit to Parliament for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, and moved the following resolutions in which that plan was embodied:—

1. 'That it is the opinion of the committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.'

2. 'That it is expedient, that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject, nevertheless, to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

3. 'That all persons now slaves be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, and to acquire thereby all the rights and privileges of freemen, subject to the restriction of labouring under conditions, and, for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

4. 'That to provide against the risk of loss which proprietors in His Majesty's colonial possessions might sustain by the abolition of slavery, His Majesty be enabled to advance, by way of loan, to be raised from time to time, a sum not exceeding in the whole £15,000,000, to be repaid in such manner and at such rate of interest as shall be prescribed by Parliament.

5. 'That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the colonies, in aiding the local legislature in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.'

The discussion of these resolutions was adjourned to the 30th of May. The two main features of the scheme—apprenticeship for the negro and compensation to the planter—were extremely obnoxious to the more vehement Abolitionists, and were violently assailed by them. On the other hand, the West India body refused to listen to the proposal of a loan, and complained bitterly of the injustice inflicted upon them by the proposal to deprive them of their property without any real compensation. The Abolitionists, on their side, declared that the planters had no claim to any compensation for being deprived of that which, from its very nature, never could have been lawful property, and which consequently they ought never to have possessed. Buxton, who voted for the grant, 'as giving the best chance and the fairest prospect of a peaceful termination of slavery,' was violently assailed by his coadjutors of this class. 'If you had stood firm,' said Joseph Sturge the Quaker to him, 'the planters would have got no compensation.' 'Perhaps so,' was the reply; 'they no compen-

sation, and we no extinction of slavery; or rather, it would have been extinguished by a rebellion.' In the end the planters offered to accept a free gift of £20,000,000; and the Parliament voted that sum, in order to conciliate them, with a readiness highly creditable alike to the Legislature and to the country, and which has caused moralists of other countries to declare that 'the British Act of Emancipation stands alone for moral grandeur in the history of the world.'

It was against the apprenticeship system, however, that the chief opposition was made. Mr. Buxton thought it pregnant with mischief, and believed that it would prove wholly unworkable. He therefore moved an amendment limiting it to the shortest period necessary for establishing free labour, and suggested the term of one year; 'for,' said he, 'if we are to have neither wages nor the whip, neither hope nor fear, neither inducement nor compulsion, how anyone can suppose that we shall be able to obtain the labour of the negroes is to me unintelligible.' He was vigorously supported by Lord Howick, the eldest son of the Prime Minister, who had resigned his office of Under-Secretary to the Colonies on account of his objection to the proposal for apprenticing the slaves; and by Mr. Macaulay, who had also for the same reason sent in his resignation of the Secretaryship of the Board of Control. He, at some length, exposed the defects of the Government proposal. 'In free countries the master has a choice of labourers, and the labourer has a choice of masters; but in slavery it is always necessary to give despotic power to the master. The bill leaves it to the magistrate to keep peace between master and slave. Every time that the slave takes twenty minutes to do that which the master thinks he should do in fifteen, recourse must be had to the magistrate. Society would day and night be in a constant state of litigation, and all differences and difficulties must be solved by judicial interference. My apprehension

is, that the result of continuing for twelve years this dead slavery—this state of society destitute of any vital principle—will be that the whole negro population will sink into weak and drawling inefficacy, and will be much less fit for liberty at the end of the period than at the commencement. My hope is, that the system will die a natural death; that the experience of a few months will so establish its utter inefficiency as to induce the planters to abandon it, and to substitute for it a state of freedom.*

Buxton's motion was lost, though only by seven votes; but as Lord Howick observed, the first fruits of the discussion were gathered the next day. The Ministers found that, if they persisted in pressing their proposal, they would inevitably be beaten; and Mr. Stanley intimated that, in deference to the wishes of the House, they had agreed to reduce the apprenticeship to seven years for the agricultural labourers, and to five years for the skilled labourers. The concession thus made to the Abolitionists on the one hand, and to the planters on the other, in regard to the proposed loan, insured the success of this glorious measure. It passed the House of Commons on the 7th of August; a fortnight afterwards it was read a third time in the House of Lords; and on the 28th the bill for the total abolition of slavery in the British dominions received the royal assent.

The delight with which this event was hailed, not only by the men who had borne the burden and heat of the day in this great struggle, but by the whole nation, was tempered by the death of Mr. Wilberforce, the apostle of slave emancipation, who entered into his rest on the 29th of July. Shortly before his death he 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.' 'Would that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer,' wrote Miss Buxton to Mr. Macaulay, 'that my father might have taken back to him *fulfilled* the task he gave him ten years ago!'

The 1st of August, 1834, was the day on which the emancipation of the slaves was to take place throughout the British colonies. It was looked forward to with considerable anxiety. The West Indians had given utterance to the most gloomy predictions, and declared that rioting, drunkenness, confusion, and bloodshed would be the result. Happily these forebodings of evil were not fulfilled. The 1st of August fell on a Friday, and it was arranged that there should be a holiday from the Thursday night till Monday. The missionaries exerted all their influence successfully, to induce their congregations to celebrate their emancipation in a manner worthy of the great deliverance that had been wrought for them. On the evening of the 31st of July all the churches and chapels throughout the West Indian colonies were crowded with congregations of slaves. As the hour of midnight approached they fell upon their knees; and all hushed in silent prayer, awaited the solemn moment which proclaimed that the voice of the oppressor should be no more heard, and the servant should be free from his master. When the chapel bells sounded the hour of twelve, the kneeling crowd sprang to their feet and gave expression to their passionate emotions, and through every island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the God and Father of all, bond and free.

The Moravian poet, James Montgomery, appropriately celebrated this glorious event in some beautiful verses:—

'Hie to the mountain afar,
All in the cool of the even,
Led by yon beautiful star,
First of the daughters of heaven.

Sweet to the slave is the season of rest,
Something far sweeter he looks for to-night;

* Macaulay's resignation was in the hands of Althorp when he delivered this speech; but a few days later he was informed that the Ministry declined to accept his resignation of his office.

His heart is awake in the depths of his breast,
And listens till God shall say, "Let there be Light!"

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Hear and hail it; the call
Island to island prolong—
Liberty! liberty! all
Join in that jubilee song.

Hark, 'tis the children's hosannahs that ring!
Hark, they are freemen whose voices unite!
While England, the Indies, and Africa sing
Amen! hallelujah! to "Let there be Light!"

The rest of the holiday was spent in cheerful and innocent amusements, and on Monday morning the negroes all returned to work.

Much to the credit of the planters in Antigua, they at once surrendered the right of apprenticeship, and set their slaves wholly free on the 1st of August, 1834, and the results were most satisfactory. The Bishop of Barbadoes reported that, immediately on their emancipation, husbands and wives, hitherto living on different estates, began to live together. The number of marriages greatly increased. So did the attendance at the schools, and the planters complained that their whole weeding gang, instead of going to work, went to school. All the young women ceased to work in the fields, and began to learn female employments. Friendly societies for mutual relief increased. And lastly, the work of

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the clergy was doubled, in consequence of the great increase in the number of the members of their congregations. The utmost desire was expressed by the negroes for religious instruction. The most intelligent and influential of the Antigua planters informed the bishop, that the experiment was answering to his entire satisfaction.

The reports were equally favourable from the other West India islands. Crime had rapidly diminished; marriages had considerably increased; education and religious instruction were making steady progress. Unfortunately the planters in some of these islands, especially in Jamaica, could not divest themselves of the evil habits formed under the system of slavery, and harassed the negroes by vexatious by-laws and cruel punishments, and in some respects their lot as apprentices was even worse than their lot as slaves. The apprehensions of those who predicted that the apprenticeship system would be productive of serious evils, and would utterly fail in preparing the slaves for entire freedom, were more than fulfilled; and long before the period fixed for its termination, the Legislature was compelled to interpose for the protection of the apprentices, and in 1838 the system was entirely abolished.

CHAPTER VI.

The Factory System—Cruel Treatment of Apprentices—Bills restricting the hours of labour in Cotton Mills—Efforts of the first Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Sadler to protect juvenile workers—Lord Ashley's Bill altered by the Government—Opposition of the Millowners—Bribery and Corruption in English and Irish boroughs—Lord Warwick accused of Bribery—Motion for vote by Ballot, and for Triennial Parliaments—Work of the Session—Unpopularity of the Ministry—The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—Second Session of the Reformed Parliament—Agitation in Ireland—The Tithe Bill—Lord John Russell's Declaration respecting the Irish Church—Mr. Ward's motion—Resignation of four members of the Cabinet—Their successors—Foolish speech of the King—Commission on the Irish Church—Coercion Bill—Littleton's imprudent communication to O'Connell—Its result—Resignation of Lord Althorp and of Earl Grey—The King proposes a Coalition Ministry—Reconstruction of the Government—Melbourne Premier—Coercion Bill modified—Abortive measures—Church-rates—The English Poor Laws—Their injurious influence—Poor Law Commission—Poor Law Amendment Bill—Favourably received by the Lords and Commons—Opposed by the *Times*—Amendments by the Lords—Receives the Royal Assent—Lord Brougham's Tour in Scotland—Lord Althorp's elevation to the Upper House—Dismissal of the Melbourne Government.

THE interests of the negro had for some time so completely absorbed the attention of the philanthropists both in Parliament and throughout the country, that the hardships inflicted on the white labourers at home had to a considerable extent been overlooked. Children employed in factories and workshops were up to this time wholly unprotected by any statute law. Parents and the masters of apprentices might indeed be punished at common law for neglect or cruelty; but no provision was made for taking action even in such cases, and there was no public prosecutor empowered to put the law in operation, even against the most heinous offenders. At this period the parochial authorities were empowered by law to apprentice the children of poor parents to any trade, and the master was bound to receive the apprentices. These poor unfortunate creatures might be separated from their parents, and sent to the most distant parts of the kingdom. The London poor-law guardians were in the habit at this time of relieving themselves from the support of their pauper children, by sending them in hundreds at a time into the manufacturing districts. 'It is a very common practice,' wrote Romilly in 1811, 'with the great populous parishes in London to bind children in large numbers to the proprietors of cotton mills in Lancashire and Yorkshire, at a distance of 200 miles.

The children, who are sent off by waggon loads at a time, are as much lost for ever to their parents as if they were shipped off for the West Indies. The parishes that bind them, by procuring a settlement for the children at the end of forty days, get rid of them for ever; and the poor children have not a human being in the world to whom they can look up for redress against the wrongs they may be exposed to from those wholesale dealers in them, whose object it is to get anything that they can possibly wring from their excessive labour and fatigue.' 'Instances,' he goes on to say, 'and not very few, have occurred in our criminal tribunals, of wretches who have murdered their parish apprentices that they might get fresh premiums with new apprentices.' The shocking fact was publicly stated in the House of Commons, that the London local authorities made the manufacturers agree to take one idiot for every nineteen sane children. The sufferings which these poor, unprotected, worse than orphan children endured at a time when there were no laws to regulate their hours of toil, or to secure that they should be well treated and educated, must have been dreadful. As the supply was always quite equal to the demand, harsh and cruel masters and overseers had no motive to care for the health and comfort of the white slaves, whom they used up without scruple or remorse.

'Little children,' said the first Sir Robert Peel in 1816, 'torn from their beds, were compelled to work at the age of six years from early morn till late at night, a space of perhaps fifteen to sixteen hours.' It is a striking and lamentable proof of the prevailing inhumanity at that period, and the extent to which the demand for cheap labour and the 'greed of filthy lucre' had blinded men's minds to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, that the continuance of this system of infant labour and misery should have been publicly advocated by men of high character and position. An influential member of the House of Commons asserted, that 'it would be too highly injurious to the public to put a stop to the binding so many apprentices to the cotton manufactories, as it must necessarily raise the price of labour and enhance the price of cotton manufactured goods.'

The hardships of the factory system at this period no doubt fell with special severity on the pauper children, deprived, as they were, of a parent's protection and care. But the children of the working classes throughout the manufacturing districts were habitually subjected to the bondage of premature toil and the most brutal treatment; and under the combined influence of the greed of gain on the part of the masters, and the wasteful dissipated habits of the parents, the wretched creatures were thrust into the factories at the age of eight or seven, and in many instances even of six years, and compelled to toil twelve and not unfrequently thirteen hours a day in an unwholesome atmosphere, rarely able to relieve their wearied bones by sitting down. They were subjected to the most grievous hardships; kicked and beaten by the adult operators, two short intervals of half an hour only allowed them for meals, mixing constantly with vicious and degraded society, it is no wonder that their health was permanently injured and their morals ruined, that many of them perished in childhood, and that the survivors grew up weak, sickly, and deformed, grossly ignorant and depraved.

Sir Robert Peel, the father of the great statesman, appears to have been the first to direct attention to the sufferings of the children employed in factories; and at his instance a select committee was appointed in 1816, which presented a report containing a great amount of important evidence, but made no recommendation. Two years later Sir Robert brought in a bill forbidding the employment of children under nine years of age, restricting their labours to ten hours a day, which was supported by Wilberforce and other eminent philanthropists. But the Lords, as usual at that time, preferred class interests to the claims of humanity, and confined the operation of the bill to cotton factories, at the same time extending the hours of work to twelve daily. In 1825 Sir John Hobhouse introduced a measure for the regulation of cotton factories, and succeeded in obtaining for children employed in these establishments a quarter of a holiday on each Saturday. That a child of ten years of age should not be compelled to toil in a cotton factory more than sixty-nine hours in one week seemed to the legislators of that day quite a sufficient restriction on infant labour. But in the other textile industries, such as the woollen and silk mills, in which many thousands of children were employed, they were left without any legal protection, and were entirely at the mercy of their masters.

No further efforts, however, were made to mitigate the toils and the sufferings of the factory children until 1832, when Mr. Sadler, the member for Newark (the Duke of Newcastle's borough), an extreme Tory, but a highly honourable and able man, brought in a bill to regulate infant labour in factories, and to protect the juvenile workers from the maltreatment to which they were subjected. He proposed that no child under nine years of age should be employed for more than ten hours a day. It met with a somewhat cold reception from both sides of the House, and the second reading was agreed to only on condition that the bill should be referred to a

select committee. The result, however, was different from what the opponents of the measure expected. The inquiry occupied the whole of the remainder of the session. No less than eighty witnesses were examined, of whom twenty-one belonged to the medical profession; and their evidence disclosed a state of brutal treatment and suffering utterly appalling. It showed that in consequence of early and heavy work in ill-ventilated factories, protracted to sixteen and seventeen hours a day, the operatives of Yorkshire and Lancashire, formerly noted for their stalwart frames, were becoming a dwarfed, stunted, and deformed race. The committee merely reported the evidence without making any recommendation, and the session was by this time too far advanced to admit of any action being taken upon it.

Mr. Sadler unfortunately did not succeed in obtaining a seat in the first Reformed Parliament, and the measure which he had originated passed into the hands of Lord Ashley, the eldest son of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who now entered upon that philanthropic career which he has pursued with unwearied assiduity for the period of well-nigh fifty years. Not a few of the most influential supporters of the Government, however, were extensive manufacturers; and other members of the Whig and Radical party, along with the political economists, strongly deprecated any interference with the employment of labour and the transactions of trade and commerce. Influenced by the urgent representations of his constituents, Mr. Wilson Patten (afterwards Lord Winmarleigh), one of the members for the northern division of Lancashire, a moderate Conservative, proposed that the bill should be referred to a special commission to make further investigations into the subject. The operatives alone, he alleged, had been allowed to give evidence before Mr. Sadler's committee, and it was only just that the masters should have an opportunity of stating their case. The appointment of a Commission was carried

by a majority of only one. No time, however, was lost in nominating the members; and they immediately entered upon their duties. The various seats of the textile industries in the west and north of England, and in the manufacturing districts of Scotland, were visited by the Commissioners. Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, who was resolved that no delay should take place in thoroughly investigating the state of matters, made them aware that 'the king's commandment required haste,' and, two months after their appointment, insisted on their reporting to him in a week. A body of authentic evidence was thus obtained, which placed the magnitude of the abuse beyond all controversy. When the Factory Bill came again before the House, Lord Althorp, acting under the influence of the manufacturers, moved that the bill be referred to a select committee, with the instruction that no child under fourteen should be allowed to work more than eight hours a day; that care should be taken of their education; and that inspection of the mills should take place in order to secure that these provisions should be carried into effect. He expressed his apprehensions that if the bill were passed in its present form, it would have a most injurious effect on the manufacturing interest of the country. The House, however, did not appear to share these apprehensions, for his motion was rejected by a majority of 164 to 141, and the bill was submitted to a committee of the whole House.

The Government were still so hard pressed by the manufacturing interest, that they returned to the charge. Lord Ashley's bill prohibited the employment of children under nine years of age, and the employment of young persons under eighteen years old for more than ten hours a day. The Government succeeded in substituting in committee a provision limiting the labour of persons under thirteen years of age to eight hours a day on the old plea, that to prevent all persons under eighteen years of age from working longer than ten hours a

day would have the effect of diminishing the manufacturing industry of the country when our rival manufacturers in other countries were unfettered in the mode of conducting their business. Lord Ashley, on this defeat, gave up his bill into the hands of the Ministry. Lord Althorp said he was desirous to protect those who could not protect themselves, and therefore resolved that the employment of children under nine years of age should be declared to be illegal; that children under thirteen should not work more than eight hours a day; and that the employment of young persons above thirteen and under eighteen should be restricted to twelve hours a day, or sixty-nine in the week. The bill also provided for the attendance of the children at school, and for the appointment of inspectors to see that its provisions were duly enforced.

The bill, even after it had been thus remodelled, was very keenly opposed in its progress through Parliament by a combination of the Tories and Radicals and the manufacturing interest. According to the arguments employed by this heterogeneous opposition, the Parliament had no right to interfere with industrial arrangements, and the mode in which capital was laid out, so as to make the most of its opportunities. Parents, too, were the only persons entitled to judge how their children ought to be employed; and any interference on the part of the legislature with this alleged parental right was denounced as unwarrantable and mischievous. Trade and commerce too, it was alleged, would be seriously injured by this attempt to enhance the price of labour; and 'foreign rivals would be enriched by Britain's sentimental folly.' The Home Secretary was waited on by deputations of millowners, who predicted that this ill-starred bill would bring ruin on them in their own particular trade, and on the whole country. Lord Melbourne, however, in his characteristic manner stated that in his opinion the country was by no means in danger from this measure, and

that it 'took a deal of ruining.' If the experiment of limiting the hours of labour should prove injurious, it could be discontinued; but he was resolved that it should be tried. The bill, as amended by the Government, passed both Houses of Parliament, and after the experience of nearly half a century must be admitted to have been most successful in its operation; though much still required to be done before factory legislation could be regarded as final or complete.

While the Parliament was thus engaged in philanthropic efforts to strike off the fetters of the slave and to ameliorate the sufferings and toil of the factory operatives, the Commons were unpleasantly reminded of their duty to carry out the projected improvements in the constitution of their own body, and to suppress and punish the bribery and corruption which had so long disgraced their election. The Reform Bill had put an end to the sale of boroughs; but it unfortunately had not by any means put an end to the sale of votes. Indeed, at no previous election had bribery, corruption, and intimidation so extensively prevailed as at the election of the first Reformed Parliament. Petitions were presented respecting the elections at Liverpool, Stafford, Warwick, Londonderry, and many other places, where bribery and corruption had prevailed to a scandalous extent. In each case the committee appointed to try the election found that corrupt practices had largely prevailed; but, as usual, that these practices had not been carried out with the authority of the candidates. In the case of Warwick the committee reported that, not only had gross bribery, treating, and intimidation extensively prevailed, but that the Earl of Warwick, Lord-Lieutenant of the county and Recorder of the borough, 'in violation of the resolutions and standing orders of the House, did unconstitutionally apply by his agent and steward £3000 and upwards towards the election expenditure and promotion of the political interest of Sir Charles J. Greville.' It was also reported

that the Earl's steward had caused numerous persons to be fictitiously rated to the poor for the sole purpose of creating fraudulent votes. On the last day of the session Colonel De Lacy Evans, one of the members for Westminster, called the attention of the House of Commons to the conduct of Lord Warwick; but the discussion was brought to an abrupt termination by the prorogation of Parliament. The bribery and corruption practised at Stafford—long a notoriously venal borough—was so extensive and flagrant, that a bill was brought in to disfranchise it, but the measure had to be postponed on account of the approaching termination of the session. Hertford, of which Lord Salisbury was the patron, merited a similar fate; but for the same reason, a bill for the better prevention of bribery there, was delayed till the following year. The elections in Londonderry, Carrickfergus, Newry, and other Irish boroughs, were disgraced by the same corrupt practices. But, as we shall see afterwards, the attempt of the Government to purify the constituencies and to punish the offenders was resisted and defeated by the Upper House.

Mr. Grote, one of the members for the city of London, and the author of an able and learned History of Greece, was of opinion that the most effectual remedy for these flagrant evils was to take the votes of electors by ballot; and on the 25th of April he brought in a bill for the substitution of secret for open voting in all Parliamentary elections. It was opposed, however, both by the Government and the Conservatives; and was rejected by 211 votes against 106 in its favour. A motion in favour of triennial parliaments, made by Mr. Tennyson, member for Lambeth, was also rejected though by a majority of only 49. There was an evident disinclination, both in Parliament and in the country, to introduce any further changes in the constitution until the Reform Bill had been tested, and its results made clearly manifest. A bill to relieve the Jews from all civil disabilities was introduced by Mr. Grant, and passed

the House of Commons; but on the second reading it was rejected by the Lords.

The session, which was prolonged until the 29th of August, was closed by the king in person. After briefly recapitulating the measures which the Parliament had passed, His Majesty intimated that a Commission had been issued for digesting into one body the enactments of the criminal law, and inquiring how far and by what means a similar process may be extended to the other branches of our jurisprudence. Another Commission had been appointed for investigating the state of the municipal corporations throughout the United Kingdom, in order to prepare the way for placing the internal government of corporate cities and towns upon a solid foundation. His Majesty had also the satisfaction to announce the complete success of the measure which had been enacted 'to control and punish the disturbers of the public peace in Ireland.' It had not, he said, been found necessary to use the powers which that measure conferred, except to a very limited degree; but 'the spirit of insubordination and violence which had prevailed to an alarming extent had been in a great measure subdued.'

The session, which was thus brought to a termination, had been one of unprecedented labour and of the greatest importance. The House of Commons had found it necessary to devote to the discharge of its onerous duties no less than 142 days, or 1270 hours. The reforms which the Ministry had effected during that time had been of unusual magnitude and value. They had remodelled the Irish Church, abolished slavery, opened the East India monopoly, settled the bank question, regulated factory labour, and greatly improved the whole administration of the law. And yet, said Brougham, on recounting its achievements, 'if this Government were to break up at the end of the present session, it would go out with far less credit than the feeblest Government that ever ruled—at least for a while.' This confession of

the unpopularity of the Ministry was a good deal overstated; but still the fact was undeniable that they had lost weight both in the eyes of the country, and even in the House of Commons itself. This, as Brougham remarked, was 'in part unavoidable; because the Government had been extravagantly popular; because absurd expectations, impossible to be realized, had been formed; and because all Governments, after being a little while in office, have to contend with the selfishness of disappointed individuals, and the fickleness of an unreasonable public.'

The Chancellor, who delighted in debate, and was ever ready to encounter an antagonist, thought that the unpopularity of the Government was owing to the supineness, or indifference, or timidity of the Cabinet Ministers in the House of Commons, especially Grant and Graham, who would not take the trouble to reply to the attacks which the Radicals and the Tories systematically made on the measures of the Government, and thus allowed these attacks to go forth to the country unanswered. There were other and more potent causes, however, at work to account for the decreasing popularity of the Ministry. The very measures which they had carried, and which were of inestimable value to the country, had raised up a host of bitter enemies in the persons of the West Indian proprietors, the Irish clergy, the Lancashire and Yorkshire manufacturers, the Repealers, and the Radicals. 'The Radicals are confident and sanguine,' said Greville, 'the Whigs uneasy, the Tories desponding, moderate men, who belong to no party but support Government, serious and not without alarm. There is, in fact, enough to justify alarm, for the Government has evidently no power over the House of Commons; and though it is probable that they will scramble through the session without sustaining any serious defeat, or being reduced to the necessity of any great sacrifice or compromise, they are conscious of their own want of authority and of that

sort of command without which no Government has been hitherto deemed secure.

The divisions in the Government, which had now become matter of notoriety, contributed still further to weaken its influence; while, on the other hand, the two great leaders of the Tory party—the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—had recovered a large measure of their popularity. Only two years before, the Duke of Wellington was assailed by the Londoners with hisses and reproaches, and was repeatedly in danger from the mob; but Mr. Greville mentions that now, in riding with the Duke through St. James' Park, he was 'marvellously struck with the profound respect with which the Duke was treated, everybody they met taking off their hats to him, everybody in the park rising as he went by, and every appearance of his inspiring great reverence'—'a sentiment,' he adds, 'in a great degree produced by the justice which is due to his political character, sometimes mistaken, but always high-minded and patriotic, and never mean, false, or selfish.' With regard to Peel, Greville, who did not like him, goes on to say that 'Peel gains every day more authority and influence in the House of Commons.' Poulett Thomson, one of the members of the Government, said that 'Peel's superiority over everybody in the House was so evident, his talent for debate and thorough knowledge of Parliamentary tactics, gained by twenty years of experience, so commanding, that he must draw men's minds to him, and that he was evidently playing that game, throwing over the Ultra-Tories and ingratiating himself with the House and the country.' To those who could discern the signs of the times, it was evident that the great Conservative party, comprising as it did a large majority of the Peers, the landed proprietors, and the clergy, along with a considerable part of the mercantile classes and the ignorant mob, had already recovered a large portion of their power in the country, and that they might expect to be again in office at no distant day.

The second session of the Reformed Parliament opened on the 4th of February, 1834, with a speech from the king in person, of which Sir Robert Peel sarcastically remarked that, experienced as he was in speech-making, he could not but admire the great skill with which the framers of the king's speech had avoided saying anything at all. It did, however, intimate in very decided terms, that the Government intended to introduce a measure for the final settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, and that they were determined to maintain the legislative union between the two countries. At the outset the time of the Parliament was wasted in an undignified squabble respecting an Irish member who was alleged to have privately expressed an opinion in favour of the Coercion Bill, though he had voted against it in the House; and in the discussion of a motion by O'Connell to refer certain charges against Baron Smith, one of the Irish judges, to a select committee—which was first agreed to and then rescinded. The great Agitator, on the 22nd of April, moved for the appointment of 'a select committee to inquire and report on the means by which the dissolution of the Irish Parliament was effected, on the effects of that measure in Ireland and upon the labourers in industry and the operatives in manufactures in England, and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative union between the two countries.' It was generally believed that O'Connell brought forward this motion, which he well knew would meet with no support from the English and Scottish members, solely from apprehension that some of his followers in the House might take the question out of his hands, and from a desire to stimulate the flagging zeal of his followers in Ireland, and increase the amount of the 'rent' contributed by the Irish peasantry. The motion was feebly supported by Fergus O'Connor, Barron, Ruthven, Grattan, Shiel, and other Irish Home Rulers, who were only half-hearted in the contest; and it was vigorously opposed by Spring Rice,

Emerson Tennant, Sir Robert Peel, Sergeant Perrin, and other members both of the Ministerial and Conservative party, and was rejected by a majority of 485 votes. Only thirty-eight members voted for O'Connell's motion, and these, with one exception, consisted of Irish representatives, of whom, however, fifty-seven voted in the majority. The amendment proposed by Mr. Spring Rice, declaring the importance of maintaining the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, was followed up by an address to the Crown embodying the declaration. The address was unanimously adopted by the Peers, and was presented as the joint address of both Houses to the king, from whom it elicited an expression of the greatest satisfaction.

Ireland, however, continued to be the main difficulty of the Government, and it was impossible to bring forward any measure for the pacification of that unhappy country which was not certain to meet with strenuous opposition from at least one party, and frequently from two. The Act of the previous session for the compulsory composition of tithes had transferred the obligation to pay that obnoxious impost from the cottier tenant to the last lessor, and had thus given relief to the poor cottiers, and greatly reduced the number of tithe-payers; but in other respects it had not proved satisfactory. It was still found impossible to collect the tithes, either by military force or by civil process. The number of the troops employed in Ireland had been largely increased, and last year it had cost the country a million of money, besides £300,000 expended annually in maintaining the police force; but this large expenditure had failed to gain the end in view. The present arrangement, by which the Government had taken the collection of the tithes into their own hands, would expire on the 1st of November, and it was most unlikely that the Parliament would consent again to pay the tithes of the church out of the revenues of the state.

In these circumstances the Government

proposed to reduce the amount of the tithes by one-fifth, to commute the remainder into a land tax payable to the Treasury, and to allow it to be redeemed on favourable terms after the expiry of five years. This proposal was scouted by O'Connell and the Repealers as simply renewing the tithes under the name of a tax; while the High Churchmen and Tories regarded it with suspicion, as involving a diminution of the revenues of the church. The second reading of the Tithe Bill was moved by Littleton, the new Irish Secretary, on the 2nd of May. An angry debate ensued, which was ultimately adjourned till the 6th. It was well known that there was a decided difference of opinion in the Cabinet respecting the Irish Church, and that, while one section wished to transfer a portion of its revenues to the general purposes of education, another, headed by the Colonial Secretary, were strongly opposed to any such step. During the course of the adjourned debate on the Tithe Bill, Stanley, in answering O'Connell, was supposed by Lord John Russell to have avowed his adherence to the opinion which he had frequently expressed, that the Irish Church should be maintained in all its integrity. There is reason to believe that this was a mistake, and no such declaration is to be found in the report of Stanley's speech given in Hansard. But Lord John, under the impression that some such statement had been made, and afraid that, if it were received in silence by the other members of the Cabinet, they would all be considered pledged to the maintenance of the revenues of the Irish Church undiminished, thought it necessary to state his own views on the subject. 'The object of the bill,' he said, 'was to ascertain and secure the amount of the tithe. The question of appropriation was to be kept entirely distinct. If the State should find out that the revenue of the Church was not appropriated justly to the purposes of religious and moral instruction, for which such revenues were intended when given to any Church Establishment,

it would then be the duty of Parliament to consider of a different appropriation. His opinion upon that subject was, that the revenues of the Church of Ireland were larger than necessary for the religious and moral instruction of the persons belonging to that Church, and for the stability of the Church itself. He did not think it would be advisable or wise to mix the question of appropriation with the question of the amount of the revenues; but when Parliament had vindicated the property in tithes, he should then be prepared to assert his opinion with regard to their appropriation, and if, when the revenue was once secured, the assertion of that opinion should lead him to differ and to separate from those with whom he was united by political connection, and for whom he entertained the deepest private affection, he should feel much regret. Yet considering himself pledged, not only by his general duty as a member of that House, but by the resolution which had been passed the other day to attend to the just complaints of the people of Ireland, and considering that, if ever there was a just ground of complaint on the part of any people against any grievance, it was the complaint of the people of Ireland against the present appropriation of tithes, he should, at whatever cost and sacrifice, do what he should consider his bounden duty; namely, do justice to Ireland.'

This memorable declaration on the part of the Paymaster of the Forces was uncalled for and premature; but it made a great impression, and was received with loud and general cheering. Its effect upon the Ministry was expressed by Stanley in a well-known note to Graham, 'Johnny has upset the coach.' Lord John says, 'When the Cabinet next met, much dissatisfaction was expressed; some wished me to retract what I had said, but that I positively refused to do.'

The question of the Irish Church was evidently advancing to a crisis, and the threatened disruption of the Ministry could

not be much longer averted. On the 27th of May Mr. Henry Ward, member for St. Albans, moved a resolution on the subject of that Church, which brought matters to a crisis. Ward's motion seemed at first to excite little interest. He was a new member, had neither personal influence nor connection with Ireland, says Le Marchant, and hardly the Parliamentary experience to justify his bringing forward a motion of such importance. Lord Palmerston alleged that Ward's motion was planned and directed by Durham, who wished to return to the Government, which he could not do while Stanley and Graham and their associates were connected with it. The motion was certainly well fitted to produce a division in the Cabinet. It asserted that the revenues of the Irish Church exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population, and the justice and necessity of immediately applying a portion of them to other purposes. The mover entered at some length into a consideration of the position of that Church, and affirmed that the attempt to collect the tithes for its support was the real cause of the disturbances that prevailed in Ireland. Resistance to it had become almost universal. The great majority of those who paid tithes were Roman Catholics, while the money was applied to exclusively Protestant purposes. Only about 800,000 persons, or not one-fourteenth of the population of Ireland, adhered to the Established Church there. He endeavoured to prove that the annual revenues of the Church amounted to nearly £1,000,000, and dwelt largely on the great inequality of the revenues of the clergy, and the extent to which non-residence prevailed. In 1819, he said, there were 758 residents and 531 non-residents, many of whom were in the receipt of large incomes, which they spent at Bath and Brighton and other fashionable places of residence in England. He professed that he did not mean to abolish the Establishment altogether, but to do away with the glaring disparity that existed between the scales of duties and of compensations. He would not give £800

or £1000 a year to the rector of a parish containing only ten or twelve Protestants, and even these forming, as in many cases they did, merely the family of the rector or vicar, brought into the parish for that very purpose.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Grote. At the close of his speech Lord Althorp rose and requested the House to adjourn, in consequence of circumstances which had come to his knowledge since the debate commenced. He could not at present state the nature of those circumstances; but he trusted that the House would believe that he would not make such a proposition without being convinced of its propriety. The motion was, of course, at once agreed to, and the members dispersed, under the conviction that the downfall of the Ministry was at hand.

The news which Lord Althorp received was the resignation of the minority of the Cabinet who were opposed to the appropriation of the funds of the Irish Church to other than ecclesiastical purposes. This step had been for some time threatened, but the Chancellor thought that he had averted it by proposing the appointment of a commission to inquire into the revenues of the Irish Church. This plan he believed would remove the scruples of Mr. Stanley, and restore harmony to the Administration. It is alleged that the Colonial Secretary would have yielded, but for the interference of Sir James Graham, who had gained great influence over him. The Earl of Ripon, Privy Seal, and the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General, shared the feelings and apprehensions of their two colleagues, and followed their example. The retirement of these four members inflicted a heavy blow on the Government. Stanley was undoubtedly their ablest debater; Graham, though timid and hesitating in council, and supposed to be somewhat intriguing, was an excellent administrator. Brougham says that all admitted that his administration of the Admiralty was as good as possible. Ripon

was a person of moderate abilities, and deficient in firmness and nerve; but he was an upright, honourable, and amiable man, and was possessed of excellent business habits. The Duke of Richmond had been a high Tory of the old school, a hot Orangeman, and an ultra-Protestant. Hence he could not forgive the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for the Emancipation Act, and joined with the Whigs in turning the Tory leaders out of office. He was in consequence taken into the Grey Ministry as the representative of his party. Brougham says, 'Richmond was an admirable colleague, full of courage, clear-headed, very good-humoured, very quick, very candid, uneducated, except as a soldier. He was an excellent speaker—few better that did not possess the art. In the Cabinet he was frank, open, and honest, despising all intrigue: we were always sure of him.'

The Prime Minister was anxious to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to retire from a situation which he had repeatedly expressed his wish to quit. At the beginning of the year 'a resigning fit,' as the Chancellor termed it, had attacked him with more than usual violence; and he was only induced to remain at his post by an urgent letter drawn up by Brougham, and signed by all his colleagues, assuring him that 'the entire and immediate dissolution of the present Government' would be 'the inevitable consequence' of his resignation. The energetic remonstrances of the Chancellor once more prevailed on him to lay aside his intention to retire 'As to *not* going on after all that has passed,' Brougham said, 'it is absolutely ridiculous. *Nothing can* justify it, either to king, Parliament, or country.' The king said, 'As long as Grey and Brougham remained, he would give the Government his firm and hearty support.' It was no easy matter, however, to fill up the vacancies in the Cabinet caused by the retirement of the four members; but after a good deal of negotiation and several abortive proposals,

Spring Rice, who had been an excellent Secretary of the Treasury and was a ready speaker, was selected to succeed Stanley at the Colonial Office. The Marquis of Conyngham replaced the Duke of Richmond as Postmaster-General. The Earl of Carlisle, who had a seat in the Cabinet without office, became Privy Seal. Lord Auckland was made First Lord of the Admiralty in the room of Graham—an appointment which was strongly opposed by the Chancellor, and met with no favour from the public. Poulett Thomson, the Vice-president, became President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Abercromby, who had great weight with the House, was nominated Master of the Mint. Francis Baring, who had been a Lord of the Treasury, and was in Lord Althorp's opinion a person of first-rate abilities and the strictest integrity and truthfulness, succeeded Spring Rice as Secretary of the Treasury; and Edward Ellice, who had become Secretary at War when Hobhouse was promoted to the Irish Secretaryship—a person of remarkable sagacity, courage, and dexterity, and a general favourite with the House—was at the same time admitted to the Cabinet.

The members of the reconstructed administration, though they did not, like the seceding ministers, deny that the legislature had a right to appropriate any portion of the revenues of the Irish Church to other than ecclesiastical purposes, were not prepared to adopt the motion of Mr. Ward. They were well aware that any measure based on his resolutions would be at once rejected by the House of Lords. The king himself was decidedly hostile to any such proposal. He had recently, in the most unconstitutional and irregular manner, informed a deputation of the Irish bishops that he was determined to defend the Church. 'I now remember,' he said, 'you have a right to require of me to be resolute in defence of the Church.' He went on to assure them that the Churches of England and Ireland should be preserved unimpaired by him; and that if the inferior

arrangements in the discipline of the Irish Church required amendment, which, however, he greatly doubted, he hoped it would be left to the bishops to correct them without interference on any hand. I have spoken more strongly than usual, he said in conclusion, 'because of 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 it 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.'

To crown all, there was no strong feeling in the country at this time in favour of the appropriation of Church revenues to secular purposes. The Ministry, therefore, resolved to evade a decision on the question, and to issue at once the proposed commission to investigate the condition and resources of the Irish Church. They instructed the Commissioners to make inquiry respecting the number of persons in communion with that church in each benefice or parish; its temporalities; the number and rank of the ministers officiating within each benefice; and the relative proportion of the number of members of the Established Church, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Nonconformists in Ireland.

When the House of Commons reassembled on the 2nd of June, Lord Althorp announced the step taken by the Government in issuing the commission of inquiry, and expressed his hope that Mr. Ward would now withdraw his motion until it could be ascertained what surplus remained to be disposed of after proper provision had been made for the support of the Church. Mr. Ward, however, declined to comply with this request, on the ground that the present Ministers seemed not likely to remain long in office; and if they were removed, the commission might prove wholly inoperative. Lord Althorp then moved the previous question, which, after a sharp debate, was carried by a majority of 276, although a

large number of the Conservative members left the House without voting.

The Tithe Bill, which was introduced by the Irish Secretary on the 20th of February, dragged its slow length through the House amid interminable discussions and objections both from the Conservatives and the Repealers. It underwent various fundamental alterations to meet the views expressed by both sides of the House, but without effect. O'Connell and his satellites attacked it with unmeasured violence, because it did not wholly abolish tithes. The Radical members were dissatisfied, because it contained no provisions for appropriating any part of the revenues of the Church to secular purposes; while Mr. Stanley, in a celebrated speech of a most acrimonious character, stigmatized the bill as it now stood as an act of petty larceny, wanting even the redeeming quality of bold and open robbery, and compared his late colleagues to a knot of thimble-riggers at a country fair. The bill, however, passed the House of Commons by a considerable majority, but was thrown out by the Lords by 189 votes to 122.

The Government had exerted all their influence to pacify the Irish people, and had narrowly escaped shipwreck in their anxiety to remove the grievances of that unhappy country; but after all it was an Irish question that brought them to grief. The Coercion Bill of the previous year was to expire with the close of the session. It had been productive of the most beneficial effects in suppressing outrages and vindicating the law, and the Cabinet were unanimously of opinion that it ought to be renewed, with the omission only of the clause which suspended the action of the ordinary tribunals in favour of martial law in the disturbed districts. O'Connell strongly objected to the clauses which authorized the Lord-Lieutenant to prohibit public meetings. It occurred to Littleton, the Irish Secretary, that the Government, on renewing the Coercion Bill, might omit this provision on the understanding that O'Connell should allow the Tithe Bill to

pass. He consulted the Lord Chancellor on the subject, and he readily consented to the policy of abandoning the clauses, and agreed that both he and Littleton should write to Lord Wellesley, stating that in their opinion the re-enactment of those clauses was no longer necessary to the peace of the country, and earnestly recommending him to concur in this view. The next day (June 20th) the Cabinet, in entire ignorance of this underhand dealing, formally decided to adhere to the meetings clauses. The Lord-Lieutenant had repeatedly written to the Ministry 'that it would be highly dangerous to the public peace to allow the Act for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland to expire;' and so late as the 11th of June he had declared that the clauses in question were indispensable; but now, influenced by the representations of Brougham and Littleton, he wrote to Lord Grey (June 23rd) pledging himself to govern Ireland without these powers. By the same post he replied to the letter of the Chief Secretary, expressing the same opinion to him. Althorp, on learning from Littleton that Lord Wellesley had expressed himself strongly against the renewal of the clauses, agreed that they must be given up: as no Government could ask Parliament for extraordinary powers in Ireland which the Lord-Lieutenant thought unnecessary. Littleton then suggested that he might apprise O'Connell that the Coercion Bill would not be renewed in its full severity. Althorp said 'he saw no harm in this, if it went no further; but he begged Mr. Littleton to be extremely cautious, and not to commit himself.' Littleton, however, who was singularly deficient in tact and discretion, did commit himself thoroughly; and, as he ought to have known, to one of the most crafty, unscrupulous, and untrustworthy of men. He sent for O'Connell, and under the seal of secrecy informed him that the renewal of the clauses was not desired either by the Lord-Lieutenant or himself, and intimated that Lord Althorp's

sentiments coincided with his own. To make the indiscretion and folly of this procedure complete, Littleton left Lord Althorp in ignorance of what he had done. Littleton's own account of this incident, which led to results no one anticipated, was as follows:—'I felt so entirely satisfied from Lord Althorp's assurances that the measure would be simply confined to agrarian outrages, that I did not hesitate to tell O'Connell that the Irish Government was of opinion that any other enactment was under the circumstances unnecessary. And on O'Connell expressing some doubt whether others in the Cabinet would not overrule the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant, I added that "my own feeling about it was so decided, that I did not think it possible for me to vote for the measure in any other form than as directed against agrarian disturbances." I added that the moment the question was definitely settled he should be informed.'

On the meeting of the Cabinet a few days after (29th June) to deliberate on the Lord-Lieutenant's suggestion, Lord Grey, as had been foreseen, was most decided and emphatic in his refusal to make the proposed alteration in the Coercion Bill; no doubt feeling, as Brougham said, that it would be most unjust to curb the peasantry by the clauses relating to agrarian disturbances, and to leave agitators like O'Connell free to get up meetings in all the towns in Ireland professedly for the redress of grievances, but in reality for the repeal of the Union. Lord Grey's persistence in this course was probably strengthened by his resentment against O'Connell, who had loaded him with the most foul-mouthed abuse. Lord Wellesley had admitted that his offer to dispense with the public meetings clauses had been caused by communications which he had received from England; and Lord Grey was deeply hurt to learn that such communications had been made by members of his Government, and concealed from him. The majority of the Cabinet concurred with the Premier, although Althorp strenuously opposed the renewal of the clauses.

The Irish Secretary now learned to his dismay that the bill was to be renewed without alteration; but he had not the candour and moral courage to make Lord Althorp aware even yet of the extent to which he had committed the Government with O'Connell. He lost no time, however, in informing the Agitator that his expectations were about to be disappointed. O'Connell was very indignant, and told him that it was his duty to resign; but Littleton, unfortunately both for himself and for the Government, declined to take this course, probably relying on O'Connell's promise of secrecy. The Coercion Bill was introduced into the House of Lords on the 1st of July. Next day O'Connell brought the matter before the House of Commons, and in a burst of simulated indignation disclosed the communication made to him by the Irish Secretary, and spoke with a violence and grossness of abuse, which even his own adherents loudly condemned, declaring that he had been tricked and deceived by the Irish Secretary in order that the Whig candidate for Wexford might be returned at the election then pending. Littleton admitted that he had been guilty of gross indiscretion in his communication to O'Connell; but emphatically denied, and no doubt with perfect truth, that he had intended to deceive him, and commented with the spirit of an honourable man both on O'Connell's betrayal of confidence, and on the miserable excuse which he had put forth for his breach of faith.

On the following day the Lord Chancellor defended the Irish Secretary in the House of Lords, and admitted that he had himself been in communication with the Lord-Lieutenant as to the omission of the obnoxious clauses. The Premier warmly disavowed any knowledge of the communication with O'Connell, but unfortunately left upon the House the impression that the question was completely settled at the time that Mr. Littleton had represented it to be unsettled. This was a mere misunderstanding, and could have been easily explained;

but Littleton felt so keenly the imprudence of which he had been guilty in trusting a person like O'Connell, that he immediately wrote Lord Althorp expressing his willingness to retire, if his doing so would at all relieve the Government from the embarrassment in which his own indiscretion and O'Connell's perfidy had placed them. Althorp replied, 'The scrape we are in I admit to be a great one, but I do not see how your resignation will do us any good now. If you had resigned when I told you first of the decision of the Cabinet, it would have been better for *yourself*; but it must have broken up the Government. If you resign now, you will injure yourself and do us no good.' Lord Grey, on being shown the Secretary's letter, wrote Althorp, 'This move of Littleton's is, of all things I ever yet heard, the most utterly inconceivable. He does it, he says, to relieve us from embarrassment; but it is no relief to any one, and will only gratify the Orangemen, whom none of us wish much to please, as I should think. But it is ruinous to himself; and as his friend and well-wisher, I really think I cannot let him commit such an act of self-destruction.'

Matters seemed now satisfactorily arranged. Althorp, on moving that certain papers relating to the state of Ireland should be printed, vindicated Littleton from the imputation of having practised any deception on O'Connell, and stated that the Secretary had good grounds for saying that the clauses were still under the consideration of the Cabinet, and for expressing a hope that they would not be inserted in the bill. The Opposition, however, were bent on annoying the Government in every way in their power; and they clamoured for more information on the subject, and particularly for the production of the correspondence with Lord Wellesley. O'Connell moved that the papers which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had presented should be referred to a select committee; but the motion was rejected by 156 votes to 73. O'Connell, however, immediately

gave notice for the production of so much of the correspondence of the Lord-Lieutenant as would explain the reason why he opposed the renewal of the Coercion Act on or about the 20th of June.

Lord Althorp felt that the revelations made in such an indiscreet and maladroit manner by the Irish Secretary had placed him in a false position, and that he could not now urge the House to adopt clauses which he had strenuously opposed in the Cabinet. It has since appeared, what was known at the time only to Earl Grey, that he had carried his opposition so far as to tender his resignation to the Prime Minister, and was only induced to withdraw it by the earnest entreaties of his colleague. O'Connell's motion, says Le Marchant, completed the disgust of Lord Althorp. He could not brook the humiliation of being put on his defence against charges which he did not regard as legitimate objects of inquiry by the House. He also knew too well the morbid curiosity of members to push such inquiry to an improper extent, and that same night he intimated to the Premier his intention to resign. Lord Grey, as might have been expected, was deeply distressed by it, and sought in vain the next day by earnest expostulations, in a long interview, to prevail on Lord Althorp to withdraw it. Lord Althorp's determination, however, was final and irrevocable; and Lord Grey at once gave in his own resignation. The Government was consequently at an end, and on the following day (July 9th) Lord Grey announced his resignation to the House of Lords in an affecting speech, conspicuous alike for its dignity and honourable feeling. Lord Althorp at the same time made a corresponding statement in the House of Commons, quite in keeping with his characteristic candour, straightforwardness, and integrity.

On the evening of the day on which Earl Grey had sent to the king the letters containing his own resignation and that of Lord Althorp, a meeting of the Cabinet

was held, at which the Premier, after laying before them these letters and His Majesty's acceptance of his resignation, gave Lord Melbourne a sealed letter from the king. On opening this letter the Home Secretary found that it contained an invitation to him to undertake the formation of a Government. General surprise was felt by the House of Commons and the public, both at His Majesty's hurried acceptance of Lord Grey's resignation and at his choice of a successor to the late Prime Minister. But his purpose on taking those steps soon became apparent. His intention was that a coalition Government should be formed, strong enough to resist further legislative changes; and as Lord Melbourne had formerly been a member of the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, and was believed to have given a hesitating support to the Reform Bill, His Majesty probably thought that he was more likely than any of his colleagues to concur in such an arrangement.

When Lord Melbourne waited upon the king, the arguments for the formation of a Government which should include the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley, were strongly urged upon him by His Majesty, who also, on parting, gave him the royal views and desires, in the handwriting of Sir Herbert Taylor, and called upon his lordship 'to enter into communication with the leading individuals and parties, and endeavour at this crisis 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 able and efficient members of each.' The king further desired Lord Melbourne to 'communicate with the Duke of Wellington, with Sir Robert Peel, with Mr. Stanley, and with others of their respective parties, as well as with those who have hitherto acted with himself, and have hitherto supported the administration; and that he will endeavour to bring them together and to establish a community of purpose.'

Melbourne courteously but firmly de-

clined to comply with His Majesty's request. He declared that the difficulty in the way of such a coalition appeared to him insurmountable, and the objections to his personally undertaking the task so great, as to render the successful termination of such an attempt utterly hopeless. He reminded the king that the distinguished individuals enumerated by him had each and all of them recently expressed, not only general want of confidence in His Majesty's Government, but the strongest objections, founded upon principle, to measures of great importance brought forward by the Ministry, such as the bill for the better collection of tithes, &c., the Commission for an inquiry into the state of religion in that country—measures, particularly the last, which were considered by Lord Melbourne vital and essential in the present state of public feeling and opinion. Melbourne concluded his reply with an explicit statement that he did not perceive any ground upon which the distinguished individuals referred to could be brought together at present, nor any chance of such an accommodation as would be consistent with their own avowed principles and satisfactory to the country.

The king was evidently very much disappointed and annoyed at Melbourne's refusal to undertake the task which His Majesty strove so hard to impose upon him, and ordered him to communicate the memorandum, in which the proposal for a coalition had been suggested, to the Opposition leaders. Its communication was formally acknowledged, and there the project for the fusion of the Whigs and Tories, on which the king's heart was set, terminated for the present, and His Majesty was constrained to intrust the reconstruction of the Administration to Lord Melbourne.*

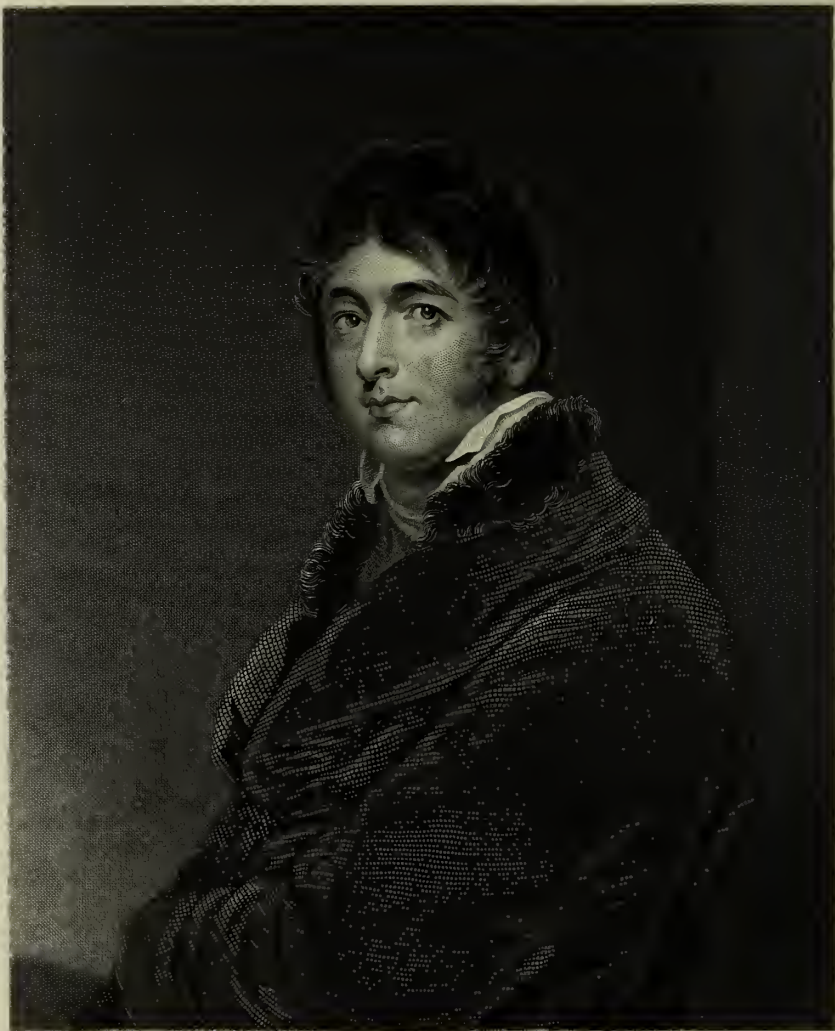
The new Premier was no doubt gratified

* Lord Broughton (Sir John Hobhouse) states in his 'Recollections of a Long Life,' that the king proposed that the judges should be consulted as to the question whether it would not be a violation of his coronation oath to consent to the appropriation of church

by the high compliment paid him by the sovereign; but he had serious doubts whether it was possible for him to reconstitute the Ministry, and whether for his own sake it was desirable that he should make the attempt. He was past the prime of life, and had no object of personal, family, or party ambition to make it worth his while to undertake such an arduous duty. His fondness for books, his love of leisure, and his dislike of trouble about things that did not interest him, combined to make him shrink from the uncongenial task. In the end he made up his mind, though not without serious misgivings, to accept His Majesty's commission; and his strong good sense, firmness of purpose, suavity of manner, and imperturbable good temper, enabled him to discharge the duties of his new office much to the satisfaction both of his colleagues and the public.

There were very few changes made in the reconstructed Government. Lord Melbourne himself took the place of Earl Grey. Lord Duncannon, his brother-in-law, succeeded him at the Home Office, and Hobhouse was appointed President of the Board of Control. The great difficulty was how to induce Lord Althorp to resume his post as leader of the House of Commons. It was well known that he detested office, and had made repeated attempts to escape from its troubles and turmoils into the retirement of private life. 'Nature,' he used to exclaim, 'intended me to be a grazier; but men will insist on making me a statesman.' He told Lord John Russell that every morning when he woke, while he was in office, he wished himself dead. In addition to his extreme reluctance to resume the yoke of bondage from which he had escaped, if he should yield to the importunity of his friends, 'it might seem,' as Lord John Russell said, 'that Lord Grey's resignation was forced upon him by Lord

property for secular purposes. Melbourne strongly objected to this proposal, and then the king proposed to ask the opinion of Lord Lyndhurst. He accordingly wrote to him; but Lyndhurst positively refused to give any answer.



Sir T. Lawrence

W. Roffe

L O R D M E L B O U R N E .

Althorp, and that Lord Althorp's object had been to remain in office himself without Lord Grey; indeed, some of the Tory writers did not hesitate to assert that this was the case. This supposition was totally inconsistent with the known inclinations and wishes of Lord Althorp. Lord John Russell states that one of the Ministers who had seceded on the question of the Irish Church said to him that, if he had been told that Lord Althorp had engaged in an intrigue to get out of office, he might have believed it; but the assertion that Lord Althorp had intrigued to remain in office was utterly incredible.

Lord Althorp was under the impression that the events connected with Littleton's communication to O'Connell had lowered him in the estimation of the House; but he was speedily made aware that this was wholly unfounded. On the 11th of July an address was presented to him signed by 206 members of the House of Commons expressing their deep regret at his retirement, and promising him their cordial support in the event of his resuming office. This address was signed, not only by such old Whigs as the venerable George Byng and the Cavendishes, Grosvenors, Russells, Ansons, Bouveries, Whitbreads, and Ponsonbys, but by four O'Connells, Joseph Hume, George Grote, the two Lytton Bulwers, Francis Burdett, and other politicians of the Radical school. The Liberals indeed were unanimous in their desire that Althorp should continue to lead the Commons. 'I do trust,' wrote Lord Essex to Earl Spencer, 'that Althorp may be persuaded to remain; everyone is crying out for his doing so, and all will be right if he will.' The king himself urged Althorp to resume office, and Lord Grey added his influence and entreaties. Thus appealed to on all sides, Althorp at last referred the question to three of his most intimate friends, Lord Ebrington, Lord Tavistock, and Mr. Bonham Carter. Their decision was, that if the clauses in the Coercion Bill to which Lord Althorp had objected were abandoned by

the new Government, he had no alternative that would justify him before the public in refusing to accede to Lord Melbourne's proposal.

Althorp yielded to these arguments with extreme reluctance, but insisted that Lord Grey's full approbation was indispensable to his acceptance. The ex-premier at once expressed his approbation in the most unqualified terms. Lord Althorp then gave way; but his acquiescence cost him a most painful effort. He stipulated, however, that Mr. Littleton also should return to office, which Littleton himself, in his *Memoir*, designates a noble act, dictated by a fine sense of honour, and wholly unexpected by him. 'There is but one opinion,' wrote Lord Essex, 'as to the rectitude, propriety, and perfect conduct of Althorp. This is deeply felt, I know, and by none more than by Grey and Lady Grey.'

Lord Althorp having thus resumed office, to the great satisfaction of the Liberal party, Whigs and Radicals alike, intimated in the House of Commons on the 18th of July, that a new Coercion Bill would be introduced without the meetings clauses, which had caused so much dissension. The Tories complained bitterly of the omission of these clauses, and the Earl of Wicklow, an Irish peer, declared that 'such a degree of inconsistency, of political tergiversation, of total unblushing abandonment of principle, never was exhibited by any set of public men in either House of Parliament.' But Peel, though he expressed his deep regret at the course which the Ministers had thought proper to pursue, at the same time intimated his intention of supporting the bill, which passed rapidly through both Houses, and became law about the end of July.

The Ministry were not so fortunate in regard to their bill for commuting Irish tithes, which had undergone several modifications for the purpose of conciliating the Repeal party, who were dissatisfied with the measure because it proposed to leave the Church in possession of four-fifths of its

revenues. When it was moved on the 29th of July that the House should go into committee on the bill, O'Connell urged delay; but was defeated by a majority of 154 votes to 14. On the following night, when the House was in committee, O'Connell pleaded that, instead of delaying the complete operation of the bill for four years, as was proposed by the Government in order that they might have time to collect the arrears due for the advances which had been made to the tithe-owners, the tithes should at once be converted into a rent charge. This would give an immediate bonus of forty per cent. to all, and everybody would understand it. The proposal was resisted by the Government, but was carried by a large majority, and in this state the bill was passed by the Commons on the 5th of August. The Lords, however, very unwisely rejected the bill on the second reading by a majority of 189 votes to 122. Their determination to resist any reduction of the revenues of the Irish Church brought about at last its entire disendowment.

A bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities met with a similar fate, and the Tory Peers seem now to have imagined that they might with impunity reject every Liberal measure proposed by the Government. A movement was made in favour of the admission of Dissenters to the universities, and was supported by a large body of the most distinguished professors and members of the University of Cambridge. A bill was brought in by Mr. Wood, one of the members for South Lancashire, to abolish the tests which excluded all except members of the Church of England from the privileges of the two English universities. It passed the House of Commons by 164 votes to 75, but was rejected in the Upper House by a majority of 102—there being 85 votes in favour of the measure and 187 against it.

An agitation against church-rates had for some time been carried on with great zeal and energy, and fierce contests against

levying this impost for the maintenance of the fabric of the churches had been waged in all parts of the kingdom. In order to put an end to this unseemly contention between Churchmen and Dissenters, Lord Althorp moved 'that after a fixed time church-rates should cease and determine, and that in lieu thereof a sum not exceeding £250,000 should be granted from the land tax to be applied to the expenses of the fabrics of the churches and chapels, in such a manner as Parliament should direct.' 'The grant,' he said, 'will provide for the maintenance of the fabric of the church, of the chancel, and for the expenses of the churchyard. The persons who hold the pews will be bound to keep them in repair. In my plan there is no provision for organs and bells, or other things that might be considered church luxuries. If these things are thought necessary, they must be supplied by voluntary contributions.' This moderate scheme, which was intended by the Government to please all parties, pleased no party. It was distasteful to the Dissenters, who pleaded conscientious objections to a public tax in any form for the support of religious services, and contended that the scheme would merely perpetuate the church-rate in another form; and the clergy and zealous Churchmen, on the other hand, denounced the scheme as a violation of the rights of the Church. The resolution was carried by 256 to 140; but notwithstanding this success, the Government were so disgusted with the unfavourable reception which the scheme had met with from those whom it was intended to relieve, that they determined to proceed no further with the measure.

The Ministry were equally unfortunate in their attempts to carry a Tithe Commutation Bill, which found so little favour either from the clergy or the landlords that it was dropped altogether. The Dissenters' Marriage Bill, brought in by Lord John Russell, met with a similar fate, in consequence of the opposition of the large body of the Nonconformists, who were of opinion

that it did not go far enough to meet their just demands. The Government, however, were more successful in dealing with the abuses of the Poor Law system, which was eating into the very vitals of the country.

The English Poor Law had its origin in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The extraordinary rise which took place in the price of provisions, unaccompanied by any proportional rise in the price of labour, occasioned the enactment in 1601 of the famous statute which required every parish to provide for the maintenance of the lame, the impotent, the old, and the blind, and to 'put to work all persons using no ordinary and daily trade in life to get their living by.' In 1662 a law was passed which declared that a legal settlement was to be gained by birth, or by inhabitancy, apprenticeship, or service for forty days, and empowered within that period any two justices of the peace to remove any new entrant into a parish, likely to become chargeable, to the last parish in which he was legally settled. Whilst such stringent measures were taken to prevent working men from obtaining a settlement, and thus to hinder their repairing to the districts where their labour was most needed, the landlords left no stone unturned to prevent an increase in the numbers of the poor in their own parishes, in order to keep the rates as low as possible. Dr. Burn, in his 'History of the Poor Laws,' gives a graphic description of the means employed for this purpose. 'The office of an overseer of the poor seems,' he says, 'to be understood to be this—to keep an extraordinary lookout to prevent persons coming to inhabit without certificates,* and to fly to the justices to remove them; and if a man brings a certificate, then to caution the inhabitants not to let him a farm of £10 a year, and to take care to keep him

out of all parish offices; and to warn them, if they will hire servants, to hire them by the month, the week, or the day, rather than by any way that can give them a settlement; or if they do hire them for a year, then to endeavour to pick a quarrel with them before the year's end, and so to get rid of them; to maintain their poor as cheaply as they possibly can, and not to lay out twopence in prospect of any future good, but only to serve the present necessity; to bargain with some sturdy person to take them by the lump, who yet is not intended to take them, but to hang over them in *terrorem*; if they complain to the justices for want of maintenance, to send them out into the country a begging; to bind out poor children apprentices, no matter to whom or to what trade, but to take special care that the master live in another parish; to move heaven and earth if any dispute happen about a settlement, and in that particular to invert the general rule, and stick at no expense; to pull down cottages, to drive out as many inhabitants and admit as few as they possibly can, that is, to depopulate the parish in order to lessen the poor and the rate; to be generous, indeed, sometimes in giving a portion with the mother of a bastard child to the reputed father, on condition that he will marry her, or with a poor widow, always provided that the husband be settled elsewhere; or if a poor man with a large family happen to be industrious, they will charitably assist him in taking a farm in some neighbouring parish, and give him £10 to pay his first year's rent with, that they may thus for ever get rid of him and his poverty.'

So far was this system of 'pulling down cottages and taking all manner of precautions to prevent a multiplication of inhabitants' carried, that about the middle of last century great complaints were made 'of a want of useful hands for agriculture, manufactures, and for the land and sea service.' 'The law of *settlement*,' says Arthur Young, 'is attended with nearly as many ill consequences as that of *maintenance*. I have

* By a statute passed in the reign of William III., parishes were bound to receive such labourers as held certificates legally subscribed by the officers of the parishes to which they belonged, and were not allowed to remove them until they actually became chargeable.

said enough to prove of how great importance our labouring poor are to the public welfare—the strength of the state lies in their numbers; but the prodigious restrictions thrown on their settlements tend strongly to prevent an increase. One great inducement to marriage is the finding without difficulty a comfortable habitation; and another nearly as material, when such requisite is found, to be able to exercise in it whatever business a man has been educated to or brought up in. The first of these points is no easy matter to be accomplished, for it is too much the interest of a parish, both landlords and tenants, to decrease the cottages in it, and above all, to prevent their increase, that in process of time habitations are extremely difficult to be procured. There is no parish but had much rather that the young labourers should continue single, as in that state they are not in danger of becoming chargeable; but when married the case alters. All obstructions are therefore thrown in the way of their marriage, and none more immediately than that of rendering it as difficult as possible for the men, when married, to procure a house to live in; and this conduct is found so conducive to easing the rates, that it universally gives rise to an open war against cottages. How often do gentlemen who have possessions in a parish, when cottages come to sale, purchase them, and immediately raze them to the foundation, that they may never become the nests, as they are called, of beggars' brats, by which means their tenants are not so burdened in their rates and their farms let better, for the rates are considered as much by tenants as the rent.'

In 1795 all the barriers by which the progress of pauperism had previously been opposed were thrown down, and the flood-gates of improvidence and physical and moral degradation thrown open. In that year the price of corn rose from 54s. to 74s., and as wages remained stationary the distress of the poor was very great. Instead, however, of meeting this emergency

by temporary expedients, and dealing with particular cases as they arose, a new and uniform system of relief was introduced, utterly vicious in principle, and productive of the worst consequences. It was resolved to supplement the wages of the labourer by grants from the parochial rates proportioned to the number of his family. The practice appears to have begun in Berkshire, but it very speedily spread over the whole of the southern counties. The magistrates of Berks issued tables showing the wages which, in their opinion, every labouring man ought to receive according to the variations in the number of his children and the price of bread; and they accompanied these tables with an order directing the parish officers to make up the deficiency to the labourer, in the event of the wages paid him by his employers falling short of the tabular allowance. In the first table issued by these sapient justices, the maximum weekly wages of an unmarried labourer, when the gallon loaf sold at 1s., were set down at 3s.; the wages of a married labourer with one child were to be at least 6s.; if he had five children they were to be at least 12s.; if he had seven children they were to be 15s. In the event of the price of the gallon loaf rising from 1s. to 1s. 6d., there was to be a corresponding rise in the labourer's wages: an unmarried man was to receive not less than 4s. 3d. a week, while the wages of a married man with a single child were not to be less than 8s. 3d., and those of a married man with seven children not less than 20s. 3d. These regulations were as mischievous as they were foolish, and through their influence the southern counties of England were in a few years overrun with pauperism, idleness, and crime. They reduced the earnings of the sober and industrious to the same level as those of the profligate and idle, and placed the prodigal and the thrifty, the careless and the diligent, the able-bodied and the weak, on the same footing. In the course of a single generation the system totally changed the moral character of the agricultural

labourers; it destroyed all forethought and consideration on their part, and caused marriage to be looked to principally as a means of increasing the claims of the parties on the parish.

The report of a committee of the House of Commons on labourers' wages, printed in 1824, stated that 'a labourer being quite certain of obtaining an allowance from the parish sufficient to support his family, it consequently becomes a matter of indifference to him whether he earns a small sum or a large one. It is obvious, indeed, that a disinclination to work must be the consequence of so vicious a system. He whose subsistence is secure without work, and who cannot earn more than a mere sufficiency by the hardest work, will naturally be an idle and a careless labourer. Frequently the work done by four or five such labourers does not amount to what might be performed by a single labourer working at task work.

'A surplus population is encouraged; men who receive but a small pittance know that they have only to marry, and that pittance will be increased proportionally to the number of their children. Hence, the supply of labour is by no means regulated by the demand; and parishes are burdened with thirty, forty, and fifty labourers for whom they can find no employment, and who serve to depress the situation of all their fellow-labourers in the same parish. An intelligent witness, who is much in the habit of employing labourers, states that, when complaining of their allowance, they frequently say to him, "We will marry, and then you must maintain us."

'The system secures subsistence to all; to the idle as well as to the industrious; to the profligate as well as the sober; and as far as human interests are concerned, all inducements to obtain a good character are taken away. The effects have corresponded with the cause: able-bodied men are found slovenly at their work, and dissolute in their hours of relaxation; a father is negligent of his children; the children do not

think it necessary to contribute to the support of their parents; the employers and the employed are engaged in perpetual quarrels, and the pauper always relieved is always discontented; crime advances with increasing boldness; and the parts of the country where this system prevails are, in spite of our gaols and our laws, filled with poachers and thieves.'

The system was especially calculated to exercise the most injurious influence on the relations between the male and female sex. Not only was a strong inducement held out to a labouring man to marry, though he had made no provision for the new duties he was about to undertake, but the more worthless the woman the more eagerly was she sought in marriage. The sum of 2s. a week was allowed for the support of each illegitimate child, either from the reputed father or from the parish. A girl with three or four illegitimate children was consequently regarded as a prize to be contended for by bucolic fortune-hunters. It was no disgrace, therefore, for an unmarried woman to be a mother; but rather a position to be courted as a sure road to matrimony. If a woman chose to swear that she was pregnant of an illegitimate child, the individual whom she charged upon oath as the father was liable to be committed at once to prison, unless he could find security for the support and maintenance of the child. It was very difficult for a poor labouring man to find such security; and if he failed to do so he was committed to prison for five or six months, there to be associated with the very worst of characters. To escape this severe penalty it was no uncommon occurrence for a labourer to marry a profligate woman who had brought a charge against him of which he was entirely innocent. Pauper marriages, too, were a common expedient for getting rid of women in receipt of parish allowances. A donation of two or three pounds was given to a man belonging to another parish who married a female pauper; and disreputable old drunkards frequently contracted a marriage of this sort

for the sake of the sum which they obtained by this scandalous proceeding.

Had the employers of labour been always identical with the payers of the rates, there can be little doubt that the practice of supplementing wages out of the rates would long since have been abolished. But as all kinds of property were assessed to the poor rate, a large proportion of the wages of the farm labourers was paid by those who had no connection with agriculture. Clergymen, medical practitioners, lawyers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, who rarely, if ever, employed labourers, were compelled to pay a portion of the wages which ought to have been paid exclusively by those who did. The farmers were in this way led to support a system which fraudulently transferred a portion of their burdens to the shoulders of others; though there can be no doubt that the sum paid by the farmers, in rates and wages taken together, was very much larger than they would have had to pay for labour, had the allowance system never been in operation.

The cost of this pernicious system was enormous, and was steadily increasing. In the middle of last century the average amount raised annually for poor rates and county rates was £730,000. In 1801, after the new system had been five or six years in operation, the sums expended for the relief of the poor alone exceeded £4,000,000. In 1832 they amounted to upwards of £7,000,000. Hundreds of farms were left without tenants, because no possible reduction of rent could enable farmers to pay a rate of nineteen or twenty shillings in the pound. In some cases the rate more than absorbed the whole rent. In the parish of Cholesbury, in Buckinghamshire, which contained two public houses, but only 139 persons, of whom 104 were paupers, the rates had risen from £10 11s. in 1801 to £367 in 1832. 'The landlord of the parish had given up his rents, the tenants had given up their farms, the clergyman had given up his glebe and his tithe. It was seriously proposed to parcel out all the land

in the parish among the paupers, and to support them till they could support themselves out of the rates levied in the neighbouring villages.'

But the expense, burdensome as it was, was by no means the worst of the evils of the poor-law system. It exercised a demoralizing influence on every one who had anything to do with it. 'The poor rate had become public spoil. The ignorant believed it an inexhaustible fund which belonged to them. To obtain their share the brutal bullied the administrators; the profligate exhibited their bastards which must be fed; the idle folded their arms and waited till they got it; ignorant boys and girls married upon it; poachers, thieves, and prostitutes extorted it by intimidation; country justices lavished it for popularity, and guardians for convenience. This was the way the fund went. As to whence it arose, it came more and more every year out of the capital of the shopkeeper and farmer, and the diminishing resources of the country gentleman. The shopkeeper's stock returns dwindled as the farmer's land deteriorated and the gentleman's expenditure contracted. The farmers' sons, waiting at the age of five-and-thirty for ability to marry in comfort, saw in every ditch and field on the estate lads under twenty, whose children were maintained by the rates which were ruining their employer. Instead of the proper number of labourers to till his lands—labourers paid by himself—the farmer was compelled to take double the number, whose wages were paid partly out of the rates; and these men being employed by compulsion on him were beyond his control, worked or not as they chose, let down the quality of his land, and disabled him from employing the better men who would have toiled hard for independence.*

* Lord John Russell says in his 'Recollections and Suggestions,' 'In the agricultural parishes gangs of forty or fifty labourers were sent nominally to repair the roads, but in fact loitered all the day by the side of their wheel-barrows, and passed the night in poaching and spending the fruits of their plunder in the public houses. In the parish of Woburn, where there were forty able-bodied labourers employed, I asked a

These better men sank down among the worse; the ratepaying cottager after a vain struggle went to the pay-table to seek relief; the modest girl might starve, while her bolder neighbour received 2s. per week for every illegitimate child. Industry, probity, purity, prudence—all heart and spirit—the whole soul of goodness—were melting down into depravity and social ruin, like snow under the foul internal fires which precede the earthquake.'

The evils and dangers of the system were apparent to all, but no adequate remedy had been devised, though innumerable quack prescriptions had been offered. 'A pamphlet on the poor laws,' said Sydney Smith, 'generally contains some little piece of favourite nonsense, by which we are gravely told this enormous evil may be perfectly cured. The first gentleman recommends little gardens, the second cows, the third a village shop, the fourth a spade, the fifth Dr. Bell, and so forth. In this list of absurdities we must not forget the project of supporting the poor from national funds, or in other words, of immediately doubling the expenditure and introducing every possible abuse into the administration of it. Then there are worthy men who call upon gentlemen of fortune and education to become overseers; then merit is set up as the test of relief, and their worships are to enter into a long examination of the life and character of each applicant, assisted, as they doubtless would be, by candid overseers and neighbours divested of every feeling of malice and partiality. The children are next to be taken from their parents and lodged in immense pedagogueries of several acres each, where they are to be carefully secluded from their

farmer why he did not give wages to two or three of them in return for work upon his farm. He answered, "They would do me no good; they would be more likely to steal what I have than to do any work on the farm." In the western counties large bodies of these idle young men went about destroying thrashing-machines and setting fire to ricks of hay and stacks of corn. . . . Farmers were alarmed for their property, members of parish vestries were afraid to refuse the demands of sturdy beggars, and the whole framework of society seemed about to yield to force and anarchy.'

fathers and mothers they are commanded to obey and honour, and are to be brought up in virtue by the churchwardens. It is proposed, also, that ale-houses should be diminished, and that the children of the poor should be catechised publicly in the Church—both very respectable and proper suggestions, but of themselves hardly strong enough for the evil. We must not forget among other nostrums, the eulogy of small farms—in other words, of small capital and profound ignorance in the arts of agriculture; and the evil is also thought to be curable by periodical contributions from men who have nothing and can earn nothing without charity.' These various nostrums, so humorously ridiculed by the witty canon, Sydney Smith, may serve to show the perplexed state of the public mind in regard to this momentous question, with which no administration had as yet the courage to grapple. But it is not surprising when we find that even the sagacious Canon of St. Paul's was of opinion that it was impossible to get rid of these laws, even in the gentlest and wisest method, without a great deal of misery and some risk of tumult; and that 'insurrections of the most sanguinary and ferocious nature would be the immediate consequence of any very sudden change in the system of the Poor Laws.'

The Government of Earl Grey, however, resolved to brave the danger of grappling with this gigantic evil; and in the course of 1832 they appointed a Commission to inquire into the Poor Laws. Blomfield, Bishop of London, was chairman of the Commission; and with him were associated Sumner, Bishop of Chester, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, Sturges Bourne, who had been Home Secretary in Canning's Ministry, Nassau Senior, and five other gentlemen. A body of assistant-commissioners were appointed, by whom the inquiry was chiefly carried on. They visited every part of the country, and obtained a thorough knowledge of the working of the poor law in every district of England and Wales. Their reports were received in

January, 1833; but owing to the vast amount of labour required to arrange the mass of information they had collected, the documents were not ready to be issued before the commencement of 1834.

When the reports appeared, they showed that matters were much worse than any one had previously supposed. The abuses which had crept into the administration of the poor laws, both as regarded number and magnitude, were almost incredible. The system had demoralized not only the labourers, but all classes who had connection with it. While it was destroying veracity, industry, frugality, and natural affection among the agricultural working classes, it was fostering dishonesty and jobbery among their superiors in social position. It was proved that tradesmen were in the habit of charging enormous prices for the goods which they furnished to the parochial authorities, and bribing the parish officers to wink at their extortions. In not a few instances, it was discovered that in parliamentary boroughs the rates were used to influence and corrupt the electors. This most unsatisfactory state of matters was not, however, universal. Here and there parishes were found where the poor law was administered with judgment and efficiency. Out-door relief was firmly refused, wages were not supplemented out of the rates, and suitable workhouses had been provided, in which able-bodied paupers were relieved and set to work. Two parishes were mentioned even in Berkshire, and one in Nottinghamshire, where, in consequence of a wise system of management, illegitimate births had become almost unknown. These examples showed that it was quite possible to afford relief to the really necessitous poor without pauperizing the whole labouring population; and they afforded valuable hints how the existing system might be reformed.

The recommendations made by the Commission were substantially those drawn up by Mr. Chadwick, one of the deputy-commissioners, who had taken a specially

active part in the inquiry, and was afterwards appointed Secretary to the Commissioners. They declared:—

1. That the existing system of poor laws in England is destructive to the industry, forethought, and honesty of the labourers, to the wealth and morality of the employers of labour and of the owners of property, and to the material good-will and happiness of all; that it collects and chains down the labourers in masses, without any reference to the demand for their labour; that while it increases their numbers, it impairs the means by which the fund for their subsistence is to be reproduced, and impairs the motives for using those means which it suffers to exist; and that every year and every day these evils are becoming more overwhelming in magnitude and less susceptible of cure.

2. That of those evils that which consists merely in the amount of rates—an evil great when considered by itself, but trifling when compared with the moral effects which I am deploring—might be much diminished by the combination of workhouses, and by substituting a rigid administration and contract management for the existing scenes of neglect, extravagance, jobbing, and fraud.

3. That by an alteration, or even—according to the suggestion of many witnesses—an abolition of the law of settlements, a great part, or according to the latter suggestion, the whole of the enormous sums now spent in litigation and removals might be saved, the labourers might be distributed according to the demand for labour, the immigration from Ireland of labourers of inferior habits be checked, and the oppression and cruelty to which the unmarried and those who have acquired any property are now subjected, might, according to the extent of the alteration, be diminished or utterly put an end to.

4. That if no relief were allowed to be given to the able-bodied or to their families, except in return for adequate labour or in a well-regulated workhouse, the worst of the existing sources of evil—the allowance system—would immediately disappear; a broad line would be drawn between the independent labourers and the paupers; the number of paupers would be immediately diminished, in consequence of the reluctance to accept relief on such terms, and would be still further diminished in consequence of the increased fund for the payment of wages occasioned by the diminution of rates; and would ultimately, instead of forming a constantly increasing proportion of our whole population, become a small, well-defined part of it, capable of being provided for at an expense less than one-half of the present poor rates.

5. That the proposed changes would tend powerfully to promote providence and forethought, not only in the daily concerns of life, but in the most important of all points—marriage.

And lastly, That it is essential to every one of these improvements that the administration of the poor laws should be intrusted, as to their general superintendence, to one central authority with extensive powers; and as to their details, to paid officers acting under the consciousness of constant superintendence and strict responsibility.

At the opening of the session of 1834 the king, in his speech from the throne, specially directed the attention of Parliament to the subject of the poor laws; and on the 17th of April Lord Althorp introduced a bill based on the recommendations of the Commissioners. It proposed to abolish entirely the mischievous allowance system, and to enact that after a given date no out-relief, except medical aid in sickness, should be given to any able-bodied man. The claim of every necessitous person to relief was indeed still recognized; but that relief was to be given to him only in the workhouse, and in return he was obliged to give a certain amount of work for every meal. There was to be strict separation between men, women, and children, and between the able-bodied and the infirm. The mother was henceforth compelled to support her illegitimate child. An important modification was to be made in the law of settlement; every mode of obtaining settlement, except by birth or marriage, was abolished. In order to superintend this new system, and to carry out the great changes made by the Act, a central board was to be appointed, consisting of three Commissioners with twenty-one assistant Commissioners, who were gradually to be diminished to nine, as the new system was fully organized. They were to be invested with discretionary powers to make general rules as to the modes of relief and the regulation of workhouses, so that there might be one uniform system throughout the country, and also to frame specific rules and orders for the regulation of the workhouses and the mode of relief of the poor

in separate districts and parishes; to form unions of parishes, in order to make larger districts; to arrange classifications of the paupers in the workhouses; and to exercise a general control over the working of the new system. The main principles of the proposed scheme, then, were the abolition of the allowance system; the depriving the magistracy of the power of ordering outdoor relief; the alteration, in certain cases, of the constitution of parochial vestries; the modification of the law of settlement and removal; rendering the mother of an illegitimate child liable for its support, in the mode of a pauper widow; the prevention of the imprisonment for its aliment of the putative father to whom she might swear it; and the appointment of a central Commission, with large discretionary powers of control, to prevent friction and keep the new machine in the right path.

The bill met with a cordial reception from the great majority of members on both sides of the House; but out of doors a loud clamour was raised against a measure which limited to such a large extent the powers of the local magistrates, and made such an enormous change in what was deemed the rights of the poor. The transfer to a central body of the authority hitherto exercised by the local justices wounded the pride of the squires; but the chief opposition was made to the classification of paupers in the workhouse and the bastardy clauses, as they were called, which threw the support of an illegitimate child on the mother instead of the putative father. The separation of wives from their husbands, and of children from their parents, afforded a sentimental theme for universal declamation. But it was shown by unanswerable arguments that these regulations were imperatively required by decency, propriety, and economy. It was utterly unreasonable that those who had become burdens on the industry of the country, in most cases through their own idleness, or improvidence, or dissipation, should be allowed to rear a new generation of paupers within the workhouse, to devour

the earnings of the industrious and economical members of the community. The loudest outcry was made against the proposal to make the mother alone responsible for the support of an illegitimate child. It was denounced as informing licentious men that they might commit seduction with perfect impunity, and that they might gratify their wicked inclinations at the sole expense of their victims. So strong was the feeling on this subject, that the Ministry were obliged to agree to a modification of the clause, and to enact that, when the testimony of the mother was supported by other evidence, the father was to be made liable to a claim from the guardians of the poor for expenses incurred in the delivery, together with such weekly sum as would be equal to the cost of maintaining the child. A clause of the bill which enacted that, where the mother of the illegitimate child was dead, her parents should be held liable for its support, excited such general disapprobation that it was withdrawn. But it afforded Cobbett, who nicknamed the measure the 'Poor Man's Robbing Bill,' an opportunity of exhibiting his feelings towards the royal family and pensioners in general, by moving that the same principle should be extended to 'paupers on the pension list receiving money for which no public service had been performed.' He found sixteen members of kindred spirit to vote with him in support of this proposition. Clauses were added to the bill excluding the Commissioners from sitting in the House of Commons; requiring all general orders and regulations to be laid before Parliament; and limiting the operation of the Act to five years, in order that, at the expiry of that period, an opportunity might be afforded to the Legislature of revising the measure.

These modifications of the bill did not remove the objections of a small section of the Lower House. Colonel Evans, one of the members for Westminster, vehemently opposed it, and declared that 'the cessation of out of door relief would lead to a revolu-

tion in the country.' Sir Samuel Whalley, one of the members for Marylebone, moved that the bill should be read a second time that day six months, and was supported by Alderman Wood and Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times*, who concurred in denouncing the measure as utterly subversive of the principle of local government, as tending to withdraw all power from ratepayers over the expenditure of their own funds, and as materially increasing the influence of the Crown and of the Ministry. The second reading, however, was carried by an immense majority—319 votes against 20. An attempt to throw out the bill on the third reading was defeated by 187 votes to 52.

The reception which the measure met with in the Upper House was quite as satisfactory. The second reading was moved by the Lord Chancellor in a speech of great argumentative power. Lord Wynford moved its rejection, but obtained only twelve supporters. The Duke of Wellington not only gave the bill his powerful support, but generously declared that it was 'unquestionably the best bill ever devised.' The Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Winchelsea, and other influential Tory peers also expressed their approval of the measure; but the bastardy clauses were opposed with great earnestness and oratorical power by the Bishop of Exeter, one of the ablest debaters in the Upper House. The Bishop of London, who had been chairman of the Commission, defended them with marked ability, and stated in detail the distressing facts which had made their adoption a matter of necessity. The Earl of Radnor declared that his experience as a magistrate had taught him that the present state of the law of bastardy, as then administered, produced a mass of perjury that it was truly frightful to contemplate. His statement was corroborated by the Lord Chancellor, who said the law as it then stood was contrary to common sense, and fostered a crime only second to murder—the detestable crime of wilful and corrupt

perjury. The clause, however, was retained on a division, by a majority of only four votes—thirty-eight to thirty-four. On the third reading the indefatigable bishop brought the question again before the House by moving the omission of the clause, that any person marrying a woman who had an illegitimate child by another man should be liable for its maintenance; but his motion obtained only seventy-one supporters, while eighty-two voted with the Government. Some slight alterations were made in several other clauses, most of which were improvements. The House of Commons, on the 11th of August, accepted these amendments, but restored the clause expunged by the Lords which declared that ‘no rule or regulation of the Commissioners should oblige any inmate of a workhouse to attend divine service in any mode contrary to his religious principles, nor authorize the education of any child in such workhouse in any religious creed other than that professed by the parent, if such parent object; and that it should be lawful for any licensed minister of religion at all times to visit the workhouse, at the desire of any inmate holding the same faith with him, for the purpose of giving him or his children religious instruction.’ The omission of this clause was denounced as a violation of the principles of religious liberty, and its restoration was agreed to by the Lords, who contended, however, that it was unnecessary, as there was no probability that the Commissioners would ever refuse admission to Dissenting ministers on all proper occasions.

The bill received the royal assent on the 14th of August, and was immediately brought into operation. There can be little doubt that if the existing system of poor-law relief had been allowed to go on much longer, any attempt to reform or abolish it would have led to a servile war. It was either now or never. Fortunately, the stringent measure introduced by the Government came in time to remove the evils which had so long preyed upon the social system. Of course the paupers, who had

become thoroughly demoralized by the support dealt out to them with a lavish hand, felt the change bitterly, and raised a loud outcry against the workhouses—the *bastilles*, as Cobbett and other Radical sympathizers termed them—in which they were obliged to reside and to work as the condition of their maintenance.

Opposition from such a quarter was not likely to do much harm; but objections to the measure, some of which were no doubt well founded, were vehemently enforced by several influential journals and reviews, and especially by the *Times*.^{*} The editor, Mr. Barnes, expressed from the first his aversion to the centralized system of management and control by means of the Commissioners or *Bashaws*, as they were termed, the refusal of out-door relief to the able-bodied, and the separation of husband and wife, which form the leading features of the new measure. Its successful working was greatly impeded ‘by the dishonesty of that paper in constantly misrepresenting the enactments and operation of the new law; in imputing to it the faults of the old system, which it was actually in the course of remedying; in fostering the prejudices and perpetuating the mischievous powers of the least enlightened of the country justices; in upholding the cause of the unworthy among the indigent by confounding them with the worthy among the poor; in short, by a partial and unscrupulous and unintermitting hostility to

* Miss Martineau says that ‘One of the editors of the *Times*, a few days before Lord Althorp introduced the Poor-Law Bill, sent a message declaratory of intended support to some of the managers of the measure; but the next morning after the bill had been submitted to the Commons a thundering article appeared in that paper against it.’ It became known afterwards that the change in the mind of the *Times* had taken place at the very last moment. It was naturally declared and believed to be owing to evidence received of the hostility of the country justices to the measure; and the country justices were not only the great provincial support of the *Times* newspaper, but composed an influence too important to be lightly regarded. Whatever might be the reason, the *Times* newspaper certainly did at the last moment change its mind about supporting the new Poor Law.

a measure which had its faults, but which was not only necessary in its time, but an eminent glory of its time.' The marked success of the measure was the most effective answer to the unscrupulous attacks made upon it. In a remarkably short space of time the relief given to the ratepayers by diminished assessments, the employment readily obtained by the industrious labourers and the higher wages paid them, and especially the surprising diminution of the number of illegitimate births (nearly 13 per cent.), proved that the new Poor Law Act was as judicious as it was bold. In the county of Sussex there were in 1834 no fewer than 6160 able-bodied paupers. In 1836, under the operation of the new law, that number was reduced to 124. In that year the Act was in operation in twenty-two counties, in all of which wages had risen and rates had largely fallen; the average reduction in the rates in these counties was $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. within three years after the passing of the law. The poor rates, which in 1832 had risen to the enormous sum of £7,000,000, had diminished to £4,000,000.

A considerable number of measures brought forward by the Government in the course of the session were either withdrawn, or rejected by the Upper House. A plan to relieve Dissenters from Church rates, a bill to authorize the celebration of marriage by Dissenting clergymen, had both to be laid aside, in consequence of the opposition of the party whom they were intended to benefit. A plan for the commutation of tithes was not pressed, owing to the state of public business. The bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities was again passed by the Commons, and once more rejected by the Lords. As we have seen, at the beginning of the session the issuing of the writ for the borough of Warwick had been suspended in consequence of the gross bribery that had prevailed at the last election; and a bill was brought in for the disfranchisement of the freemen of that town and for the extension of the franchise

to the inhabitants of the surrounding district. The bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Bills of a similar character were introduced respecting the freemen of Hertford, Stafford, Liverpool, and Carrickfergus, but they were all thrown out by the Upper House. The Commons were so indignant at the manner in which the Peers had thus thrown their shield over voters who had been proved guilty of gross bribery and corruption, that they suspended the writs of three of these demoralized boroughs—Hertford, Warwick, and Carrickfergus.

The revival of trade and commerce had produced a beneficial effect on the revenue; and a fortnight after the commencement of the session the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a preliminary statement to the House, communicating the gratifying information that, though in the course of the three years during which the present Government had held office, they had reduced taxes to the amount of £3,335,000, yet they had now at their disposal a surplus of £1,500,000. It was not, however, till the 25th of July that the budget was brought forward, when it appeared that the actual surplus of income over expenditure amounted to £2,177,030. There was a loud clamour raised both by the landed interest and the towns for a share in this surplus; and the Marquis of Chandos, who had now become the leader of the agricultural party, moved on the 7th of July a resolution in favour of 'the immediate removal of some portion of those burdens to which the land is subject through the pressure of general and local taxation.' His motion was only defeated by 206 votes to 202. A proposal for the repeal of the malt tax, however, was defeated by 271 votes to 170. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he admitted that the agriculturists were suffering great distress, resolved to confine his relief to the householders in the towns, whose demands had become formidable to the Government. He proposed to abolish the unpopular house tax, which yielded £1,200,000; several small

assessed taxes; some customs and excise duties on starch, stone bottles, and sweets, which interfered with manufactures; and the duty on almanacs, which had caused some popular dissatisfaction. Though he had not directly reduced any taxes on agriculture, he confidently expected that the new poor law and tithe commutation bills would greatly alleviate the distress that prevailed in the agricultural districts. It was gratifying to be able to state that while between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000 of taxes would thus have been taken off during his term of office, the income was reduced only £3,000,000.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August by the king in person, and public affairs proceeded for some time without any new complications arising.

On the 16th of October the two Houses of Parliament were burned to the ground. The fire originated in an act of gross folly and most culpable negligence on the part of certain subordinate officials connected with the Board of Works, and their workmen. Orders had been issued by the Treasury to remove or destroy the tallies formerly used in the Court of Exchequer. The orders passed through two or three hands, and the duty was ultimately intrusted to a workman of the name of Cross, with directions to burn the tallies slowly and carefully. No pains were taken, however, by any of his superiors to see that these orders were obeyed; and Cross and a fellow-workman, impatient to finish their task, threw the tallies in great numbers into the furnaces. The housekeeper repeatedly warned them that the heat had become intense, and that the House of Lords was full of smoke; but they paid no attention to her remonstrances. The workmen left the building about five o'clock, and an hour later it was discovered to be on fire in several places, in consequence of the heated flues having been in contact with some old dry timber. The flames spread with such rapidity that in a few minutes the two Houses and the offices belonging to them were wrapped in one

resistless conflagration. Melbourne, Althorp, and other members of the Cabinet, were quickly on the spot, directing the firemen and the police in their efforts to limit the ravages of the fire; and every street leading towards Palace Yard was thronged with dense crowds of spectators. It soon became evident that it was impossible to save the Parliament Houses; and the efforts of the firemen were directed to the preservation of Westminster Hall—the venerable structure of William Rufus—which was in imminent peril. In this they were fortunately successful; but the two Houses, with the greater part of their libraries, together with many works of art and valuable records, and the ancient tapestry of the House of Lords representing the attack and overthrow of the Spanish Armada, memorable for the famous allusion to it in one of Lord Chatham's eloquent speeches, were all destroyed.

The accommodation which the building afforded to the Commons had become quite inadequate and exceedingly inconvenient, and must at no distant day have been replaced by a new structure. But it was impossible for even the most prosaic utilitarian not to feel regret at the destruction of the old oak-panelled chapel, associated with so many historical reminiscences of momentous incidents, and the memories of the most famous statesmen and orators of our country.

As it was necessary that no time should be lost in providing temporary accommodation for the members of Parliament, the king next day offered to place at their service Buckingham Palace, then nearly completed, on which his worthless predecessor had squandered enormous sums of money; but it was regarded as more convenient to make arrangements for the accommodation of the two branches of the Legislature on the site where they had so long been accustomed to assemble. It was found that the old Painted Chamber could be fitted up for the reception of the Peers; and as the walls of the old House of Lords

were still standing, they could without difficulty or much expense be newly roofed and converted into a commodious place of meeting for the Commons. This arrangement was accordingly carried out, and the temporary accommodation thus provided sufficed for the members of the Legislature until the present costly Houses of Parliament were constructed.

The recess afforded no rest or relief to the much harassed members of the Government. Ireland continued to be the scene of the most violent agitation; and notwithstanding the efforts made by the Ministry to promote the welfare of that unhappy country, O'Connell persisted in showering upon them the most virulent and scurrilous abuse. The enemies of the Irish people, he asserted, had been promoted and rewarded; their friends calumniated and persecuted. 'Never,' he declared, 'was there known a more ungenial or hostile domestic administration in Ireland than that which has subsisted since Earl Grey first obtained office, and still subsists.' Outrages on the part of the peasantry were the natural fruit of O'Connell's attacks on the Government, and were perpetrated almost daily in every district of the country. The collection of tithes had become impracticable. Whenever this was attempted violent resistance was offered, and in one instance, at a place called Rathcormac, a collision took place between the military and police and the mob (November 16), and several persons were killed and wounded. 'The Rathcormac massacre,' as it was called, was henceforth a common theme in O'Connell's speeches.

The conduct of the Lord Chancellor at this time also contributed not a little to embarrass his colleagues and to annoy and incense the king. Brougham was admitted on all hands to be a man of extraordinary abilities, who had rendered most important services to the country and to his colleagues in the Ministry. But he was impulsive, restless, and unreliable. The almost incredible labour and excitement to which he had been subjected during the past session

had produced an injurious effect on his powerful and abnormal brain; and he had of late behaved in a manner so excited and eccentric as to afford plausibility to the allegation that his mind was at this time off its balance. He had in some way quarrelled with the *Times* newspaper, which attacked him day after day in the most virulent and unjustifiable terms;* and there can be no doubt that these attacks contributed not a little to increase the morbid excitement under which the Chancellor was at this time labouring.

Unfortunately for himself and for the Government, instead of taking advantage of the close of the session to enjoy the rest and quiet which he so much needed, Brougham resolved to make a public and political tour through Scotland. He was everywhere most enthusiastically welcomed by all classes of Scotsmen, who were proud of the celebrity which he had reflected on his native country. The Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Breadalbane, and other representatives of great historical families; the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness, and other officials, legal, university, and commercial, strove to do him honour. His speeches in reply to the numerous addresses presented to him varied in character and sentiment, from Radicalism to Conservatism, according to the place in which they were delivered, but were almost always injudicious and fitted to do mischief to the Government. On receiving the freedom of Inverness he

* According to Lord Campbell, this quarrel with Barnes, the editor of the *Times*, arose out of the course which that journal followed in assailing the new poor law bill. Lord Althorp wrote a brief note to the Chancellor, asking whether the Ministry should make war upon the *Times* or come to terms. Brougham, who received this note when sitting in the Court of Chancery, tore it up and threw away the fragments. Some official of the court treacherously picked them up, pasted them together, and sent them to Barnes. It so happened that on the same day some information which the editor asked from the Government was abruptly refused. The inference drawn was, that by the Chancellor's advice a determination had been formed by the Government to make war on the *Times*, and the *Times* determined to make war on Brougham, which it did most violently and unscrupulously.

accounted for his enthusiastic reception from 'the circumstance that he had the honour of serving a monarch who lives in the hearts of his loyal subjects inhabiting this ancient and important capital of the Highlands,' and he expressed his intention to inform His Majesty by that night's post of 'such a gratifying manifestation.' He gave great offence to the Radicals, who had complained against the Government for not 'going ahead,' by expressing his opinion that the Ministry had done too much rather than too little, and that if they did little last session they were likely to do less in the next. His speeches at Aberdeen and Dundee were in a different strain, though he expressed great indignation at 'the absurd, stupid, and indefensible attacks that had been showered' against him. At the festival in honour of Earl Grey, held at Edinburgh in the month of August, he made an uncomplimentary reference to those 'hasty spirits who are in such a hurry to set out, and to get to their object three minutes before ourselves, that they will not wait to put the linch-pin into the wheel. They would go on a voyage of discovery to unknown regions, but would not tarry to look whether the compass is aboard.' The Earl of Durham, who fancied that he was one of the 'hasty spirits' referred to, retorted that he was one of those who saw with regret 'every hour which passes over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses.' The Radical party in the country vociferously applauded this reply, and soon after Lord Durham was in consequence entertained at a public dinner in Glasgow, where he bitterly assailed the Lord Chancellor. Brongham took his revenge by an attack on Durham in the *Edinburgh Review*. This unlucky incident deprived the Chancellor of the confidence and sympathy of the Radical Reformers, while his erratic conduct and injudicious speeches on his Scottish tour increased the dislike with which he was regarded by the king and the court. He little imagined that the time was close at hand when the dismissal

of the Ministry and the termination of his own official career should take place.

It was frankly acknowledged by Althorp's colleagues, and was well known both to the House of Commons and the country at large, that if he had not agreed to remain in office on the retirement of Earl Grey, the Ministry would have been dissolved. He was avowedly the mainstay of the Government in the House of Commons. He had no pretensions to the eloquence and debating power of Stanley, or the official experience of Palmerston; and though he had perhaps more knowledge of finance than any member in the House of Commons, except Peel, his financial career had not, on the whole, been successful. But no other leader of the House of Commons, before or since, ever possessed so thoroughly the confidence of the Legislature and the country. His self-possession, calmness, and courage were peculiarly displayed during the turmoil, and clamour, and fierce conflict of the era of the Reform Bill. With equal foresight and firmness he steered the Reform barque amid rocks and breakers, and through the rapids and shoals which lay in its course, and at last brought it safely into port. 'It was Althorp carried the bill,' said the Tory Sir Henry Hardinge. 'His fine temper did it.' His extraordinary influence, however, was owing much more to the general confidence in his sterling integrity, simplicity of heart, strong common sense, perfect disinterestedness, and sound judgment, than even to his temper. Charles Greville, a man not lavish of his praise, and far from friendly to the Whigs, speaks in the most eulogistic terms of Althorp's admirable temper, the credit universally given to him of the most disinterested motives and entire freedom from ambition, and the vast influence which he exercised in the House from his 'good humour, judgment, firmness, discretion, business-like talents, and gentleman-like virtues.' His thorough knowledge of the House of Commons, and great quickness and tact in discovering its bias and dispo-

sition, no doubt contributed not a little to the extraordinary sway which he exercised over its members, and his success in carrying his measures. The feeling of the House towards its leader was characteristically expressed by Lord Jeffrey, who had an unbounded admiration for him. 'There is something to me quite delightful in his calm, clumsy, courageous, inscrutable probity and well-meaning, and it seems to have a charm for everybody.' Sir Robert Peel humorously complained that Lord Althorp had only to get up, take off his hat, and shake his head, to satisfy the House that the replies to his speeches, however plausible they might appear, were founded on a fallacy. Of no statesman that ever lived could it more truly be said that—

'He ever speaks his thought,
And ever thinks the very thing he ought.'

'He walked uprightly, and worked righteousness, and spoke the truth in his heart.'

An event, however, was close at hand which was to deprive the Liberal Government of Lord Althorp's invaluable services, and to lead to their own dismissal from office. Lord Spencer, who was far advanced in years, and had for some time been in infirm health, on the approach of winter was attacked by an illness of a serious character, and after lingering a short time, expired at Althorp on the 10th of November, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Lord Althorp's accession to the Earldom of course removed him from the House of Commons; and the Premier, after consulting with his colleagues, waited on the king at Brighton on the 13th of November, to submit to him the changes in official appointments which the elevation of Lord Althorp to the Upper House had rendered necessary. On his arrival at the Pavilion, His Majesty received him with apparent kindness and confidence. The conversation lasted for an hour and a half. Lord Melbourne proposed that Lord John Russell should succeed Lord Althorp as leader of the House of Commons. The king, however, 'objected

strongly' to this proposal, and according to his own account, 'stated without reserve his opinion that Lord John had not the abilities nor the influence which qualified him for the task, and observed that he would cut a wretched figure when opposed by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Stanley.' The king objected equally, if not more strongly, to Abercromby and Spring Rice, whose names were suggested by Lord Melbourne; and he went on to express his apprehensions that, whenever the question of the Irish Church should be brought forward, serious differences would arise between him and the Government, as Lord John Russell had 'pledged himself to certain encroachments upon that church, which His Majesty had made up his mind and expressed his determination to resist. Nor did His Majesty conceal from Lord Melbourne that the injudicious and extravagant conduct of Lord Brougham had tended to shake his confidence in the course which might be pursued by the Administration.'

'But,' adds the king, 'Lord Melbourne did not upon this occasion state, nor had he at any former period stated to the king, that differences of opinion prevailed in the Cabinet, which might produce its dissolution before the meeting of Parliament, or when measures might be proposed upon which they should not agree; nor did he express any doubt of his ability to carry on the Government with the aid of those who had been admitted or might be admitted to His Majesty's councils.' It is evident from this candid admission that there was no truth in the allegation that the Prime Minister confessed that it would be difficult if not impracticable for him to carry on the Government; and His Majesty admits that when he observed that Lord Grey had stated that 'the removal of Lord Althorp from the House of Commons would be of itself a sufficient reason for breaking up his administration, and that Lord Melbourne, when he succeeded Lord Grey, had laid the same stress upon the retention of Lord Althorp's services in the House

of Commons,' the Premier did not admit that this consideration militated against his ability to 'carry on the Government satisfactorily.' The king certainly did not, on his part, state his views in the 'frank and unreserved manner' in which he says 'Lord Melbourne discussed the whole subject;' for it is now quite well known, and is not denied, that His Majesty had made up his mind, immediately on Lord Spencer's death, to dismiss his Ministers and to try the experiment of a Conservative Government. He professed, indeed, that he would give his full consideration to what Lord Melbourne had submitted, and should see him again on the following morning; but it is quite evident that His Majesty had no intention of altering the resolution to which he had come.

Next morning the king handed Melbourne a carefully prepared letter, in which he stated that, 'having lost the services of Lord Althorp as leader of the House of Commons, he could feel no confidence in the stability of the Government when led by any other member of it; that they were already in a minority in the House of Peers, and he had every reason to believe the removal of Lord Althorp would speedily put them in the same situation in the other House; that under such circumstances it became necessary to place the conduct of affairs in other hands;' and, he added verbally, that he intended to send for the Duke of Wellington. Nothing could be more peremptory or decisive than this intimation of His Majesty's pleasure; no room was left for explanation or any other arrangement. In the words of Lord Palmerston, 'the Government had not resigned, but were dismissed; and this, not in consequence of having proposed any measure of which the king disapproved, and which they would not give up, but because it was thought they were not strong enough in the Commons to carry on the business of the country, and their places were to be filled up by men who were notoriously weak and unpopular in the

Lower House, however strong they might be in the Upper one.'

The offer of an Earldom and the Garter was made to Lord Melbourne, but was rejected 'in the briefest terms that deference would allow;' and taking his leave, he returned to town. It was late when he reached Downing Street, where Palmerston was the only Minister to be found. He spent the remainder of the evening with him, and having summoned a meeting of the Cabinet for the following morning, was about to retire to rest, when the Chancellor called on his way from Holland House. On his promise to divulge nothing till the Ministers met next day, Melbourne informed him of what had occurred. Brougham, however, broke his promise, and immediately on leaving Downing Street, communicated the intelligence to the *Chronicle* and the *Times*, and added in his intimation to the latter the memorable words, 'The queen has done it all!'

The other members of the Cabinet had not the slightest apprehension of such a result, and learned with amazement from the newspapers next day that they had been summarily dismissed from office. The public were equally taken by surprise, and the general impression was that the dismissal of the Government was the result of a preconcerted measure with the leaders of the Tory party, which, however, was undoubtedly a mistake. The king was highly offended at the insinuation that the step he had taken was the result of an intrigue on the part of the queen, and complained that he had been insulted and betrayed.

According to all precedent, the outgoing Ministry should have retained office until their predecessors were appointed; but so impatient was the king to get rid of the Whigs, that he insisted on the immediate resignation of the Government. Lord Duncannon was interrupted at church during the time of divine service by a messenger commanding the instant delivery of the seals of the Home Office. This unseemly

and unconstitutional, conduct tended not a little to strengthen the feeling of dissatisfaction with which moderate and prudent men regarded the dismissal of an administration by the mere personal will of the sovereign. The rash and precipitate conduct of the king led to another arrangement, which was unavoidable under the circumstances, but is incapable of defence—the union, in the person of the Duke of Wellington, of the offices of the First Lord of the Treasury and of the three Secretaries of State.* It thus happened that for a considerable period four of the most important offices of State were held by one person, and the public service was conducted during this interval without any responsible head to many of the departments.

Although the conduct of the king in thus summarily dismissing his Ministers was vociferously applauded by the Tories at the time, no one can doubt now that it was an exceedingly ill-judged step. The Government was supported by a majority of nearly two-thirds of the House of Commons; its members were now cordially united in their policy; no question had arisen to cause any difference of opinion among them; and Lord Melbourne assured the king that no measures were likely to be proposed on which they should not agree. No scheme for dealing with the Irish Church had been devised or even made matter of deliberation in the Cabinet; and if the Ministry should have introduced a measure on that Church which the House of Commons regarded as dangerous or impracticable, the vote upon that question would have compelled their retirement from office. 'Thus,' as Lord John Russell remarked, 'the king would have been relieved from responsibility; but by taking upon himself the initiative he naturally offended the whole

body of the people, who considered the exercise of the royal prerogative an act of caprice rather than of reasonable judgment.'

At the same time it must be admitted that the dismissal of the Ministry did not give rise to that burst of popular indignation which had been anticipated. Some of the more ardent Reformers thought that this was owing to a want of zeal and energy on the part of the late Premier, while the Tories loudly asserted that it was to be attributed to the reaction that had taken place in the public mind. To a certain extent this was true. The excitement which prevailed during the fever heat of the Reform Bill agitation had undoubtedly subsided, as in the very nature of things must have been the case. The English mind, which always moves slowly to great organic changes, necessarily recoiled with the violent effort it had made to reform the constitution of the country. Many who had supported that change expected a period of tranquillity as its result; and many others, looking on the system of representation as a means to an end, hoped that the great improvement which had been made in that system would leave quiet and leisure for social and economical reforms. But when they found that, on the contrary, it was immediately followed by demands for fresh innovations in the franchise, the reform or abolition of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church, and other violent constitutional innovations, they withdrew, some in alarm and some in mere weariness and disgust, from the party of the Reformers, and either took up a neutral position or joined the ranks of their opponents.

Melbourne himself, with his usual shrewdness and frankness, in replying to an address from Derby expressed himself plainly respecting the causes which led to the dismissal of his Ministry. 'You will not,' he said, 'consider me as employing the language of complaint and discontent, but rather that of friendly admonition and advice, if I enumerate amongst them the

* A good deal of amusement was caused by a clever cartoon which H. B. published at this juncture. It represented the Duke seated in solitary dignity in the room where the Cabinet meetings were held, and saying aloud, 'My Lords and Gentlemen, the question for the consideration of the Cabinet is, "How is the king's Government to be carried on?"'

want of confidence that has often been expressed in quarters from which we expected support; the strong condemnation which has been pronounced upon some of our measures which I conceive to have been absolutely necessary; the violent and subversive opinions which have been declared, and particularly the bitter hostility and ulterior designs against the Established Church which have been openly avowed by several classes and bodies of the Dissenters. When I mention this last opinion, I beg leave to say that I do not condemn those who conscientiously entertain it. It is not my opinion; but I mention it now with reference to its actual effect upon the course of public affairs. These sentiments and this conduct occasioned great alarm in high and powerful quarters; they terrified the timid, they repelled from us the wavering, they rallied men around the institutions which they conceived to be attacked; and they gave life, spirit, and courage to our political adversaries, who you will recollect, after all, form a very large and powerful party in this country—a party powerful in number, powerful in property, powerful in rank and station, and allow me to add, a party of a very decided, tenacious, unyielding, and uncompromising character.’

The great Reform Ministry, which was dismissed from office in this unceremonious manner, had effected in the course of four years more important and beneficial changes in the institutions of our country than had been made since the era of the Reformation. They had not only placed the representative system on an equitable and safe foundation, but they had carried out, in spite of the most strenuous and formidable opposition, social reforms of equal magnitude and value. The abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, and of the monopoly of the East India Company; the restriction of infant labour in the factories, and the removal of the gross abuses which had made the poor law demoralizing, wasteful, and dangerous to the social welfare of the community; and the clearing away

the arrears of the Court of Chancery, which, owing to Lord Eldon’s procrastination, had brought misery and ruin on many thousands—were alone sufficient to lay the country under a deep debt of gratitude to Earl Grey and his colleagues. They were the first to grapple with the evils which have made Ireland a source of anxiety and danger to the rulers of the three kingdoms, and to attempt to do justice to that unhappy country. If their power had been equal to their inclinations, they would have abolished the tithe system—one fruitful source of anarchy and bloodshed—and have held the balance fairly between contending sects. The Government, however, succeeded in bestowing one inestimable boon upon Ireland—the establishment of a national system of education.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century a few charity schools existed in Ireland—chiefly in Ulster—in which the children of the peasantry were taught to read, and received some industrial training; but it was not until 1733 that the celebrated Charter schools were instituted under the government of a body of trustees, who were formed into a corporation empowered by a Charter from the Crown ‘to hold lands, and receive donations and bequests for the supporting of such schools as might be erected in the most necessary places, where the children of the poor might be taught gratis.’ The schools thus established were of two kinds—day schools, and schools in which the children were boarded, and fed, and clothed, and entire charge taken of their welfare, material and moral.

These ‘English Protestant working schools,’ the Bishop of Elphin said, ‘were established for English and national interests, from which little colonies, instructed in religion and inured to labour from their tender years, might be sent out to cultivate the barren and neglected parts of the kingdom, and raise a spirit of industry and activity in the nation.’ The instruction given in these schools in the elementary branches of knowledge was made subsidiary to indus-

trial training. Only two hours daily were devoted to reading, writing, and arithmetic; the remaining five or six hours of the school day were given up to labour. 'Spaces of ground were attached to each school-house, extending to two or more acres, which the boys were taught to cultivate. They trenched and drained; they ploughed and dug; they raised corn, potatoes, flax, and hemp; they fed cattle on their meadows, and grew and stored hay for the winter food. The girls learnt spinning, reeling, sewing, washing, brewing, and the business of a dairy—all such work as might prepare them for being put out apprentices or going into service. Each boy and each girl was provided with a suit of clothes annually. The materials were raised, the linens and woollens were woven, and the clothes themselves were cut out and made up at the school-house.

'The children remained at school for five years; at the end of which time they were bound out as apprentices to tradesmen, farmers, or artisans, at the expense of the society.' The cost at which these results were obtainable was not the least remarkable part of the system. 'The whole charge,' says the report on these schools, 'for rescuing each poor child from the utmost misery that could spring from poverty, ignorance, and wickedness, educating him for five years, and putting him in the way of being good and happy, was but £9.'

The expense was, of course, considerably greater in supporting the schools in which the children were fed and lodged as well as educated; and it is a matter of deep regret that funds were not more liberally supplied at the outset for the purpose. These institutions proved eminently successful, and it seemed as if an effectual remedy had at last been found for Papal domination in Ireland, and Irish poverty, turbulence, and misery. The Charter schools had an income of £2000 a year from private endowments. The king added £1000 from his hereditary revenue, and the Irish Parliament raised their grants to the society to £4000, £5000, and £6000 a year. For the first time the Irish landlords

set about discharging their duties to the people connected with them, and established schools on their own estates. The dignitaries of the Church began to interest themselves in promoting the education of the peasantry. Archbishop Boulter built and endowed a school in Dublin almost at his own expense. More than £30,000 was collected in England by private subscriptions, and sums were sent even from the American colonies. So vigorous and effective did the Society become, that the Irish Parliament appropriated a special branch of the revenue—the annual proceeds of hawkers and pedlers' licenses—to the support of the schools, and authorized the Charter Society to appoint officers in every province with powers to take up children between the age of five and twelve years who might be found begging, and convey them to the nearest Charter school, there to be taken charge of, bred up in industry, and bound out when at sufficient age as servants or apprentices to Protestants.

As the principle of the system was industrial training in conjunction with the Established Church Catechism, the Roman Catholic priests denounced the Charter schools in most violent terms, and threatened to refuse the sacraments to parents who allowed their children to attend those obnoxious institutions; but their invectives proved quite ineffectual. The benefits offered by the schools were too plain and too valuable to be rejected by the peasantry at the bidding of the priests. But neglect, mismanagement, and jobbery did what clerical influence had failed to effect. As Froude has remarked, the Charter schools were 'choked in Irish society as wholesome vegetables are choked in a garden where the weeds are allowed to spring.' The system ceased to grow. After the first few years the number of the boarding schools was not increased, and the affiliated day schools disappeared. Private benefactions were withdrawn, and the annual grants made by the Parliament were wasted and perverted by the managers, who starved

and neglected the children, and even used them as slaves to fill their own pockets. In a country where jobbery and neglect of duty were universal among all classes from the highest to the lowest, 'the managers of schools were not likely to be an exception.'

'But the responsibility, and therefore the blame, rested with the bishops. They were the trustees. Their business it was to visit, to correct, and to report if necessary to Parliament to remove incompetent officers. They held that they discharged their obligations sufficiently by mouthing sonorous platitudes in the House of Lords, and by preaching occasional sermons, while they divided their time between their Irish palaces and their London houses, varied with crusades in the House of Lords against Dissenters' disabilities.'*

The abuses in these schools at length became so flagrant and notorious that their reform was loudly demanded, and in 1806, and again in 1824, Royal Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the state of Irish education. They published a number of reports on the subject, and recommended that the education of the youth of Ireland should be founded on an unsectarian basis, and that no attempt should be made in connection with the schools to interfere with the religious principles of any denomination of Christians. In 1827 the reports were referred to a Select Committee, which endorsed the recommendations of the two Commissions, and declared it to be of the utmost importance that the children of the different religious sects should be educated together on the principle of combined moral and literary, and separate religious teaching.

Meanwhile, a Society for promoting the education of the poor, commonly called the Kildare Place Society, had been formed in 1811. Its principles were stated to be 'the admission of pupils uninfluenced by religious distinctions, and the reading of the Bible and Testament, without note or com-

ment, by all the pupils who had attained a suitable proficiency, excluding catechisms and controversial treatises; the Bible or Testament not to be used as a class-book from which children should be taught to read or spell.' A recommendation was made in 1812, by Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the schools and public charities, that 'no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians;' and a pledge was given by the Kildare Place Society that that recommendation should be carried into effect. On the faith of this assurance a Parliamentary grant was given in 1819, which was continued and increased in subsequent years. In order to conciliate those who objected to the exclusion of religious teaching from its schools, the Society agreed that a portion of the Bible should be read daily by the pupils. The Roman Catholics objected to this compromise on the ground that it forbade catechetical instruction, and interfered with the interpretation of the Scripture by the priests; and though they availed themselves of the means which the Kildare Place Society afforded them of obtaining the services of trained teachers and the use of cheap school-books, they decidedly objected to the children of their Church being sent to the Kildare Place schools. In consequence the children of that denomination were gradually withdrawn from these schools, and were left to grow up uneducated and untrained. In 1824, out of 56,201 children educated in Kildare Place schools, 26,237 were Protestants and only 29,964 were Roman Catholics, though they formed nine-tenths of the population. On the other hand, in schools supported by voluntary contributions, out of 400,348 pupils, 319,288 were Roman Catholics and only 81,060 were Protestants. The Commissioners, on ascertaining these startling facts, recommended that the grant of money for the education of the poor should be vested in a Board nominated by the Government,

* See Froude's 'English in Ireland,' i., 514; ii., 11 and 122.—Lecky's 'History of England,' ii., 200.

under arrangements calculated to prevent any interference with the religious tenets of the children or their parents. This recommendation was referred to a committee who reported on it favourably, and the annual grant to the Kildare Place Society was withdrawn in 1830.

In these circumstances the Ministry were constrained to deal with the question, and to take measures to prevent the youth of Ireland from growing up in a state of gross ignorance. During the heat of the contest respecting the Reform Bill they instituted a Board of Education in Dublin, to which they transferred the grant that had been withdrawn from the Kildare Place Society. The Board was composed of members both of the Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations—comprising among them Dr. Whately, the Protestant, and Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin—and was so constituted as to meet the confidence of moderate and reasonable men of both denominations. The system intrusted to their charge was based upon the principle laid down by the Committee of 1827, of combined secular and separate religious instruction. Selections from the Holy Scriptures were to be read in school hours on two days in the week. The Commissioners were instructed to take care that the schools shall be open alike to the children of all denominations, that no pupil shall be required to attend at any religious exercise or to receive any religious instruction which his parents or guardians do not approve, and that sufficient opportunity shall be afforded to the pupils of each religious persuasion to receive separately, at appointed times, such religious instruction as their parents or guardians think proper.

This educational scheme held the balance equally between the contending sects, and conferred its benefits on all with the most perfect impartiality. It was, however, fiercely opposed by the bigots both of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant denominations; and the clergy of the

Established Church in Ireland were loud in their condemnation of the rule which enjoined that only select passages from the Bible were to be read in the schools. Sir Robert Inglis in the House of Commons clamoured for the whole Bible to be read as a school-book, and loud outcries were raised throughout the country against those who were alleged to have mutilated the Word of God. 'While the whole system is crumbling to dust under their feet,' Greville wrote, 'while the Church is prostrate, property of all kinds threatened, and robbery, murder, starvation, and agitation rioting over the land, there were legislators debating whether the brats at school shall read the whole Bible or only parts of it; they do nothing but rave of the barbarism and ignorance of the Catholics; they know that education alone can better their moral condition, and that their religious tenets prohibit the admission of any system of education (in which Protestants and Catholics can be joined) except such an one as this; and yet they would rather knock the system on the head, and prevent all the good that may flow from it, than consent to a departure from the good old rules of Orange ascendancy, and Popish subserviency and degradation, knowing too, above all, that those who are to read and be taught are equally indifferent to the whole Bible as to parts of it.' The Ministry were not deterred by this clamour from carrying out their scheme, which was powerfully defended by Stanley in the House of Commons, and was supported by liberal and candid persons of all parties throughout the country. The Irish Episcopal clergy, unfortunately, persisted for years in standing aloof from the system, and did all in their power to prevent the adherents of their Church from availing themselves of the benefits of the national schools. The system, however, was countenanced by the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics; and, with all their defects, these schools have proved an inestimable boon to the Irish people.

CHAPTER VII.

Affairs of Turkey—Quarrel between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali—Ibrahim Pacha's Campaign in Syria—Capture of Acre—Defeat of the Turks at Damascus, Homs, Bilhau, and Konieh—Critical position of the Porte—Intervention of Russia—Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi—Dissatisfaction caused by it to the British Government—Civil War in Portugal—Successes of Don Pedro—Capture of Lisbon—Marshal Bourmont takes the command of Miguel's Forces—Donna Maria acknowledged by France and Britain—Termination of the Civil War—Don Miguel leaves the Country—Don Pedro's Regency—His Death—Misconduct of the Government—Marriage of the Queen—Death of her Husband—Her Second Marriage—Death of Ferdinand of Spain—Succession of his Daughter Isabella—Regency of Christina—Ministry of Zea Bermudez—Don Carlos claims the Throne—Insurrection in the Basque Provinces—Dismissal of Zea—Ministry of Martinez de la Rosa—The Quadruple Alliance—War between the Constitutionalists and the Carlists—Zumalacarregui the Carlist Chief—His Strategy—Sanguinary Proclamation issued by Don Carlos—War of Extermination—Atrocities of the Carlists—Retaliation of the Christinos—Generals Rodil, Valdez, and Mina—The Eliot Convention—Death of Zumalacarregui—Ministries of Torreno, of Mendizabel, and of Isturitz—Military Revolution—Constitution of 1812 proclaimed.

WHILE the reform of Parliament and of the social institutions of the United Kingdom was proceeding, the Turkish empire was brought to the brink of dissolution by the rebellion of the most powerful vassal of the Porte, Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. This remarkable man was a native of Roumelia, and was born in 1769, the birth-year of Napoleon and Wellington. At the age of fourteen he obtained a commission in the militia. He opened a tobacco shop in a seaport town in Albania, and a commercial speculation into which he entered with a French merchant brought him some money. In the year 1800 he obtained the command of a small detachment of soldiers from Pravante to join the Turkish forces in Egypt, then occupied by the French. The bravery and energy which he displayed in this position attracted the attention of Khosrew, the Pasha of Egypt, and he was appointed general of the Arnauts, those hardy and valiant Albanian soldiers, who formed the flower of the Turkish army. This position gave ample scope to the ambition of a man of Mehemet Ali's ability and resolution; and after a great deal of intriguing he succeeded in obtaining the office of Pasha in 1805, and became Viceroy of Egypt. In 1811, finding that the Mamelukes stood in the way of his crooked policy, he determined to destroy them; and he carried out his infamous plot in a way that showed him to be as treacherous and ferocious as he was ambitious. In the

same year the Sultan intrusted him with a commission to reduce the Wahabees. He was ultimately successful in this enterprise through the skill and valour of Ibrahim Pacha, his son, with whose assistance he organized and disciplined a formidable army on the European model. In 1824 the Sultan again appealed for aid to his powerful vassal, and Ibrahim was despatched to the Morea, in February, 1825, at the head of a strong body of troops, supported by a numerous fleet. His successes in the contest with the Greek patriots led to the intervention of the Great Powers; and after the destruction of the Egyptian and Turkish fleet at Navarino, Ibrahim was compelled to evacuate Greece. Mehemet Ali was meanwhile carrying out energetically the reforms which the Sultan Mahmoud was in vain struggling to effect in Turkey. He introduced the political and social regulations and improvements of Christian Europe—police, systematic taxation, education, hospitals and telegraphs, and, not least, religious toleration, among his subjects. He sent his own sons and the most promising of the Egyptian youth of the higher ranks to be educated in France; and he held out strong inducements to French military officers and accomplished civilians to assist him in carrying out his schemes. He took into his own hands the whole industry, agricultural and commercial, of Egypt; and resorting to a system of forced labour, the hereditary expedient of Egyptian rulers, he

established manufactories, compelled the culture of cotton, planted the olive and the mulberry tree, and improved the breed of horses, asses, and oxen. This energetic policy had the effect of placing vast resources at his command, so that, after the destruction of his fleet at Navarino, he speedily repaired his losses, and created new and formidable forces, military and naval.

At the close of the war with Greece, when the strength of the Ottoman empire had been considerably impaired, Mehemet Ali evidently began to think of asserting his independence of the Porte. The refusal of the Sultan to bestow on Ibrahim the Pashalic of Damascus, which he claimed as the reward of his distinguished services, served to strengthen this resolution; and in 1832, as a step towards this consummation, he picked a quarrel with Abd-Allah Bey, Pasha of Acre, on the ground that some of his subjects who had fled from the hardships of forced labour in Egypt had taken refuge in Syria. Mehemet sent a powerful army against him, under Ibrahim, attended by an equally powerful fleet, with instructions to lay siege to Acre, the capital of Abd-Allah's Pashalic. The Egyptian army had no right to attack the Pasha of Acre, who, like himself, was under the authority of their common suzerain; and the Sultan, who regarded himself as the master of both of the contending parties, despatched a firman from Constantinople commanding Mehemet Ali to withdraw his forces, and directing the rival Pashas to lay their complaints before the Sultan. The Viceroy, however, was not inclined to comply with these orders, well knowing the state of poverty and distress the Sultan had been plunged into by his unsuccessful contest with Greece and Russia. He returned evasive answers to the demand, and directed Ibrahim in the meantime to press the siege of Acre with all possible expedition. The Porte, indignant at the manner in which Mehemet had contemned its authority, sent a body of troops under Osman Pasha to enforce its

orders. He advanced as far as Tripoli, but on the approach of the Egyptian general the Turks fled during the night, abandoning their camp, ammunition, artillery, and provisions.

The Egyptian army, which amounted to between 40,000 and 50,000 men, immediately on its entrance into Syria had captured almost without resistance Gaza, Caïpha, and Jaffa; but Acre, defended by Abd-Allah himself, made a vigorous resistance. This famous stronghold had for centuries been regarded as the key of Syria, and had experienced greater vicissitudes from political revolutions and the calamities of war than perhaps any other town in the East. It had been alternately held by the Romans, the Saracens, and the Crusaders. Its capture in 1191 by Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip of France cost the besiegers the sacrifice of 100,000 men. In 1799 its garrison, animated by the example and encouragement of Sir Sydney Smith, repelled the most vigorous assault of Napoleon Bonaparte, who, after a siege of sixty-one days, was obliged to retreat with the mortifying conviction that his career in the East was completely arrested. Its fortifications were greatly strengthened by Jezzar Pasha; and though Ibrahim bombarded it both on the land and from the sea till the town was reduced to a heap of ruins, its defenders still refused to surrender. After carrying on a series of incessant attacks during three months (from December, 1831, to March, 1832) the Egyptian general was compelled to convert the siege into a strict blockade, and at length the failure of provisions compelled Abd-Allah Bey to surrender on the 27th of May, 1832.

Flushed with this brilliant success the Egyptian Viceroy resolved to turn his victorious arms against his suzerain, and to conquer the whole of Syria, of which he had now obtained possession of the keys. Having refreshed his troops and received reinforcements, he left Acre on the 8th of June and marched upon Damascus. The Turkish army, consisting of a considerable

body of infantry and cavalry mustered to defend the city, took to flight at the first charge, and allowed Ibrahim to take undisturbed possession of the place. He then marched towards the pashalic of Aleppo, encountered and defeated a body of Ottoman troops amounting to 20,000 men at Homs, on the banks of the Orontes, on the 8th of July, with the loss of 4000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and of their tents, provisions, ammunition, and twenty pieces of cannon. Ibrahim then captured Antioch; and finding himself undisturbed master of Syria, he resolved next to undertake the conquest of Asia Minor. Meanwhile the Porte had by great exertions collected a numerous army under the command of Hussein Pasha, and had resolved to make an effort to hold against the invader the range of the Taurus which separates that province from Syria. Marching rapidly to resist the further progress of the Egyptian forces, Hussein, at the head of 36,000 men, took up a strong position at Beilan, near Scanderoon, to guard the passage of the Taurus. He had erected batteries to protect the defile which led to his position, and had placed cannon on the heights. But on the 29th of July Ibrahim, having silenced the Turkish batteries by the superior power of his artillery, carried the heights by assault and cleared the defile. The Turks fled in the greatest confusion, abandoning their cannon, baggage, and stores; and so complete was the dispersion that Hussein after the defeat had difficulty in collecting 10,000 men.

While the invader was making his way slowly through the mountain defiles into the plains of Caramania, the Sultan put forth one last desperate effort to arrest his progress. An army of 60,000 men was collected and placed under the command of the Grand Vizier, Reschid Pasha, with whom Ibrahim had co-operated at the siege of Missolonghi. Instead of taking up a strong position and waiting the attack of the Egyptian forces, the Grand Vizier rashly advanced to meet them, and found

them posted behind the town of Konieh, where they could be approached only through dangerous defiles. A fierce and stubborn conflict ensued which lasted six hours, and terminated in the total defeat of the Turkish army. The Vizier himself was wounded and taken prisoner, his forces were completely dispersed, and not a few of them joined the victors. Their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, as usual, fell into the hands of the enemy.

There was nothing now to arrest the progress of Ibrahim to the shores of the Bosphorus; and it was believed that he was only waiting the arrival of 15,000 fresh troops, then on their way through Syria to join him, to march to the capital. The Sultan and his advisers were in the greatest consternation, and seemed to have abandoned all hope of resistance. In this crisis an urgent appeal for assistance was made to the British and French Ministries; but both were so entangled with the affairs of Belgium and Holland that they had neither troops nor vessels to spare for service in the Mediterranean. They could only send despatches or ambassadors, while the Porte was in instant need of soldiers and sailors. In this extremity the Sultan was reluctantly compelled to turn for help to Russia, and the Czar was both able and willing to yield a prompt compliance with his request. Before the end of April 15,000 Russian troops were landed at Scutari and took up a position between Ibrahim and the Bosphorus, and a Russian fleet sailed from Sebastopol and guarded the entrance of the Bosphorus itself. The advance of the Egyptian army on Constantinople was thus stayed, and negotiations for a peace between the Sultan and his powerful vassal were commenced. Mahmoud was fully alive to the danger that threatened the independence of his throne, from the combined presence of the fleet and troops of the Czar and the approach of the Egyptian army, and pressed on the completion of the treaty, which was concluded chiefly through the intervention of the representatives of Great

Britain and France. The result was to make the Egyptian viceroy much more powerful than his suzerain. Mehemet Ali obtained the pashalics of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Adana, in addition to Egypt and Crete. He was master from the mouth of the Nile to the limits of Asia Minor, and ruled, nominally with subordinate, but really with unlimited sway over the whole of Syria.

Russia had at last found her way to the shores of the Bosphorus at the instance of the Porte itself, and she speedily showed that it would be necessary to pay a high price to induce her to withdraw her troops. Her preponderance at Constantinople was now established; and she insisted that the policy of the Sultan was henceforth to be subservient to her interests. A new treaty, offensive and defensive, known as the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, was entered into between the two contracting Powers, and signed at Constantinople on the 8th of July. It stipulated that if either of the two countries should be invaded the other should come to its assistance by land and by sea, with as many soldiers and ships as the two contracting Powers should consider necessary. But the real import of the treaty was expressed in a separate and secret article, which provided that as the Emperor of Russia was willing to spare his ally the expense and inconvenience of affording him military aid, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in place of the assistance which it was bound to furnish in case of need according to the principle of reciprocity of the patent treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles; that is to say, not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatever.

This treaty justly excited the jealousy and suspicion of the British Government, who could not, however, directly interfere. But their language to Russia regarding it, said Greville, was, 'We do not remonstrate herein; we admit your

right to make what treaties you think fit; but we give you notice that if any attempt is made to enforce the stipulations of it against us we shall not endure it, and you must be prepared for the consequences.'

In the following year another treaty was entered into between these two Powers, by which the Sultan ceded to the Czar a tract of country on the coast of the Black Sea commanding the line of communication with Persia; in consideration of which the Czar relinquished his right to what remained to be paid of the indemnities fixed by the treaty of Adrianople, amounting to ten millions, and agreed to withdraw from the Principalities as soon as Hospodars should be chosen. The Sublime Porte, on the other hand, formally recognized the regulations made, while the Russian troops occupied these provinces, by the principal inhabitants for their internal administration, retaining in the meantime, however, the fortress of Silistria, and the military road which gave Russia the complete command of these provinces. As soon as this new transaction became known in England deep indignation was expressed at the selfish, crafty, and dishonourable manner in which Russia had taken advantage of the necessities of the Porte. King William himself was so angry that he insisted upon a fleet being despatched forthwith to the Mediterranean. The subject was repeatedly brought before the House of Commons, but the Foreign Secretary could only say that the treaty was not in his possession, and, in fact, it was not until the commencement of 1834 that it was communicated to the Foreign Office. Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, was, however, instructed to recommend the Sultan not to ratify this treaty, and rather to pay ('or, more properly, continue to owe') the whole ten millions than accede to the wily proposal. The knowledge that Russia had procured for herself such advantages from the feeble Ottoman ruler in a secret and surreptitious manner tended not a little to strengthen

the unfavourable feeling both in Parliament and the country against the Czar, and helped to deepen the sympathy felt for the Polish exiles. Their case was repeatedly brought before the House of Commons, and in discussing it the Russian Emperor was branded by one member as a 'brutal and sanguinary despot,' by another as 'the monster Nicholas,' and 'a brute' and a 'bully'—language quite unexampled in the British Parliament as applied to any foreign sovereign. In the end these reiterated discussions had the effect of obtaining from the House of Commons a grant of £10,000 for the relief of the Polish exiles.

The civil war still continued to rage in Portugal. Don Miguel failed in his efforts to draw Don Pedro's troops from Oporto, and Don Pedro was unable to make any progress in gaining possession of the country. Repeated attempts were made by the Miguelites to command the mouth of the river, while stores and recruits were landed and forwarded to the city; and in one of these encounters their loss was estimated at 1500 men. On the other hand, the 'liberating army,' as it was called, were unable to advance beyond the walls of Oporto, and the works which they had constructed for its defence. The English Tories, who had always been favourable to the cause of Don Miguel, blamed the Ministry for allowing British subjects to enlist in Don Pedro's service, and recommended them to recognize the usurper, as the Duke of Wellington's Government had been on the eve of doing. His Grace, on the 1st of June, 1833, moved an address to the Crown in favour of a policy of neutrality in the Portuguese contest, and carried his motion by a majority of ten votes. 'I do not think it matters much,' remarked Macaulay. 'Nobody out of the House of Lords cares either for Don Pedro or for Don Miguel.' The House of Commons, by a majority of 361 votes to 98, expressed their approval of the policy of the Ministry, and there the matter rested.

At this critical moment, however, there

arose a quarrel about arrears of pay between the Regent and Admiral Sartorius, who commanded Don Pedro's fleet, which had nearly proved fatal to the cause of the young queen. The sailors mutinied, and the admiral declared that he confiscated the fleet in order to obtain payment for the crews. Don Pedro threatened Sartorius, deprived him of his command, and despatched Sir John Doyle to bring him a prisoner to Oporto. The admiral, who was at Vigo, put under arrest both Doyle and Captain Crosbie, who was sent to take charge of the fleet, and immediately set sail for Oporto. The Regent was fain to yield to the just demands of the admiral, and means were found to satisfy the claims of the sailors. On this Sartorius consented to resign the command of the fleet, and was in the beginning of June succeeded by another British officer, Captain Charles Napier—'Mad Charlie,' as he was called on account of his daring and reckless exploits. The substitution of a commander of Napier's daring and adventurous character for the cautious Sartorius, speedily told on the issue of the contest. It was well known that Don Miguel's fleet was greatly superior both in numbers and in weight of metal to the squadron of Don Pedro, which was ill equipped and ill manned; but in an evil hour it came into contact with Napier, on the 2nd of July, off Cape St. Vincent. He had under his command only three frigates, a corvette, a brig, and a small schooner, while the Miguelite squadron consisted of ten ships of the line, two frigates, three corvettes, two brigs, and a xebec. He had no hesitation, however, in bringing them to action. The contest, though severe, was short, and terminated in the capture of the whole Miguelite fleet (with the exception of the corvettes and the brig, which contrived to make their escape), 'to the great delight of the Whigs,' says Greville, 'and the equal mortification of the Tories.' Lord Palmerston, however, says that Pedro was far from pleased at Napier's success; it tended to finish the war too quickly.

Meanwhile, the conflict on land had proved equally unpropitious to the cause of the usurper. On the 21st June an expedition sailed from Oporto, having 2500 men on board, under the command of Villa Flornow, Duke of Terceira, accompanied by the Marquis of Palmella. The troops were landed during the night of the 24th at the mouth of the Guadiana, the most eastern port of the Algarves. On the following day they entered the city Tavera without opposition. On the 27th Faro, and on the 29th Lagos were surrendered without a blow. The troops were well received by the people, and in the course of a week the whole province of Algarves had submitted to the authority of the queen.

Leaving garrisons behind him to occupy the fortified places, the Duke of Terceira lost no time in marching northward toward Lisbon. He met with no opposition till he reached the Tagus on the 23rd of July, when he was encountered by an army of 5000 Miguelites, under the command of Telles Jordao. The Duke had only 1500 men with him, but he immediately joined battle with the enemy; and after a brief conflict completely routed him. Jordao himself was killed, and his army scattered in hopeless confusion. As soon as the intelligence of this defeat reached Lisbon, the Duke of Cadavel, who commanded there, evacuated the capital, with the whole garrison, and fled northward. The citizens, thus abandoned by the troops, assembled and passed an 'Act of Acclamation,' proclaiming Donna Maria their lawful sovereign, and the Duke of Terceira marched in and took possession of the city.

Napier's victory having made Don Pedro master of the sea, he resolved to blockade every port in Portugal, and the British Government at once agreed to recognize the blockade as a step which told powerfully in his favour. At this juncture, however, matters took a new turn. Marshal Bourmont—a double traitor, who first deserted the Portuguese service when Junot invaded Portugal and joined the French army, in

which he rose to the rank of a general, and then on the eve of the battle of Waterloo deserted Napoleon and went over to the Allies—had been induced by Don Miguel to take the command of his forces. He made a vigorous attack on Oporto, but was finally obliged to retire with considerable loss. Bourmont then withdrew his troops from the forts on the south of the Douro, having first destroyed an immense quantity of wine contained in the stores of Villa Nova, and set fire to the stores themselves.* He then marched towards Lisbon at the head of 18,000 men; but on approaching the capital he found that a strong line of forts had been erected for its protection, extending from the Douro on the one side to the old lines of Torres Vedras on the other. On the liberation of Oporto, Saldanha had transported a part of his army by sea to assist in the defence of Lisbon. On the 5th of September Bourmont made a fierce attack on the fortifications of the city, which lasted the greater part of the day, but failed to carry any portion of the works. Another and more formidable attack was made on the 14th, with heavier loss to the assailants, and no better success. The Marshal, on this renewed failure, threw up his command, complaining loudly of the behaviour of the troops, and along with the other French officers departed for Spain. The Miguelite forces, though abandoned by their commander, made a deliberate retreat up the right bank of the Tagus, closely followed by the queen's army. They retired in good order, carrying with them all their baggage and artillery. On the 2nd of November they turned upon their pursuers at Alcacer, and put them to flight with considerable loss.

The cause of Donna Maria was now victorious; and as soon as it became known that her troops were in possession of the capital, she was acknowledged as Queen of

* 'Miguel and Bourmont deserve to be hanged,' wrote Palmerston to his brother, 'for burning all the wine at Oporto: there never was so atrocious an outrage.'

Portugal both by Great Britain and France. She was also proclaimed sovereign of the Cape de Verd Islands, which all submitted to her authority. The contest, however, was not yet over. The authority of Don Miguel was still obeyed by a considerable portion of the Portuguese; he was at the head of a numerous army, and a number of important fortresses were still in his possession. He had taken up a strong position at Santarem, which the queen's forces did not venture to attack; and it was thought prudent in the first instance to reduce the isolated fortresses in other districts. About the middle of January, 1834, Saldanha marched with a strong force against the important town of Lairia, situated between Lisbon and Coimbra. The garrison, consisting of 1500 men, lost courage and evacuated the town on the approach of the enemy; but were pursued and overtaken by the Constitutionalists, who slaughtered them without mercy, giving no quarter. Torres Novas was captured on the 25th of January; and the same system of massacre was renewed there, to the great disgrace of the victorious forces and their officers. Saldanha then marched towards Don Miguel from the south, while the Duke of Terceira advanced upon him from Lisbon. The Miguelite army, thus pressed on both sides, sought to rid themselves of one portion of their adversaries by a vigorous attack on Saldanha's position at Almasteir; but after a fierce and sanguinary conflict they were repulsed with great slaughter, the Constitutionalists, as usual, giving no quarter. Don Miguel was in consequence compelled to remain within the works at Santarem, a position which he was anxious to maintain for the purpose of keeping up his communications with the frontiers of Spain, whence he expected reinforcements.

Towns and provinces began now to declare rapidly in favour of the queen. The district north of the Douro was cleared of the Miguelites by a division of the garrison of Oporto; and in the course of a few days the whole province of Minho

had espoused the cause of Donna Maria. The Miguelites, when driven out of Minho, attempted to maintain the line of the Tamego; but the Duke of Terceira marched against them from the south, while the army of Oporto prepared to attack them in front. Finding themselves thus placed between two fires, they were obliged to abandon their position. The retreat soon became a dispersion. The militia laid down their arms, and returned to their homes; the regular troops deserted in great numbers; and General Santa Martha, the commander-in-chief of the Miguelite army, seeing that the cause had become hopeless, made his peace with the Government. The expulsion of the partisans of the usurper from the positions which they held between the Douro and the Tagus speedily followed. The reduction of Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, was intrusted to Admiral Napier. On the approach of his ships the garrison evacuated the town, and the inhabitants immediately hoisted the royal standard. On the same day Coimbra opened its gates to the Duke of Terceira, so that Don Miguel now retained possession of no part of the country except the fortresses on the Spanish western frontiers.

Strange to say, it was from Spain—to which he looked for succour—that the final overthrow of Don Miguel's cause came. Don Carlos, his worthy compeer in tyranny and cruelty, was compelled to fly from Spain at this juncture, and attempted to find refuge in Portugal. He was pursued by a Spanish army under General Rodil, which proved even more fatal to the Portuguese than to the Spanish usurper. On its approach the important fortress of Almeida, and several other strongholds, immediately abandoned Don Miguel's cause. His troops lost heart, and began to desert his standard. He had still with him from 12,000 to 16,000 men, and might have held out for a considerable time; but the news of the Quadruple Alliance formed at this time between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, seems to have made

him despair of his cause. On the 18th of May Don Miguel abandoned his lines at Santarem, and retreated towards the Guadiana, closely followed by Count Saldanha and the Duke of Terceira at the head of 20,000 men. His cause was now desperate; and his general, Lemos, on the 22nd of May proposed a suspension of arms with a view to a negotiation; and on the 26th a Convention was agreed to at Evora, by which Don Miguel formally consented to abandon the country on the terms which had been previously offered by the Government. He became bound to leave Portugal in fifteen days, and never again to enter either that country or Spain, nor in any way to concur in disturbing the tranquillity of these kingdoms. In return he was to receive a pension of £15,000 a year, and be permitted to dispose of his personal property on restoring the Crown jewels and other articles; and finally, it was stipulated that he should order the troops still adhering to his cause instantly to lay down their arms and return to their homes, under the protection of an amnesty, and the fortresses to surrender to the queen. On the 2nd of June he embarked at the port of Sines on board a British man-of-war, which conveyed him to Genoa, where he had no sooner arrived than, in keeping with his faithless character and conduct, he issued a declaration protesting that he had acted under compulsion in relinquishing the throne, and that the transaction was null and void.

The civil war being thus happily terminated, and the authority of the queen acknowledged in every part of the kingdom, an extraordinary meeting of the Cortes was assembled on the 14th of August. Don Pedro's conduct, since his assumption of the Government, was not calculated to strengthen his daughter's cause. Greville says, 'Pedro has committed, since he was in Lisbon, every folly and atrocity he could squeeze into so small a space of time: imprisoning, confiscating, granting monopolies, attacking the Church, and putting forth the

Constitution in its most offensive shape.' Palmella, to whom Don Pedro was deeply indebted, was excluded by him from the Ministry; and he intrusted the management of affairs to men who had few claims on the public confidence, and enjoyed still less public respect. Count Tapia, in a published letter addressed to Don Pedro, said, 'The present Ministry is not the representative of any one single interest in the country; it is nothing more than a faction of prosing fools, of anarchical cosmopolites without name, without property, without claim upon the public, without talent—a faction that in no other manner belongs to Portugal but that its members happened to be born on its soil; with no other propensity but to snatch up all the "loaves and fishes" of the State. They are without any principle, good or bad. They have been improperly accused of being "Ultra-Liberals;" they are anything and nothing.' Lord Palmerston went so far as to say that Pedro and his Ministers disliked the Quadruple Treaty, and wished the civil war to go on, that they might continue to plunder and confiscate. Their despotic measures were quite in keeping with this description of their character. Entirely on their own authority they effected a sudden, unequal, and unfair change in the currency; confiscated the property of the convents, monasteries, and colleges; abolished the rights and privileges of the Oporto Wine Company; and made an alteration in the duties on all foreign imports, which, with shameful ingratitude, deprived British merchants of all the privileges secured to them by a formal treaty. If these men had remained long in office unchecked, they would very speedily have brought about a reaction against the authority of the queen.

The extraordinary session of the Cortes was opened on the 14th of August. One of their first proceedings was to determine how the executive power should be exercised during the queen's minority; and it was resolved to confer the office of Regent on

Don Pedro. The Charter had fixed eighteen as the age at which the minority of the sovereign should terminate; but the Ministers proposed that Donna Maria should be immediately declared of age, and enter upon the exercise of the powers and duties of the regal office. This proposal was agreed to; and on the 20th of September the queen, in the presence of the Cortes, took the oath prescribed by the Constitution. Two days later Don Pedro, who had for some time been seriously ill, died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, having during the later years of his life acted a part which was strangely at variance with the earlier stages of his career. Though his conduct was marked by not a few extravagances and follies, he must be commended for the energy and perseverance which he showed in vindicating the claims of his daughter and the rights of the Portuguese people.

The death of Don Pedro did not interrupt the proceedings of the Cortes or the arrangements of the Government. The Ministry was reconstructed; a number of its former members were retained; but the Duke of Palmella and Count Villa Real were introduced into it, and the former was placed at its head with the title of President of the Council. A bill was passed, without a dissentient voice, to exclude Don Miguel and his descendants from the throne of Portugal. It deprived them also of all political or civil rights, prohibited them from acquiring any property in Portugal, or even from entering the country, under the penalties of treason. The sale of the national domains and of the confiscated property of the convents and monasteries was authorized; and the measure for the substitution of a metallic for the existing paper currency was confirmed, with various modifications, however, to remedy the injustice which its sudden proclamation by the Ministry had inflicted on the mercantile portion of the community. With shameful ingratitude the Ministry deliberately violated the promises made by

Don Pedro to induce the British auxiliaries to enter his service, and pleaded the pecuniary state of the Treasury as an excuse for leaving the arrears due to them unpaid. The men whose bravery had contributed not a little to the success of the queen's cause were left to wander through the streets of Lisbon in poverty and rags, almost destitute of daily bread.

As the preservation of the constitutional system depended greatly on a direct succession to the throne, no time was lost in making arrangements for the marriage of the queen. Louis Philippe, always on the outlook for good matches for his family, proposed that Donna Maria should marry his son, the Duke de Nemours. When he found this scheme impracticable, as it would have been opposed by the British Government, and would have been most unpopular in Portugal, he proposed his nephew, Prince Charles of Naples, as a candidate for the hand of the young queen. This was likewise rejected, and the choice of Don Pedro and his Ministers fell upon the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugene Beauharnois, and the brother of Don Pedro's wife. The marriage took place in the beginning of the year 1835, but the bridegroom survived it only a few months. He died on the 28th of March, much regretted, for he appeared to be a young man of good sense, and anxious to discharge with fidelity and zeal the duties of the situation in which he was placed. The Cortes, however, did not allow the widowed queen to indulge long the sorrows of her bereavement. Before the end of the year her second marriage was arranged, and in April, 1836, she was united to Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a nephew of the King of the Belgians.

The civil war was still raging in the Peninsula, and it was a curious coincidence that in Spain as in Portugal a young queen had at this time to defend her throne against her own uncle, and that in both the reigning sovereign relied for support on the adherents of Liberal principles, while her

rival was the representative of despotic power. As the pretensions of Miguel and Carlos were favoured by the arbitrary powers which had formed the Holy Alliance, it was quite natural that the cause of Maria and Isabella should be identified with freedom, and be regarded with favour by Great Britain and France; and, on the other hand, that the French Legitimists and the English Tories, as well as the despotic continental sovereigns, should earnestly desire the success of the autocratic pretenders to the thrones of the Peninsular kingdoms.

Ferdinand of Spain, shortly before his death, assembled the Cortes of his kingdom to swear allegiance to his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, and to do homage to her as their future sovereign. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and splendour in the church of the Royal Monastery of St. Jerome, on the 20th of June, 1833; but though it was accompanied by enthusiastic public rejoicings, and the apparent cordial approbation of the whole community, the peremptory refusal of Don Carlos to take the oath of allegiance to his niece was an ominous presage of the sanguinary contest that was soon to convulse the whole country.

Don Zea Bermudez, the Prime Minister of Spain, at this critical period held a very peculiar position. He was opposed to Don Carlos, but he was favourable to Don Miguel. Lord Palmerston said, 'Zea is bound to Miguel as Faust to Mephistopheles, whether merely by obstinate vanity and prejudice, or, as some people say, by promises of titles and estates in the event of Miguel's success, it is difficult to say.' Zea's policy was in consequence guided by no fixed principle; and leaning by turns to the Constitutionalists and the Absolutists, he lost the confidence of both. He was supposed to have formed the scheme of a marriage between the young queen and Don Carlos' son, and then the appointment of Carlos as a principal member of the Regency. Such a project, if it had been carried into effect, would have

practically insured the ascendancy of the Absolutists and of the priests, and the extinction of the Moderate party. Meanwhile Zea surrounded the throne with persons unfriendly to the Constitution, and intrusted them with important offices in the Government. The effect of this policy speedily appeared on the succession of Isabella to the throne, when the army was nearly disbanded, the Treasury exhausted, and upwards of two hundred thousand Royalist volunteers were in arms.

Ferdinand died on the 29th of September, 1833, and Christina, his widow, at once assumed the Government in her daughter's name. France immediately intimated her intention to acknowledge the young queen, and Britain followed her example. On the other hand, the three Northern powers made no secret of their decided leaning in favour of Don Carlos and Don Miguel, who made common cause in their efforts to eject their nieces from the sovereignty of their respective kingdoms. Don Carlos, who was at this time a fugitive on the frontiers of Portugal, lost no time in advancing his claim to the throne. His strength lay in the northern provinces of Spain—Navarre, Guipuscoa, Biscay, and Alava—which had been left without a sufficient body of troops to preserve order; and his supporters in these districts—the priests, the monks, and the Royalist volunteers—raised the standard of revolt on the 4th of October at Bilbao, and proclaimed him king by the title of Charles V. Orduna, Vittoria, and the other towns in the province followed the example of Bilbao, and General Custagnes, the Royalist commander in the north, having only a few hundred men under his charge to oppose the Carlists, who flocked in thousands to swell the ranks of the insurgents, was obliged to fall back on St. Sebastian. The Basque provinces and Navarre, with the exception of the fortress of Pampeluna, fell into the hands of the Carlists. These successes, however, were mainly owing to the neglect of the Government in leaving the disaffected districts denuded of troops.

All the other provinces of Spain declared for Queen Isabella. The captains-general continued faithful to her cause, and there was no defection in the ranks of the army.

The Government now acted with promptitude and vigour. They disarmed the volunteers, who were the zealous partisans of Don Carlos—a step which ought to have been taken at the first; and they despatched a body of troops under General Sarsfield to suppress the insurrection in the northern provinces. The Carlists retired before him without making any resolute stand till he reached Vittoria, where their leader, the noted Curate Moreno, had concentrated his followers to wait the attack of the Constitutional forces; but the Carlists were speedily and easily routed and scattered over the country. Vittoria, Bilbao, and the other towns were successively occupied and garrisoned, and by the end of December the insurrection appeared to be completely extinguished. Mr. Villiers (afterwards the Earl of Clarendon), British Minister at this time at Madrid, was of opinion that the insurrection was at first commenced, not so much from attachment to Don Carlos, as under the apprehension that the privileges peculiar to the Basque provinces, which had always been respected by the despotic kings of Spain, would, as on a former occasion, be abolished under a more liberal form of government; and he expressed his belief that a word of promise upon this subject would have sufficed to restore tranquillity.

In the existing position of affairs it was impossible that a minister like Zea Bermudez could continue to hold the reins of Government. As he openly supported the cause of the queen, the Carlists regarded him as their determined enemy. Though he refused to admit any interference with the property or privileges of the Roman Catholic Church, the clergy believed that he protected them only from motives of expediency; and as he declined to concede even the most moderate reforms, Liberals of all classes regarded him as an obstacle in

the way of all political and social improvements. Mr. Villiers also employed his influence to effect Zea's removal. He informed the Queen Regent that the British Ministry by no means considered Zea's continuance in office indispensable; and this intimation, together with the storm which assailed the Premier from all quarters, determined her to dismiss him. It had become undeniable, indeed, that a minister so generally unpopular could not be a safe ruler at the moment when the security of the throne depended on the unanimity with which it was supported by the people. Lord Palmerston, with his usual sagacity, foresaw and predicted the inevitable result of Zea's policy. 'It was too violent a system,' he said, 'to succeed long. Zea is not a man of sufficient capacity and scope of mind to play the tyrant with effect. The wine merchant and the consul (both of which Zea had been) predominate in the minister and the statesman, and he is utterly devoid of dignity of character and commanding qualities of mind.

. . . . In the meantime he is creating a union of all parties, but a union against himself, and an explosion seems not improbable.' In the beginning of January, 1834, Zea and several of his colleagues resigned, and he was succeeded by Don Martinez de la Rosa, a sound but not extreme Liberal. The new Premier had filled the same office for a short period in 1822, and obtained a well-earned reputation for a judicious and moderate policy at a time when it was extremely difficult to hold the balance fairly between violent rival parties. He was proscribed and driven into exile when the French army, under the Duke de Angoulême, destroyed the Constitution and restored the weak and worthless autocrat Ferdinand to absolute authority; and he lived in obscurity in Paris until the amnesty of 1832 enabled him to return to Madrid. He was a strenuous supporter of the Constitution as well as of the throne, was even friendly to the cause of Donna Maria in Portugal, and unlike his

predecessor, looked not to the northern autocrats, but to Britain and France for assistance in maintaining the cause of his royal mistress.

Martinez had no sooner entered upon the duties of his office than he began to reorganize the various departments of the administration, preparatory to the work of improving and regulating the constitution of the Cortes. But he saw clearly that it was impossible to introduce important constitutional reforms so long as the country was distracted by conspiracies and insurrections, and he made an immediate and earnest application to the British Government for assistance to expel Don Carlos from the Peninsula. Palmerston promptly and cordially responded to this request, and proposed that Britain, Spain, and Portugal should form an alliance for the deliverance of the Peninsula from the two pretenders, Carlos and Miguel. He carried the scheme through the British Cabinet, he says, 'by a *coup de main*, taking them by surprise and not leaving them time to make objections.' Talleyrand and the French Government had scruples as to the form in which Palmerston had proposed to make them parties to the transaction, but he says—'I have, however, at last satisfied their vanity by giving them a proper place among us. I reckon this to be a great stroke. In the first place, it will settle Portugal and go some way to settle Spain also. But what is of more permanent and extensive importance, it establishes a Quadruple Alliance among the constitutional states of the West, which will serve as a powerful counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the East. I should like to see Metternich's face when he reads our treaty.'

Lord Palmerston might well write to his brother, 'The treaty was a capital hit, and all my own doing.' It was a full completion of Canning's policy. It brought together a combination of nations in the West in support of constitutional institutions as a counterpoise to the combination that still existed in the North against popular rights

and privileges. After the signature of the Quadruple Alliance, Lord Palmerston's reputation as a sagacious and energetic statesman stood as high on the Continent as in our own country.

The provisions of the treaty were at once carried into effect. The two usurpers were at this time at Evora, in the south-east of Portugal. Miguel had with him from 12,000 to 16,000 men, with whom he could have marched into Spain, and forty-five pieces of artillery and 1200 cavalry. Lord Palmerston was of opinion that with such a force at his command he might have protracted the war for months. 'Had he dashed into Spain and taken Carlos with him, there was only Rodil with 10,000 men between him and Madrid, and part of Rodil's army was suspected of Carlism. But the moral effect of the treaty cowed them all—generals, officers, and men; and that army surrendered without firing a shot.' Miguel, as we have seen, came to terms with the Portuguese Government, and was allowed to leave the country. Miguel's submission made Carlos' position quite untenable. He refused, however, to enter into any negotiations with the Spanish authorities, and would come under no conditions; but he was compelled to leave the Peninsula, and having embarked on board the *Donegal*, a British man-of-war, he was conveyed to Portsmouth. The civil war both in Spain and Portugal was apparently ended, and the authority of the two queens established in their respective kingdoms.

It speedily became evident, however, that the fires of insurrection still smouldered in the northern provinces of Spain, and in no long time it once more broke out into a flame. The influence of the priests among the uneducated and superstitious class of the community was zealously exerted in Carlos' behalf, and the peasantry were induced to believe that the Government was composed of atheists and infidels, sacrilegious robbers of the Church, and enemies to the ancient privileges of the people. Christinos, as the Constitutionals were

now called, held possession of all the fortresses, but the Carlists spread themselves over the open country in small bands, against which the regular troops found it very difficult to act with effect. Hitherto the operations of the insurgents had been carried on in an unconnected and desultory manner, but they now began to act on a steady fixed plan of operations. Within a fortnight of his landing in England Carlos crossed the channel, and, passing undiscovered through France, raised his standard in Navarre. His reappearance among his partisans stimulated their efforts in his behalf. As soon as this intelligence reached the signatories to the Quadruple Alliance, they met together and agreed to some additional provisions intended to meet this unexpected and annoying occurrence. France promised to watch the frontiers, in order to prevent the insurgents from receiving any reinforcements or supplies from that country. Britain undertook to supply Spain with arms, ammunition, and stores, and if necessary, with ships, and also to guard the northern ports; while Portugal promised to co-operate with the allies by every means in her power. It was expected that these arrangements would speedily prove successful in suppressing the insurrection.

Unfortunately, at this time the Carlists found a leader in Don Thomas Zumalacarreghi, who showed remarkable abilities for partisan warfare. He was intimately acquainted with the country and the character of the inhabitants, and turned his knowledge to the best account in carrying on hostilities against the Spanish Government. He had under him Zavala, Eraso, and the priest Merino, all eminently fitted for irregular warfare. They acted in concert, and yet each leader followed the plan which he considered best fitted to harass the enemy and to obtain military stores and provisions for his own men. The Carlists were usually divided into two principal bodies; the one confined its operations to the province of Navarre, falling back when pressed into the valley of Bastan and

the adjoining recesses of the Pyrenees; the other acting in Biscay and Guipuscoa. The strength of the Carlists lay, not in their numbers, or military equipment, or skill, but in their mode of warfare. Their leader's plan of fighting was to attack the Christians unexpectedly in an unprotected position, and cut off as many of them as possible before they recovered from their panic. As soon as their forces assembled in overpowering numbers, the Carlists separated and scattered themselves over the country, but only to meet again at an appointed place some miles in the rear. By this mode of warfare Zumalacarreghi caused great loss to the Christians, with very little to his own band. In nearly every formal encounter the Carlists were defeated, but they generally contrived to lose very little either in killed, wounded, or prisoners. Successive generals were sent against them, but always with the same result. Valdez, Lorenzo, Jauregui, or El Pastor the famous guerilla chief, and Rodil in turn took the field against the Carlist leader, and were baffled in strategy or attacked and beaten in detail, and whenever a superior force was brought into action the insurgents took refuge in the valley of Bastan, which formed their stronghold and place of refuge. As soon as the Government troops, after their fruitless pursuit, returned to Pampeluna or Vittoria, or some other fortress, the Carlists issued from their place of retreat, and once more overran the country.

Meanwhile the Government was occupied with various political and economic improvements, including the preparation of a new charter or constitution. But it would serve no good purpose to enter into any detail of these changes, as they were all overturned in the course of two years. The attention of the Cortes was largely occupied with the financial position of the country, and particularly with the large debt which the Government owed to foreign nations. Some of the members expressed their opinion that a part of it at least was not legitimately owing, but the discussion ter-

minated in the recognition of the whole as justly due. This resolution contributed to restore the credit of Spain in foreign money markets, where it had been regarded as very doubtful, and, what was of vital importance at this period, enabled the Government to contract for a new loan.

The military operations of the Carlists were now prosecuted with great vigour; but unfortunately for their own cause and the interests of humanity, measures of the most savage and sanguinary character were adopted by them for the overthrow of the Government and the throne. A royal order was issued by Don Carlos, countersigned by his staunch supporter, the Bishop of Leon, directing that all persons found in arms for Isabella should be put to death; adding, however, that the persons of the young queen, her mother, and her sister were to be respected. Zumalacarreui followed up this decree by an ordinance declaring that all magistrates or authorities circulating the orders issued by the Government, all persons carrying letters or papers directed against the rights of Don Carlos, and all alcades who assist the troops of the queen, should be punished with death and confiscation of property. Soldiers belonging to the Spanish army were required under the same penalties to bear the standard of Charles V. their rightful sovereign. Similar sanguinary procedure was adopted in retaliation by the Christinos. Rebels taken in arms were ordered to be put to death, and so were all who should assist the Carlists with arms, money, ammunition, or information. Fines and imprisonment were to be inflicted on those who concealed rebels or held any communications with them. The property of the monasteries or other religious houses, that gave assistance or encouragement in any way to the Carlists, was to be confiscated—a decree which was not allowed to remain a dead letter.

These measures had no effect in bringing the war to a termination, but only served to embitter the spirit of the combatants. No mercy was shown by either party to

those of their adversaries who fell into their hands. The Carlist leader having learned that Quesada, who had been appointed to succeed Valdez, was on his march to join Lorenzo in Navarre, made a prompt and vigorous effort to cut off the division of that general before the junction could take place. On the 29th of March he attacked Lorenzo, and drove him back to the gates of Estella, but was compelled to retreat on the approach of Quesada. The new commander, advancing without due precaution, fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Zumalacarreui, and lost 200 men, who were either killed or made prisoners. Five officers who fell into the hands of the Carlists were immediately shot. The war as it proceeded assumed features of even more horrible atrocity, and in the end of May the Carlists were burning alive the queen's soldiers whom they had captured. The whole civilized world stood aghast at a mode of warfare which would have disgraced even the savages of Africa or America.

The massacre of the monks at Madrid by the populace, under the suspicion that they had poisoned the wells, and thus caused the outbreak of cholera, that was very fatal at this time in the capital, added to the horror with which the state of the Peninsula was regarded. Quesada, having failed like his predecessors to suppress the insurrection, was replaced by General Rodil. The Carlists repeated their former tactics, and baffled all his efforts to crush them. On his approach at the head of a greatly superior force they at once retreated, and dispersed among the mountains and ravines, where it was impossible for regular troops to follow them. Rodil pushed on to the frontiers of France, and made himself master of the Bastan, the Carlist stronghold. The queen's forces seemed at last to have cleared the country of the enemy without fighting, and the Carlists had apparently disappeared. But no sooner did Rodil return to his headquarters than the active mountaineers

emerged from the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge, and overran the whole province up to the neighbourhood of Estella. All that Rodil had done seemed at once undone, and a signal defeat of the queen's forces under General O'Doyle by the Carlist leader took place on the 27th of October. Zumalacarregui was marching about the plains of Vittoria, and General Osma, who thought this movement afforded a favourable opportunity for cutting him off, was proceeding to concentrate his forces with a view to a combined movement. But the wary and enterprising Carlist chief penetrated the design, and before it could be executed attacked and completely routed a body of 1400 Royalists, commanded by General O'Doyle, nearly the whole of whom were killed or taken prisoners. They lost all their artillery, arms, and ammunition. O'Doyle himself and his brother were among the prisoners, and were put to death in cold blood. Next day General Osma marched from Vittoria with his whole force to oppose the advance of the victorious Carlists; but he too was defeated with heavy loss, and was pursued even to the walls of Vittoria.

These disasters produced great alarm in Madrid, and a loud outcry was raised against the incompetency of the Ministry and the commanders to whom they had intrusted the task of expelling the Carlists from the northern provinces. The Minister of War resigned, Rodil was recalled, and the command was conferred upon General Mina, on whose skill and experience great reliance was placed. The veteran soldier did his best not to disappoint the expectations which were formed of him, and repaired at once to the seat of war. On the 12th of December he inflicted a double defeat on the Carlists. One body of them, under a leader named Eraso, was routed at the Pass of Carrascal, in the immediate neighbourhood of Pampeluna. Another, commanded by Zumalacarregui himself, was worsted at Asarte. Mina asserted that in these two actions the insurgents lost 1500 men. The Carlists, however, were not

utterly routed, as Mina fancied. Two days after this defeat Zumalacarregui was again in the field, and repulsed a division of the Christinos under General Cordova. The Carlist leader pursued his former system of hostilities with continued success. The battle of Segura cost the Christinos nearly 1100 men in killed and wounded. No quarter was given, and no prisoners appear to have been taken. A few days afterwards a regiment, which had given great offence to the Carlists by its cruel conduct at Madrid, was surrounded and cut to pieces. Only seventeen men with the colonel escaped. Captain Henningsen, an English officer who was with the Carlists at this time, says that soon after this encounter 170 prisoners were brought to the place where he was. 'They were all shot, including thirteen officers. The peasantry, as usual, took part in this horrid execution. So exasperated were they that they hung them up in their uniforms.' It was no doubt in consequence of this savage desperation of the common people in these northern provinces that Mina made a further proclamation that he would punish the inhabitants in the first instance, and not the Carlist soldiers. The latter, however, did not escape his vengeance. After repulsing Zumalacarregui at Ocaña, forty wounded Carlists were butchered by Varena, acting under Mina's orders. His threat against the peasantry was executed to the letter. At one place he burned a village to the ground, and shot every fifth inhabitant by lot, for having neglected to give him intelligence of the Carlist movements.

Captain Henningsen, whose evidence may be implicitly relied on against his own party, says that Quesada having shot a wounded Carlist volunteer and put an alcalde to death, Zumalacarregui resolved to make reprisals tenfold. At the battle of Alsasua in May, 1834, he had taken a considerable number of prisoners, among whom was Count de Lapisbal, son of the well-known General O'Donnel, who happened to be in the engagement from the

circumstance of joining Quesada in order to have the benefit of his escort to Pampe-luna, where he was going in order to be married to a wealthy heiress of that place. The Carlist chief, in retaliation for the outrage perpetrated by Quesada, now put to death in cold blood O'Donnel's son and other twenty prisoners. Lapisbal offered Zumalacarregui a ransom for himself which would have equipped all his army, but he remained inexorable, and the old count his father soon after died of a broken heart. After a successful ambushade, in which a large number of the soldiers of the queen's army were killed and sixteen officers taken prisoners, one of them, Count Via Manuel, was carried before Zumalacarregui and greatly delighted him by the 'frankness and firmness' of his behaviour. The Carlist chief was so well pleased with the openness of the count's character that he invited him to his table and treated him with every distinction. He wrote to the queen's general, Rodil, offering to exchange Via Manuel and others for an officer and some volunteers taken a few days before. They were at dinner at Lecumberri when Rodil's answer was received, containing only the following sentence—'The rebels taken have suffered death already.' Zumalacarregui handed the note to his guest, and politely but firmly expressed his regret at being obliged to perform so unpleasant a duty; but informed him he might be with his confessor till sunrise. At Via Manuel's request Zumalacarregui consented to delay his execution, while he sent a message to Don Carlos entreating his clemency. The answer was worthy of the man whose blood-thirsty proclamation led the way to this atrocious system of warfare. 'When soldiers and officers of inferior rank taken with arms in their hands had suffered death, it was impossible to pardon a Spanish grandee.' Via Manuel was in consequence shot at Lecumberri.

After the battle of the 28th of October Captain Henningsen, Carlist though he was, says an affair took place in the

army which 'makes the blood run cold at the mere recital.' Between eighty and a hundred prisoners were brought in and sent under a captain across the mountains, and having only thirty men to guard them through a rocky defile, he felt embarrassed when two made their escape, and sent to Zumalacarregui for instructions. 'Get cords,' was the general's answer; but he was told that there were none to be had. 'Then put them to death,' was the rejoinder. The messenger returned with it, but an aid-de-camp was immediately despatched after him, not, as might have been hoped, to countermand the savage order, but to say that in butchering the prisoners care must be taken 'not to alarm the division of Iturbide (another Carlist chief) by the firing.' 'The captain,' says Captain Henningsen, 'on receiving this order sent for a sergeant and fifteen lancers, and causing his men to fix bayonets, commanded them to charge into the midst of the unfortunate wretches, who were all miserably slaughtered on the spot.'

The scene which occurred at Villafranca was even more shocking. The Carlists, after a vigorous attack, took this place, and the small garrison of fifty men took refuge in the church. The gates of the building were battered down, and the men retreated into the steeple, where they barricaded themselves. There was no time for undermining, and therefore it was resolved to set fire to it. Piles of wood, tow, goat skins full of brandy, and other inflammable materials were collected at the foot of the steeple, and the Baron de Los Vallos, having just arrived with Don Carlos, had been intrusted with the commission of setting fire to it. It was soon discovered that with the garrison there were in the steeple eight women and eleven children of their families, besides two women and two monks, their prisoners. 'At about ten o'clock at night,' says Captain Henningsen, 'the tower was all in flames, but the garrison, retreating higher and higher, still obstinately held out, and kept up an incessant fire on

every object that presented itself. The shrieks of some, however, who had taken refuge in corners of the building where they were reached by the flames, as well as the women and children who saw the devouring element raging below, were now heard at intervals, and although orders were given to fire only on the men, it was often impossible to distinguish the dark figures that flitted before the light endeavouring to obtain an instant breath of air out of the smoky atmosphere.' The fire continued all night; towards morning faint cries of *Viva el Rey* proceeded from the women; but in answer to a question from the commandant as to quarter, Zumalacarregui, who commanded the Carlists in person, said 'that the men had none to hope for.' However, they at last surrendered, and it was found that three women, one of them a Carlist and a prisoner, had perished, and four children, with thirty of the garrison. The details of horror on entering the steeple, Captain Henningsen says, 'had an appalling effect on the soldiers, intent as they were in scrambling for the spoil obtained by this melancholy expedition. The inhabitants of Villafranca, however, seemed to have no such feelings, and were with difficulty prevented from massacring the prisoners.' What became of them is not stated, but the commander and his lieutenant were shot, although the father of the former was an officer with Zumalacarregui, zealous in the Carlist service, and had an affecting interview with his son previous to his execution.

Mina completely disappointed the expectations which had been formed of him when he assumed the command of the army. He was in an infirm state of health, and consequently unable to be always at the head of his forces, and to take the active and personal superintendence of affairs which the exigencies of the service required. On this account he now resigned the command. He was succeeded by Valdez, who for the second time assumed the management of the campaign against the Carlists. His speedy success in crushing the insur-

gents was confidently predicted, not only in Spain, but in Britain and France; and the failure of these expectations was followed by a commercial panic, and consequent bankruptcies among the speculators in Spanish securities in London and Paris.

On the 29th of April, Valdez, who had under his command thirty battalions, five squadrons, and a good field artillery, encountered Zumalacarregui in the valley of Amescuas. He met with a severe defeat, losing upwards of 1200 men in killed and wounded. Only eighty prisoners were made; 'so unmerciful,' says Captain Henningsen, 'was the spirit which animated our men.' 'All the wounded,' he adds, 'excepting those at the defile near Artasa, where the 6th battalion was routed, had been abandoned, and numbers lost or dispersed on the Sierra were afterwards taken or murdered without pity by the enraged peasantry, whose cottages were still smoking. I know positively that above two hundred privates and officers perished in this manner; and on one side of the Amescuas, from the extent of the ground that was the scene of action, I believe at least double that number to have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people.'

At this period, however, the Duke of Wellington, who held the office of Foreign Secretary during Peel's short administration of 1834-35, resolved to make an effort to stop this butchery, at which the civilized world stood aghast. He commissioned Lord Eliot, eldest son of the Earl of St. Germans, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gurwood, to repair to the scene of war, and to use their efforts to induce the two commanders to agree to a convention to carry on hostilities after a less barbarous and cruel fashion. Their exertions were fortunately successful. Towards the end of April an agreement was signed by Valdez and Zumalacarregui, pledging them to abstain from putting their prisoners to death, to exchange them two or three times in each month, and to respect the sick and wounded found in hospitals,

houses, and villages. This convention was the means of saving thousands of lives on both sides, which would otherwise have been sacrificed in this war of extermination. To the great discredit of the Opposition in the Cortes, they violently assailed this work of humanity; and a furious mob in Madrid raised a riot in the streets, denounced the Government as the betrayers of their country, and attacked and nearly murdered the Premier. Martinez had already tendered his resignation more than once, and on the 7th of June it was at last accepted by the Queen Regent, and Count Torreno was appointed his successor.

The new Prime Minister was a man of great ability both as a statesman and a debater, bold, not overscrupulous, and as fond of pleasure as of business. He had spent a good many years in France, and was intimately acquainted with the leading French statesmen of that day, whose notions of government he had imbibed. As he was noble by birth, his prepossessions were naturally in favour of the aristocracy, and he had a firm idea that 'to keep combined the various elements of the Spanish monarchy, it was necessary to unite representative institutions with a strong central administration.' He was the leader of the Moderados, as they were called—the aristocratic Liberals in Spain—who were bent on resisting democratic demands and absorbing municipal powers. They professed the principles held by the party then in power in France, and, like them, declared that resistance was the essential duty of the Government.

Civil war still continued to rage in the northern provinces, and the prospect of bringing it to a successful termination seemed more distant than ever. Valdez resigned his command, in which he had been even more unsuccessful than in his first campaign, and was succeeded by Cordova, with whom was associated the celebrated Espartero. The Carlists meanwhile carried on their operations with great vigour and success. They

regained command of their former ground, and several important towns and fortresses fell into their hands. They cleared the whole of the Bastan of the queen's troops, threatened Vittoria, and blockaded Bilbao. Zumalacarregui himself marched into Biscay for the purpose of pressing the siege of that important town (June 14th), and furiously bombarded it for several days, but without much damage. The garrison had been largely reinforced by General Espartero, but its successful defence was mainly due to the assistance rendered by the crew of a ship of war commanded by Lord John Hay, which happened at that time to be on the coast of Biscay. They worked their guns with great effect, inflicting serious loss on the besiegers, and mortally wounded the Carlist chief himself. His leg was shattered by a cannon shot, and he refused to allow the limb to be amputated until it was too late. Zumalacarregui's death was an irreparable loss to the cause of Don Carlos, and their opponents made no effort to conceal the delight with which they regarded the removal of their formidable enemy. It was mainly owing to his skill in partisan warfare, and his indefatigable activity and perseverance that the insurrection had become so formidable and the struggle was so long protracted. The command of the Carlist forces devolved first on Eraso and then on Moreno, the curate; but neither of the two was possessed of any special qualifications for the post.

Shortly before this event the Government, alarmed at their failure to suppress the Carlist insurrection, had applied for aid to France and Britain. There were serious difficulties connected with the presence of a French army in Spain, which made Louis-Philippe and his Ministry unwilling to give the assistance solicited by the Spanish Premier; but the British Government, though declining direct intervention, resolved to give indirect aid to Isabella. They agreed to suspend the operation of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and to allow the Spanish ministers to raise in Britain a

body of 10,000 men to serve against the Carlists. An Order in Council was accordingly issued, authorizing 'any persons to engage during the next two years in the military and naval service of Her Majesty Isabella II., Queen of Spain.' Colonel De Lacy Evans, the Radical member for Westminster, was selected for the command of the 'Auxiliary Legion,' as it was called.

This step was strongly condemned by the Tories, and by the party who are opposed to all intervention in the affairs of other countries. The former pointed out that it was necessary to go back to the seventeenth century and the reign of an arbitrary monarch in order to find a precedent for such a step; and that while the Government had assumed the responsibility of sanctioning the auxiliary force, they had no control over its proceedings. On the other hand the Liberal party cordially approved of the policy adopted by Palmerston, which they regarded as the natural and proper result of the Quadruple Treaty, and as necessary to prevent Spain from relapsing into the bigotry, despotism, and sloth from which it was struggling to emerge. 'Is a nation,' they asked, 'to be unsympathetic when it perceives other States pursuing a system hostile to its ideas and to its institutions—a system which, if directed against itself, would destroy what it is most proud of possessing and most desirous to conserve? Is it, then, to be taught that it should have no regard for principles as principles, but simply as to the direct application of them against its own property and safety? Society would dissolve if each individual looked simply to his own throat and his own money-chest, and did not combine against murder and theft. A community prospers most where each member of it looks to the common benefit more than to his peculiar advantage. Just as a man is amongst men, so is a State amongst States; nor is there any generous sentiment that the one should entertain which the others should discourage.'

Don Carlos naturally regarded the raising of the Auxiliary Legion in a very different

light, and he issued on the 20th of June a proclamation declaring that those foreigners would not be entitled to the protection of Lord Eliot's Convention, and those of their number who should fall into his hands would be shot; and he unblushingly repeated the threat to a British officer despatched to him on the subject. But even as regards Spaniards the Convention was by this time not faithfully observed, and both parties had begun again to put their prisoners to death. A brutal massacre of thirty-six officers of the Queen's troops by the Carlists, led a mob at Barcelona to burn several convents and to murder a number of the monks who were known to be staunch supporters of Don Carlos. They also put to death in the most savage manner 160 prisoners, and among them one of the O'Donnells, a colonel in the Carlist army. Atrocities of a similarly inhuman kind were perpetrated at Saragossa and other places in the north.

Those provinces of Spain which were not the seat of actual war were at this time a prey to political anarchy. No Ministry, however constituted, was able long to hold its ground. The Queen-Regent wished to identify her daughter's throne with Liberal institutions; but the utmost diversity of opinion prevailed respecting the extent to which popular government was to be carried. The extreme democratic party endeavoured to compel by force the adoption of their views. Insurrection broke out in several districts of the country, which the Ministry was utterly powerless to suppress. A number of the provinces established a junta each for itself, which set at defiance, and in one case formally superseded the royal authority, and usurped the powers of the executive. It was even publicly proposed that Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia should be formed into a republic. A loud outcry was raised against Torreno, the head of the Moderados; and after holding office for only three months he was compelled to yield to the popular clamour, and was replaced by Mendizabel,

who had been nominated by him Minister of Finance, and was recalled at this juncture to Spain in order to undertake the duties of his office.

Mendizabel was a very remarkable man. He was of Jewish extraction, and had risen from a humble position to wealth and power solely by his talents and energy. In 1808, when the Spaniards rose in arms against Napoleon, he attached himself to the commissariat, and was ultimately placed at the head of the provisioning department of the whole forces. At the end of the war Mendizabel left the army; and on the overthrow of the Constitution in 1823 he took refuge in London, along with others of his countrymen. He suffered severe privations there, and was for a considerable time a prisoner in the King's Bench. His financial abilities, however, ultimately enabled him to overcome his difficulties, and gained him a considerable fortune, which he risked in assisting Don Pedro's operations in Portugal. The triumph of Donna Maria's cause added largely both to Mendizabel's wealth and reputation. He continued to reside principally in England as the recognized financial agent of the Portuguese Government. The part he took in settling the new Constitution for Portugal strengthened the conviction that he would obtain large concessions to the demands of the people; while his 'magnificent head,' says Lord Dalling, 'his tall and stately person, his manners (which evinced that dignity mingled with suavity which often proceeds from an inward consciousness of power, and is almost natural to Spaniards and Orientals when in authority), created for him a sort of prestige, which his undoubted talents increased. "Mendizabel is the man for Spain," every one said; and as what every one says is for a time believed, Torreno, who wanted some one who could aid him in finance without being his rival in power, thought that he could not do better than call Mendizabel into Spain, and make him Finance Minister. But he did not know

Mendizabel, who had nothing of the subaltern in him. His language, his attitude, his opinions, and more especially the belief that he would find in some way or other the money that the State ultimately required, gave him ere long an ascendancy in the court and the country which led to Count Torreno's retirement, and to his being the Count's successor.'

Mendizabel's elevation was cordially welcomed by the popular or Progressist party with which he was identified, and was earnestly promoted by Mr. Villiers the British ambassador at Madrid, who disliked Torreno both on personal and public grounds. The fallen minister, who had resided much in France, favoured French opinions and interests; while his successor cherished a great admiration for the British constitution, had adopted Whig principles, and trusted to the moral support of Lord Melbourne's Government. He at once declared himself opposed to that system of repression which Torreno's Ministry had proposed to adopt, but had not the power to carry out; and earnestly recommended compliance to a considerable extent with the popular demands. His elevation to the office of Premier produced a rapid and beneficial effect on the condition of the country. The juntas of Galicia, Cadiz, Valentia, Saragossa, and Barcelona immediately dissolved themselves; declaring that they renounced their title and authority, now that the Government was intrusted to persons worthy of public confidence.

The cause of Queen Isabella had now attained a position of comparative security. 'The enemies of her cause,' said Mr. Villiers, 'comprise that numerous class in Spain who, living by abuses, are interested in their maintenance, together with the great majority of the monastic orders as well as a portion of the secular church, who feel that only such a Government as that which Don Carlos would establish could venture any longer to postpone the ecclesiastical reforms for which the country is desirous. On the side of the queen are ranged the

whole of the *grandees* (with the single exception of the Duke of Granada, who is a religious fanatic), and of the wealthy, the intelligent, and the commercial and manufacturing classes of Spain—all as hostile to revolution as they are to Don Carlos; but who, if their enemies unexpectedly acquire force, would all be prepared literally to die sword in hand rather than submit to those in whose hands he would be but a blind and devoted instrument.'

The principal reforms demanded by the *juntas* were a new electoral law, liberty of the press, and the abolition of the monastic orders; and as these changes could only be made by authority of the Cortes, no time was lost in issuing a decree convoking the Chambers for the 16th of November. The Ministry at once brought forward a new electoral law, which was followed by the introduction of measures regarding the liberty of the press, the responsibility of Ministers, and the final suppression of the monasteries. But the official career of Mendizabel was nearly as brief as that of his predecessor, and his fall was as sudden as his rise. His immense popularity, as Lord Dalling remarks, could not be of long duration for the very reason that it was immense. People expected he would perform miracles, and miracles he could not perform. He had promised that the war should be finished in six months, and yet the Carlists were apparently as strong, and they were certainly as troublesome as ever. His despotic mode of treating the Chambers gave offence to a number of the popular leaders and orators who were accustomed to command attention; and Isturitz, who had been an Ultra-Liberal, joined the Moderado Opposition, and assisted by a French intrigue induced the Queen-Regent to dismiss her enterprising but somewhat overbearing Minister in May, 1836.

Lord Palmerston was of opinion that Mendizabel's policy was 'the only way of making the Government strong, or rather of making any Government at all.' But

when he was ejected from office by the combined influence of the Moderados and the French Ministry, the British Foreign Secretary, though provoked at the perverse, short-sighted, and selfish policy of Louis Philippe and his court, resolved, as he said, to 'make the best of what is, and to take men as one finds them.' He wrote to Mr. Aston, interim British Minister at Madrid, 'I will endeavour to persuade Mendizabel to join in saving his country; but he may differ with me as to the means most likely to conduce to that end. A Minister who has been recently expelled by intrigue is not easily persuaded that the best thing he can do for the good of his country is to help to consolidate the administration of his successful rival. However, another change of Government just now would be another misfortune; and I must say that no man could have behaved better than Isturitz has done in all matters in which we have to deal with him, and therefore we should wish him to continue in office.' But the official career of the new Minister was not of long duration. His accession to power produced fresh disorders. A military revolution, which originated with the National Guard, broke out at Malaga on the 25th of July. The governor of that town was assassinated, and a junta was appointed to proclaim the Constitution of 1812, for which the Ultra-Liberals had always intrigued against every successive Administration. Intelligence of the revolt spread throughout the country with the greatest rapidity. Cadiz and Saragossa simultaneously declared their approval of the outbreak, and their example was instantly followed by Seville, Granada, and Valencia. At length the capital itself joined the insurgent cities, and the mob there murdered Quesada, the Captain-General of Seville, who had succeeded in preserving order in Madrid. On the 13th of August Christina, deserted and helpless, was compelled to dismiss Isturitz, replacing him with Calatrava, a Progressist, and to issue a decree promising the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. This

revolution was really, though indirectly, due to the intrigues of the French Government, especially of the king, who had become jealous of British influence in Spain. It was by their assistance that Mendizabel was turned out of office and replaced by Isturitz, but they were not prepared for the serious consequences of this mistaken and selfish policy. As Lord Palmerston remarked, 'They have produced great and extensive misery in Spain during the last four months, and now they have established, nominally at least, a most absurd and stupid Constitution,' with which, however, they were greatly dissatisfied. Reasonable and honest politicians of all classes were convinced that the Constitution of 1812 was impracticable; and the Cortes were obliged at the outset to appoint a committee to consider what alterations were necessary and advisable in its provisions. The changes recommended by the committee, and finally adopted by the Cortes were—1st, That the part of the Constitution which contained mere regulations

and forms, and regarded organic bodies and laws, should be entirely abrogated; 2nd, That the Cortes, instead of forming only one body as they did under that Constitution, should now consist of two Chambers, differing from each other in the personal qualifications of their members, but neither of the two to be hereditary or possessed of peculiar privileges; 3rd, That the Crown should have an absolute vote on the laws enacted by the Cortes, and should also have the power of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving the Chambers; but in the latter case the sovereign was bound to assemble others within a given time; 4th, That the election of members of the Cortes should be direct, and not indirect, as prescribed by the Constitution of 1812. After undergoing these alterations, and some others of less importance, the new Constitution was solemnly ratified by the Queen-Regent and proclaimed to the nation. But it was as short-lived as Spanish political Constitutions have usually been.

Donald B. Ross



WILLIAM MACKENZIE

CHAPTER VIII.

Peel summoned from Italy to assume the Government—The Duke of Wellington interim Minister—The new Administration—Lord Brougham's offer to accept the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer—The Russian Czar's expectations from the change of Government—The Tamworth Manifesto—Dissolution of Parliament—A Liberal majority returned—Tactics of their Leader—Defeat of the Ministry on the Speakership and on the Address—The Derby Dilly—Lord Londonderry's appointment to the Russian Embassy—Its unpopularity and withdrawal—Liberal measures proposed by the Government—Their repeated defeats on minor questions—Resolutions on the Irish Church moved by Lord John Russell and opposed by the Ministry—Their adoption by the Commons—Resignation of the Government—Earl Grey sent for by the King, but declines to take office—Lord Melbourne intrusted with the formation of an Administration—Its members—Exclusion of O'Connell and of Lord Brougham.

AFTER the passing of the Reform Bill the Duke of Wellington expressed his opinion that the Prime Minister should henceforth be in the House of Commons. Acting upon this conviction, he recommended the king, on the dismissal of the Melbourne Administration, to send for Sir Robert Peel. The great Tory leader was passing the autumn in Italy, and Mr. James Hudson, one of the royal pages, was despatched with all haste in search of him. He found Sir Robert at a ball at Prince Torlonia's at Rome on the evening of the 25th of November, but a fortnight elapsed before he reached London. The Duke of Wellington continued during the interval to perform the duties of eight offices—five principal and three subordinate. Some Liberals denounced in indignant terms this unconstitutional arrangement; others regarded it with good humour. 'The Irish held it impossible,' wrote Fonblanque, 'for a man to be in two places at once, like a bird. The Duke has proved this no joke—he is in five places at once. At last, then, we have a united government. The Cabinet Council sits in the Duke's head, and the Ministers are all of one mind.' On consultation with Wellington and Lyndhurst Peel felt that he had no alternative but to accept the office which the king forced upon him, though he must have been well aware of the difficulties he would have to encounter in attempting to make good his position. His first step was to endeavour to secure

the support of Stanley and Graham, but they declined in courteous terms to take any part in his Government. He was, therefore, compelled to construct his Administration out of the old Tory party. Peel himself became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Wellington accepted the office of Foreign Secretary, Lyndhurst resumed the Chancellorship, Aberdeen was placed at the Colonial Office, Goulburn became Home Secretary, Lord Haddington Viceroy and Hardinge Chief Secretary of Ireland, Ellenborough President of the Board of Control, Herries Secretary at War, and Knatchbull, an Ultra-Tory, accepted the office of Paymaster of the Forces.

The elevation of Lyndhurst to the Chancellorship made vacant the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer, which he had received from Earl Grey. Brougham wrote to him proposing that he should be appointed to the vacant post, which would be a great saving to the country as he was willing to take it with no higher salary than his retiring pension and some provision for the expense of the circuit. The office, however, was intended for Sir James Scarlett, and on receiving an evasive reply to his letter the ex-Chancellor formally withdrew the offer. Friends and foes alike condemned this step. Duncannon tried to dissuade him. The rest of his colleagues only knew of it after it was done. Melbourne wrote to Lord Lansdowne—

'Brougham never mentioned to me his proposition to Lyndhurst until after he had made it. I was perfectly astonished. I think it a step which proves a greater want of judgment, a grosser ignorance of his own situation, than any which he has yet taken. The original error is in fact only made more glaring by the subsequent retraction, but I am not sure that this will be the general impression. I very much doubt whether the king would have been persuaded to have made him a common-law judge, and I am quite sure he would have been right in resisting it.' The general opinion entertained of this ill-advised step was wittily represented by H. B., who issued at the time a cartoon in which a fox, bearing the features of the ex-Chancellor, was depicted stealthily making off from the door of the Exchequer, casting at it a lingering glance, while Scarlett looked out from the foliage of the vine overhanging the portal, and the legend beneath in a phrase told the story of *Vaux and the Grapes*.

If a Tory Government had been maintained in England at this critical period, it is highly probable that the absolutist sovereigns of Europe might for a time have succeeded in their policy, but only to make their overthrow more signal in the end, and meanwhile to inflict grievous injury upon the people. The Emperor Nicholas was at Berlin when the change in the British Government took place, and he expressed his confident expectation that the foreign policy of Britain would be wholly reversed by the new Ministry—Leopold driven from Belgium, the Dutch dominion restored, the Quadruple Alliance dissolved, and a close union formed between the Northern Power and Peel's Administration. Count Bulow, who had been Prussian Minister at the British Court, tried to undeceive him, but the Czar was firm in the belief that the Tories would act in office on the principles which they had avowed in opposition. He was informed that the new Ministry would very likely not be able to keep their places,

and if they did they would be compelled to conduct the Government upon the principles of reform which their predecessors had established. Nicholas could not be made to comprehend why Wellington and Peel would be unable to carry out their own views whatever Parliament might think or vote to the contrary; for if the king had the power to dismiss the Whigs and appoint the Tories as his Ministers at his pleasure, regardless of the wishes of the House of Commons and the electors, he must have the power to maintain them in their places.* King William soon discovered to his cost how much the Czar was mistaken in his notion, and that in attempting to follow the example of his father in 1784, which His Majesty referred to in justification of his conduct, he had brought bitter mortification upon himself, and had greatly lowered the dignity and authority of the Crown.

Peel, as we have seen, reached London on the 9th of December, and on the 17th he read to his colleagues a letter—nominally addressed to the electors of Tamworth, which he had represented since the passing of the Reform Bill, but really intended for the nation at large. He avowed, indeed, that he was addressing through his constituents 'that great and intelligent class of society' to which they belonged, and that he laid before them 'that frank exposition of general principles and views which appears to be anxiously expected, and which it ought not to be the inclination and cannot be the interest of a Minister of this country to withhold.'

The 'Tamworth manifesto,' as it was called, set out with a declaration that the

* Greville, on whose authority this anecdote rests, says 'this account, which Bulow gave me, is more than amusing; it is instructive, because it shows which way the real wishes of the absolute sovereigns point, and makes it highly probable that they look upon the present settlement of Europe as one only *ad interim*, and to be re-modelled whenever an opportunity shall present itself. They are satisfied at present with damming and dyking out the waters of Liberalism, but they hope to drain the land in which they are collected, and to place themselves for ever out of the danger of an inundation.'

new Prime Minister would not accept power on the condition of his renouncing the principles on which he had hitherto acted. 'At the same time,' he went on to say, 'I never will admit that I have been, either before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. I appeal with confidence, in denial of the charge, 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 uniformly acted on with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of the country—I appeal to this 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 or 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 was conceived.

'With respect to the Reform Bill, I will repeat now 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 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 by 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 of ancient rights and 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 maintenance 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.

'Such declarations of general principle are, I am aware, necessarily vague; but, in order to be more explicit, I will endeavour to apply them practically to some of those questions which have of late attracted the greater share of public interest and attention.'

He then proceeded to state his views respecting various important questions, which he was aware must be considered at once by the Legislature. He had approved of the step taken by the late Government in opening a commission of inquiry into the constitution and character of municipal corporations; and as soon as the commissioners' report was issued he would give it a full and unprejudiced consideration. He had supported the measure proposed by his predecessors for the abolition of church rates and the substitution of a fund out of the Consolidated Fund for the building and repair of churches. He had never entertained the slightest objection to the principle of Lord John Russell's bill, intended to relieve the conscientious scruples of Dissenters in the celebration of their marriages. He admitted that he had opposed the admission of Dissenters into the Universities, but he had at the same time expressly declared that 'if regulations enforced by public authorities superintending the professions of law and medicine, and the studies connected with them, had the effect of conferring advantages of the nature of civil privileges on one class of the king's subjects from which another was excluded,

these regulations ought to undergo modification, with the view of placing all the king's subjects, whatever their religious creeds, upon a footing of perfect equality with respect to any civil privilege.' He had, no doubt, opposed a retrospective inquiry into the pension list; but he had supported Lord Althorp's resolution that future pensions should be confined to such persons only as have just claims to the royal beneficence on account either of their public services or of their scientific or literary eminence. It was true that he had resisted the attempt to alienate Church property in Ireland from strictly ecclesiastical purposes; 'but if, by an improved distribution of the revenues of the Church, its just influence can be extended, and the true interests of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be subordinated to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance.' He was favourable also to the commutation of tithes in the English Church, and was ready to inquire into the laws which governed its establishment. The maintenance of peace, the scrupulous fulfilment of all existing engagements with foreign Powers, the support of public credit, the enforcement of strict economy, the just and impartial consideration of what is due to all interests—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—these were the objects which the new Government offered to the country, from which they solicited, 'not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial.'

The manifesto of Peel was followed by the dissolution of Parliament. Some shrewd politicians were of opinion that the new Prime Minister aggravated the disadvantages of his position by this step; and that if he had boldly met Parliament and been thwarted in his attempt to carry on the business of the country, he might then have fairly appealed to the country, and might possibly have had a majority in his favour. As it was, the very large majority which the Liberal party possessed in the Commons, though sensibly diminished, was

not destroyed. The Tories confidently expected that they would convert their minority into a majority, and every effort was put forth to effect this result. Loud complaints were made by the Liberal party that lavish bribery and coercion were employed in support of the Tory candidates; and the other side retorted by pointing to the riotous scenes that occurred in some of the large towns, and especially to the violence and intimidation employed by the popish and clerical agitators in Ireland. No pains was spared by the Ministry to secure the support of the press; and the *Times*, hitherto professedly Liberal, was gained over by the blandishments of Lord Lyndhurst and Charles Greville, and exerted all its influence in support of the new Government.

At the outset the Ministerialists were professedly confident of success, but their expectations were speedily shown to be ill-founded. Their request was that the Administration should obtain a fair trial; but their opponents pointed out that the men who had resisted to the last the passing of the Reform Bill, could not be relied on to carry out cordially the objects for which alone that measure was valued. 'I wish to preserve everything that is really useful,' said Mr. Grote, 'and I am for destroying everything that is really hurtful; but I will not be content to conduct the inquiry for that purpose under the auspices of any but willing ministers. I will not trust that office in the hands of men who are known to be insensible to the most hurtful abuses, for men who did not see abuses in the rotten boroughs will see them nowhere. Let the cause of reform be placed in the hands of men who are willing and hearty in carrying it forward; but it would be insanity to suppose that the cause of reform would be safe in the hands of the present Ministers.'

These sentiments obtained the decided approbation of the electors of the city of London and the other metropolitan constituencies. Mr. Ward, the only Conser-

vative member for the city, lost his seat by an enormous majority, having been ousted by Mr. James Pattison, Governor of the Bank of England. The lowest Liberal on the list was 1400 ahead of the highest Tory, and the whole of the metropolitan boroughs returned opponents of the Ministry. Most of the other great towns followed their example. In the English counties, however, the Conservatives, through the effect of the Chandos clause which conferred the franchise on tenants at will, gained a considerable number of seats. South Lancashire, East Norfolk, South Derbyshire, and South Hampshire returned two Conservatives each. Lord Palmerston was defeated in Hants, and Lord Francis Egerton headed the poll in Lancashire by nearly 1000 votes. On the other hand Joseph Hume, against whom a dead set had been made, carried his election for Middlesex; Sir George Murray, the Colonial Secretary, lost his seat for Perthshire; and the hon. James Stuart Wortley, son of Lord Wharncliffe a Cabinet Minister, was rejected by the county of Forfar—all heavy blows to the Government. Both parties professed their satisfaction with the result of the elections. ‘Well, I think we are safe now,’ said Lyndhurst in his off-hand way to Charles Greville, ‘I have no fears.’ ‘Haven’t you?’ was the reply, ‘but I have;’ and the Clerk of the Council proved to be right.

Lord John Russell felt satisfied that the Liberal party had a clear majority on the elections; but that majority, he says, ‘consisted of every shade, from the most moderate of the Whigs to the most resolute of the Radicals.’ ‘It seemed to me,’ he adds, ‘as commander-in-chief of an army so variously composed, that they could not be too soon brought into action, and that motions ought to be framed in which the whole party could agree.’ It was accordingly resolved to propose a member of the party as Speaker, in the place of Sir Charles Manners Sutton; and after a good deal of negotiation the choice of a candidate fell upon Mr. James Abercromby, the son of the distinguished

General Sir Ralph Abercromby, and one of the members for the city of Edinburgh—an old Whig, but liberal in his views, industrious and sagacious, and possessing great weight with the House. Some disappointment was felt and expressed by Spring Rice and his friends that his claims had been passed over, but in the end all sections of the Liberal party agreed to support Abercromby. As soon as this announcement was made the press teemed with keen and vituperative discussions respecting the merits of the rival candidates, and both parties professed themselves equally confident of success. It was pleaded in Sutton’s behalf, that he had discharged the duties of the Speakership for nearly eighteen years with great dignity, firmness, and courtesy; and that at the request of Earl Grey’s Ministry he had consented to remain in office in 1832, after he had publicly intimated his intention to retire. On the other hand it was well known that he had taken a prominent part in the Tory counsels; that he was to have been a member of the Cabinet, if not actually Premier, if the Tories had succeeded in forming an Administration on the king’s refusal to create peers. In the summer of 1834 he had presided at a great Conservative dinner, which Lord Althorp regarded as an indication that he was to be the Minister when the Whigs left office. After the dismissal of the Melbourne Government he was in almost constant communication with the leaders of the Tory party, and Sir Robert Peel invited him to join his Ministry. It was generally believed—though (as he no doubt truly affirmed) unjustly—that Sutton ‘had busied himself in the subversion of the late Government, that he had assisted with others in the formation of the new Government, and that he had counselled and advised the dissolution of the late Parliament.’ There were other reasons why the Opposition wished to place Abercromby in the Chair, but the main object was to inflict a damaging defeat on the Government. On

this account Stanley and Graham resolved to support Manners Sutton; and Lord Dudley Stuart, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Angerstein, and several other Liberals left the House without voting. But notwithstanding, Abercromby was elected by a majority of ten; the votes for him being 316, against 306 for Sutton. The rejected candidate was shortly after elevated to the House of Lords by the title of Viscount Canterbury.

The Government, Greville says, were grievously annoyed at their defeat, and the Duke of Wellington rejected all the common-places of consolation 'that it would turn out a good thing.' At Lord Salisbury's dinner held that evening, 'with the intention probably of celebrating their anticipated victory, they were all very dejected; and the Duke said at once it was as bad as bad could be, and the thing appeared the worse because they had been led to feel so very secure.' The moral effect of a defeat at the commencement was most injurious to the stability of the Administration. It discouraged the wavering and timid who might have felt disposed to support the Government, and it emboldened their opponents to press matters to an extremity. The Opposition resolved to follow up their victory energetically, and to inflict on the Ministry defeat after defeat, in order to exhibit to the country their own power and the helpless state of their adversaries.

The Parliament was formally opened by the king on the 24th of February. The speech from the throne, which was unusually long, repeated the promises of the Tamworth manifesto respecting the reforms meditated by the Government; and during the debate on the address the Prime Minister emphatically called attention to the great offers that he had made, and which he said should not lightly be rejected. 'I offer you,' he said, 'reduced estimates, improvements in civil jurisprudence, reform of ecclesiastical law, the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, the commutation of

tithe in England, the removal of any real abuse in the Church, the redress of those grievances of which the Dissenters have any just cause to complain—I offer you these specific measures, and I offer also to advance, soberly and cautiously it is true, in the path of progressive improvement.' These explicit statements respecting the ministerial policy made a considerable impression on the country, but the Opposition were, notwithstanding, determined to eject the Ministry from office. Their language was this, 'We care not what are the principles now avowed by them. If they are not Reformers they cannot govern this country, and are not to be placed at the head of affairs. If they are, it is not to be endured that they should usurp our places, and then, in defiance of all their principles and in opposition to all their previous conduct, carry into effect the measures which we should with perfect consistency have brought forward. We will listen therefore to nothing. Out they shall go, and till we have got them out we will never rest nor desist from our attacks.'

In accordance with this policy, Lord Morpeth, who represented the West Riding of Yorkshire, proposed an amendment to the address, expressing regret that the progress of certain specified reforms had 'been interrupted and endangered by the unnecessary dissolution of a Parliament earnestly intent upon the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were most anxiously and justly directed.' The Opposition had confidently expected a majority of from thirty to forty votes; but much to their disappointment, the amendment was carried by a majority of only seven.

This unexpected result was mainly owing to the efforts of Stanley and Graham to organize a middle party composed of moderate men from both sides. About fifty members were at first inclined to place themselves under Stanley's leadership, and to do what they could to 'save the Government, not from love to it, but from

fear of its opponents.' But at the outset, during the debate on the address, with his characteristic rashness, their leader gave offence to both parties by jeering the 'Top-boot Tories' who held fast by too much, and the 'Out-and-out Radicals who would leave nothing alone.' The Ministerialists were especially annoyed at the mode in which Stanley assailed and sneered at the Duke of Wellington, and the moderate Whigs could not understand what the leader of a middle party could mean by voting twice in the same week with the Government. The smallness, and still more the diminution in the numbers of the Opposition majority, showed the necessity of a closer combination of the Whigs with the Radicals. A meeting of members of all shades hostile to the Government was therefore held at Lichfield House, the town mansion of the Earl of Lichfield, the late Master of the Buckhounds, where, as Shiel expressed it, 'a compact alliance was formed' between the various sections of Liberals, including Repealers as well as Whigs and Radicals, for the purpose of ousting the Conservatives and forming an administration founded on the general principles in which all sections could consistently agree. The alliance between the old Whig party and the Irish Roman Catholics was long made the theme of invective and reproach by the Tory orators and organs, and afforded a tempting subject for the caricaturists of that day. In a clever sketch by H. B., entitled 'Coalition,' a sable wolf with a visage bearing an unmistakable likeness to the Irish Agitator, was represented as engaged in parleying with the foremost of a flock of sheep, whose features were those of their late shepherd. 'Let us,' he exclaimed, 'merge all our trifling differences, and make a common war upon those tyrannical watchdogs.'

All the advantage which the Government had gained by the insignificance of the Opposition majority on the Speakership and the address, was more than lost by the egregious blunder which they made in

nominating Lord Londonderry as ambassador to Russia. There were cogent reasons which made this injudicious appointment obnoxious to the Stanleyites and moderate Tories, as well as to the Liberals. When it was first rumoured that the Duke of Wellington had nominated a nobleman so unpopular and unqualified to this important embassy, it was declared by the *Times* to be an 'absurd report' and 'a sorry joke,' and it was thought incredible until the Duke of Wellington admitted that the appointment had really been made. Lord Londonderry belonged to that section of extreme Tories of which the Duke of Cumberland and the Earl of Eldon were the recognized leaders. His opinions regarding both domestic and foreign policy had been formed in the school of his brother Lord Castlereagh, and he had obtrusively declared his strong disapproval of the measures of the Whig Government, especially in their separation from the despotic sovereigns of the continent. He had served under the Duke of Wellington as adjutant-general from 1809 to 1813, and had shown himself an active and efficient officer. After the conclusion of the Peninsular war he was raised to the peerage and appointed Minister at Berlin, and in the following year (1814) was nominated ambassador to Vienna. On his retirement from the service in 1823 he sent in an application for a pension, which Lord Liverpool endorsed with the words, 'This is too bad.' On a subsequent occasion Lord Dudley, Canning's Foreign Secretary, justified the refusal of the pension, and stated that during the few years the Marquis had been in the public service he had received £160,000 of the public money. Lord Londonderry, however, did not concur in the opinion that his services had already been amply rewarded, and he complained bitterly that he had been passed over when the Tories returned to office in 1828. Peel was quite well aware that it was impossible to confer office at home on a man who had always been constant in his opposition to reforms of every kind, but he acquiesced in

his nomination by the Duke of Wellington to the mission at St. Petersburg.

No sooner was the appointment announced than a storm burst upon the heads of the Ministry. The subject was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of March by Mr. Shiel, who argued that in the existing relations between Russia and Turkey it was indispensably necessary that the British representative at the Russian Court should be wise, sagacious, firm and discreet, and inflexibly attached to those principles to which the great mass of the people of this country were devoted. Mr. Cutler Ferguson reminded the House that in the previous year the Marquis of Londonderry had termed the Poles the 'rebellious subjects' of the Russian Czar, and he insisted that the person who had dared to justify the brutal treatment that gallant but unfortunate nation had met with from the Russian Government was unfit to represent Britain at St. Petersburg. 'The noble Marquis,' said Joseph Hume, 'had invariably been against all amelioration of the political circumstances of the people. He had opposed everything connected with human freedom—even the humane designs of others to mitigate the sufferings of the afflicted Poles. What, then, could these persecuted people—what could Europe—expect at the hands of the present Government when they saw it sending out such a man to represent it at the Court of Russia?' Stanley said, the 'Marquis of Londonderry, who had declared his opinion to be unfavourable to the Poles, was the last person whom England ought to send to Russia to represent there the feelings of the people of this country.' Other members expressed similar opinions, and the feeling of the House seemed to be that Lord Londonderry's sympathies qualified him rather for the post of Russian ambassador in England than British ambassador in Russia.

Greville, who was exceedingly anxious that the Ministry should keep their ground, expressed the opinion entertained of the appointment even by the great mass of the

Tory party. 'Last night,' he wrote, 'was a terribly damaging night to the Government, and fully justifies all that I, in common with almost everybody else, thought of that miserable appointment of Londonderry. Shiel brought it forward, and a storm burst from every side. Stanley made a strong speech against it, and Mahon (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) totally broke down. Peel spoke cleverly as usual, but fighting under difficulties, and dodging about and shifting his ground with every mark of weakness. The result is that Londonderry cannot go, and must either resign or his nomination be cancelled. This is miserable work on the part of the Government, and an awkward position to be placed in. . . . It serves the Government right, and the Duke especially, for having built up such a wall to run their heads against. They knew the loathing people had for the man—how odious and ridiculous he had made himself, how obnoxious and indefensible the appointment would be; and yet, though there was no reason or occasion for it, and their circumstances were so difficult that the utmost caution and prudence were requisite in all their subordinate and collateral proceedings as well as in the great and essential ones, they had the blind and obstinate folly to make this appointment. . . . The debate has made a great sensation, and is a source of prodigious triumph to the Opposition. Nobody doubts that Londonderry cannot go, whether he resigns voluntarily or not; but end how it may, it is a disastrous occurrence. If the Government should persist in the appointment they would be beaten by a great majority; if it is given up, it is a monstrous concession to the violence and power of the House of Commons.' Londonderry himself quailed before the storm which his appointment had raised, and voluntarily withdrew from the post that had been bestowed upon him. His withdrawal, however, did not repair the evil that his nomination had done. The precedent was a very dangerous one, and it was not without reason that the

king was very angry, and that Lord John Russell said that 'in the experiment they are now making they were running considerable hazard that the most useful prerogatives of the Crown would lose that dignity and respect in which they had formerly been held.' Every one felt the truth of the remark that 'the king appointed Londonderry ambassador to Russia, and the House of Commons cancelled the appointment.'

Though the Government was both weakened and discredited by this ill-managed affair, Peel was determined to continue the struggle. He had promised to bring forward a series of Liberal measures for the removal of grievances, and in fulfilment of his engagement his Attorney-General, Pollock, on the 12th of March, introduced a measure for the constitution of a consolidated ecclesiastical court, in order to improve the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, and the better maintenance of the discipline of the Church of England. Peel himself, on the 17th, explained the measure which he had prepared for the removal of the grievance of which Dissenters complained in regard to their marriages. He proposed that marriage, as far as they were concerned, should be regarded as a purely civil ceremony, a religious ceremony to follow if the parties wished it, and that they should have full liberty to marry in their own chapels. They complained that permission to marry by civil contract was not extended to Churchmen as well as Dissenters, and that their marriages still required to be registered by the Established Church clergy. 'The Dissenters are pleased,' said Lord Eldon, 'but they seem not to disguise that they are not satisfied. I take it that the true friends of the Church are neither pleased nor satisfied. As to the Dissenters, it is their nature not to be satisfied, as I can judge from my long experience.' On the 20th Sir Henry Hardinge, the Irish Secretary, moved a series of resolutions on which an Irish tithe bill was to be founded, and on the 24th the Prime Minister him-

self stated to the House the nature of the measure which he intended to bring in for the voluntary commutation of tithes in England, offering facilities and inducements which he hoped would lead to such a settlement. It was well received, though a pretty general feeling prevailed that a compulsory measure would alone lead to a general commutation.

The measures thus promptly brought forward by the Government were all in themselves excellent and important; but they did not serve in any degree to mollify the hostile feelings of the Opposition, and they lost no opportunity of humiliating and defeating the Ministry. Peel had to sustain the conflict almost single-handed against a phalanx of able and experienced debaters, and he did so with remarkable readiness, vigour, and resolution. On the 24th of March he was beaten on a division about a charge of intimidation at the late Chatham election—an affair of little or no consequence in itself, and he would have given way; but 'his Whips told him he was strong enough in the House to carry it, which only shows how stupid they are.'

The proper course for the leader of the Opposition to follow would have been to propose a vote of no confidence in the Ministry, and thus to have brought the matter to a direct issue at once; but he chose rather to raise debate after debate upon every question that was brought forward, and to outbid the Ministry on the various reforms which they proposed. It was evident, indeed, that Sir Robert Peel had not the confidence of the House of Commons, but he insisted on retaining his position until that want of confidence was explicitly declared by some overt act. Lord John Russell admits that he found it very difficult to frame a resolution which would have this effect, for a notion prevailed even among Liberals that Sir Robert Peel should have a fair trial. It seemed to him, he said, that this fair trial would be given, and the House of Commons would still have in its hands the power of the purse—

the citadel of its strength—if the supplies were only voted for three months. But when the party was consulted upon this suggestion, it was found that there were several who feared that any limitation of the ordinary vote on supply would affect public credit and alarm the country. Lord John therefore reluctantly renounced this intention.

Two days after their defeat on the Chatham election, the Government met with another and much more serious reverse on the question of the London University Charter. One of the grievances of the Dissenters related to their exclusion from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A bill for admitting them to these academical institutions had been rejected in 1834 by the House of Lords, by a majority of 187 votes to 85. Now that a Liberal had been replaced by a Tory administration, the friends of religious liberty had no hope of being able to carry a measure of this kind even in the Lower House. They proposed, therefore, that Nonconformists should obtain the advantages connected with a University education through the medium of the recently established London University; and a motion had been made both in 1833 and in 1834 by Mr. Tooke, the member for Truro, that a charter should be conferred on that institution, and that it should be empowered to grant degrees. The proposal was not regarded with favour by the old Universities, and they, along with the medical bodies, petitioned against any permission being given to the new University to grant degrees of the same denomination as those which they themselves conferred. These petitions had been referred to a committee of the Privy Council, which had heard Counsel upon the question, but had made no report, though it was understood that the committee were opposed to the charter. In these circumstances Tooke renewed his proposal, and moved an address to the Crown praying that the University should receive a charter of incorporation. The motion was resisted by the Govern-

ment, but it was carried by a majority of 246 votes to 136. The charter, however, was not granted until November, 1836, some time after the restoration of the Melbourne Ministry.

The Government had now suffered half a dozen defeats on a variety of questions, and it had become evident that they were at the mercy of their opponents. They had no power to carry their measures either great or small, and both the dignity of the Crown and the authority of the Executive were suffering in their hands. Still Peel refused to resign, and declared that, unless the House of Commons should declare their want of confidence in his Administration, he would not retire until he had laid all his measures before Parliament and the country. In these circumstances the Opposition resolved to take another forward step, and the question of the Irish Church seemed to afford the best test to bring matters to a decisive issue.

On the 20th of March, Sir Henry Hardinge had introduced an Irish tithe bill, which was substantially the same with the measure which the Whigs had brought forward and the Tories had thrown out the previous year. The conduct of the Government, in now adopting the scheme of commutation which they had resisted in Opposition, was commented on with great severity as a glaring violation of principle. The Liberals, however, could not throw out a measure which in all its essential provisions was identical with their own; but they resolved to append to it an amendment which their opponents must resist to the utmost. The question of the perpetual endowment and preservation of the revenues of the Irish Church was regarded as marking the frontier line between Liberal and Tory principles. The proposal for a commission to inquire into the temporalities of that Church had brought about the resignation of four members of Earl Grey's Cabinet, and every thorough-going Liberal was convinced that some portion of the surplus revenues of the Established Church

of Ireland should be appropriated to secular purposes. A proposal that this step should be taken would, therefore, combine in its support all the Liberal party.

The assault was led by the leader of the Opposition in person. On Monday, the 30th of March, Lord John Russell moved that 'the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the present state of the Church Establishment in Ireland, with the view of applying any surplus of the revenues not required for the spiritual care of its members to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion.' In support of his motion Russell declared that he held the argument in favour of a Church Establishment to be complete and unanswerable, and adopted the statement of Paley respecting the objects of such an institution; but he contended that the Irish Church had completely failed to gain those objects. It had not merely failed to diffuse religious doctrine among the great mass of the nation; it had produced a system which continually brought the clergy into collision with the people, which had led to scenes of civil strife and bloodshed, and had brought about a state of things utterly irreconcilable with the true ends of all Church Establishments. He contended that the revenues of the Church had increased, and now amounted to £800,000 a year, while the number of Episcopalians in many districts of Ireland had decreased, and did not now amount to more than 750,000, more than half of whom were in the province of Armagh. Reform was clearly necessary; but in this case reform involved reduction, and a reduction involved a surplus, and that surplus ought to be devoted to the development of the mental and moral capacities of the inhabitants of Ireland.

The debate lasted four nights, and all the leading members on both sides of the House took part in it. The Ministerialists endeavoured to show that the annual revenues of the Church amounted to only £450,000. Some of them insisted that ecclesiastical

property was sacred, and could not lawfully be devoted to any other than religious purposes. The Prime Minister dwelt upon the compact which, he alleged, had been made with the Church in the Act of Union with Ireland. Compacts, he said, might be broken, as there were circumstances which might justify the overthrow of a constitution; but he affirmed that no proof had been adduced in the present case that such a sacrifice was required, and he was confident that no such proof could be given. Before a proceeding like that now proposed could be resolved on, the innovators should be prepared with a comprehensive and complete new scheme to supersede the existing compact; but though he had repeatedly challenged the leaders of the Opposition, no such plan had been produced. He expressed his confident belief that on this question his opponents did not represent the opinion of the nation, and withal his deep regret that they should seek to eject the Ministry from office by an attack on the Irish Church rather than by the proper constitutional mode of a declaration of a want of confidence in the Government. There is no reason to believe that the speeches, able as they were, changed a single vote on either side, and on the morning of the 3rd of April Lord John Russell's motion was carried by a majority of thirty-three in a House of 611 members, 322 having voted for it and 289 against. The minority included Stanley and Graham and their followers, now dwindled down to the half-dozen passengers by the Derby Dilly.* But there was a majority of nine of the English members against the motion. On

* This famous designation originated in an application by O'Connell to the Stanleyites of a well-known line—

'Down thy romantic vale, sweet Ashbourn, glides
The Derby Dilly, carrying six insides.'

H. B., as usual, caught up the allusion, and represented the Dilly as stopping at a turnpike gate, kept by John Bull, who interrogates the coachman (Stanley) respecting his passengers. He has got six, he says, and hopes to pick up more by the way. John informs him that the Ministerialist has not yet come up, but that the Opposition has just passed, heavily laden, and looking dangerous.

the other hand, thirty-two of the Scottish representatives supported and seventeen voted against it. Of the Irish members sixty-four followed Russell and thirty-seven went into the lobby with Peel.

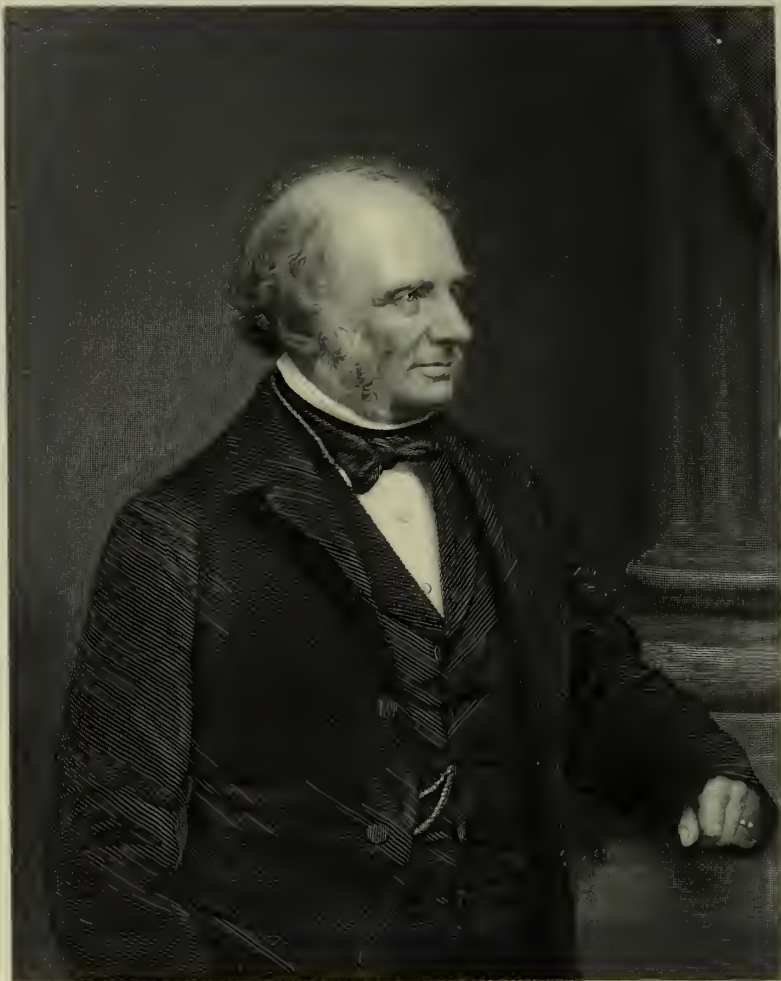
This division decided the fate of the Government, but the Premier thought it his duty to hold out to the last. The next step taken by the leader of the Opposition was to propose the motion of which he had given notice, 'that any surplus that might remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established Church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians.' In compliance with the suggestion of Mr. Fowell Buxton, he substituted the words 'moral and religious instruction for 'general education.' On the division in committee on the 6th of April only 499 members were present, of whom 262 voted in favour of the resolution and 237 against it. Next day Lord John moved, that 'it is the opinion of the House that no measure on the subject of tithes, in Ireland, can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution.' This motion was carried by a majority of 285 votes against 258, and on the following morning the Ministry resigned.

Sir Robert Peel had fought the battle of his party with extraordinary ability, tact, and temper, and with indomitable resolution—his opponents themselves being judges. In his speech announcing the resignation of the Government, he avowed that he had taken this course with great reluctance, because, enjoying as they did the confidence of the king and the support of a great and powerful party in the country, they could have speedily disposed of several important and urgent questions, especially that of Irish tithes, which must now be left unsettled. 'For myself,' he said, 'the whole of my political life has been spent in the House of Commons. The remainder of it shall be spent there; and whatever may be the conflicts of parties, I for one would

always wish to stand well with the House, whether in a majority or in a minority. Under no circumstances, under the pressure of no weight, would I ever have advised the Crown to resign that great source of moral strength which consists in a strict adherence to the practice, to the principle, to the letter, and to the spirit of the constitution of the country. . . . 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.'

This retiring address was received with enthusiastic applause from all sides of the House, and Lord John Russell declared as his opinion that Sir Robert had acted entirely in the spirit of the constitution. The sentiment expressed by Guizot met with a general response—that Peel had proved himself 'the most liberal of Conservatives, the most conservative of Liberals, and the most capable man of all in both parties.' Lord Mulgrave declared that Peel had done admirably—had given proof of his perfect sincerity, and acted in accordance with all his declarations and professions. 'I am astonished,' he said; 'nothing in Peel's past political career led me to expect that he would have done so admirably as he has. He has raised himself immensely in my opinion.' 'When did a statesman enter office,' said Sir Henry Bulwer Lytton, 'more triumphantly than Sir Robert Peel left it?' On the other hand the Tories, not much to their credit, were furious at his resigning, and insisted that he ought to 'set the House of Commons at defiance and stick to his post,' and not abandon his party and the king. 'It is very evident,' said Greville,

David W. B.



Engraved by H. Sturt from a Photograph by Mayall

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

'that many of them are desirous of continuing the fight under the Duke of Wellington, if they could prevail on him to try it, and to dissolve Parliament and get up a "No Popery" cry. They say that the country (by which they mean their own faction) looks up to the Duke, and that Peel has really no interest there. The fact is that they cannot forgive him for his Liberal principles and Liberal measures. They feel (not without reason) that they cannot follow him in the broad path he has entered upon without abandoning all their long-cherished maxims of exclusion and ascendency, and that in so doing they would incur much odium and disgrace. It is no wonder that he is anxious to break up this unmanageable force, and he probably would rather trust to that increasing feeling and opinion about himself which is so apparent among all classes of politicians, to place him by and by at the head of a party formed upon Conservative principles and embracing a much wider circle of opinions.'

The Duke of Wellington was no way disheartened at the overthrow of the Ministry, but said 'he considered the country on its legs again.' The experiment of a Conservative Government, though it had failed in the meantime, had made it evident that the party was still very powerful in the country, and could without difficulty prevent the passing of any hasty or revolutionary measures; and that with a great majority in the one House and nearly an equality in the other, they could render it no easy task for their successors to carry on the Government on Liberal principles. The king was bitterly mortified at the signal defeat and humiliation which he had brought upon himself by his ill-advised attempt to imitate the conduct of his father, and to dismiss at his own pleasure a Ministry supported by the great majority of the House of Commons and enjoying the confidence of the country. He was now compelled to bring back the Whigs in triumph, and they were not indisposed to make him feel that he was wholly in their power.

'Notwithstanding the good face which the king continues to put upon the matter in his communications with his hated new-old Ministers and masters,' wrote Greville, 'he is really miserable; and the Duchess of Gloucester, to whom he unbosoms himself more than to anybody, states that with her he was in the most pitiable state of distress, constantly in tears, and saying that he felt his crown tottering on his head.'

Earl Grey was first summoned (April 9) to the assistance of the perplexed and humbled sovereign; but he firmly declined to return to office, and recommended that Lord Melbourne should be intrusted with the task of forming a Government. The king was still harping on a Coalition Ministry, composed of the moderate men of both parties. But Melbourne and Lansdowne, who had also been invited to wait on His Majesty, told him that the resolutions adopted by the House of Commons respecting the Irish Church formed an insuperable obstacle to such a coalition of parties. On the 11th Melbourne was instructed to form a Government. His first step was to urge Lord Grey to assume once more the office of Prime Minister, but without effect, and Melbourne had to carry through the task himself. The new Ministry differed very little in its arrangements from the administration which had been so unceremoniously dismissed six months before. Melbourne himself, of course, resumed his former position as First Lord of the Treasury, Lord John Russell became Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, Spring Rice was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Palmerston received again the seals of the Foreign Department, Charles Grant became Colonial Secretary, Lord Howick Secretary at War, Hobhouse was placed at the India Board, Poulett Thomson at the Board of Trade, and Lord Duneannon at the Woods and Forests. The Marquis of Lansdowne was nominated Lord President of the Council, Lord Auckland First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Holland Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan-

caster. Lord Mulgrave, who had discharged efficiently the duties of Governor of Jamaica, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Plunkett Chancellor, and Lord Morpeth Irish Secretary. The Marquis of Wellesley expected to be restored to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and was mortified when he was offered instead the office of Lord Chamberlain. He accepted it, however, and held it for a few weeks, when owing, it was suspected, to the connection of the Ministry with O'Connell, he suddenly resigned that situation, and never again held office. After Earl Grey had peremptorily refused to return to the Premiership, a strenuous effort was made by the Whig leaders, especially by Melbourne and Holland, to induce him to accept a seat in the Cabinet with the Privy Seal; but the venerable peer announced that he had finally relinquished official life. As his support was certain to contribute greatly to strengthen the Government, he was not only gratified by the appointment of his eldest son to the office of Secretary at War, with a seat in the Cabinet, but one of his nephews (Sir George Grey) was nominated Under-Secretary of the Colonies, one son-in-law (Charles Wood) was appointed Secretary to the Admiralty, and another (Earl Durham) was made Ambassador to the Russian Court.

A serious difficulty arose respecting O'Connell, who expected to be appointed Attorney-General for Ireland. A general impression prevailed that he must have office, and it is alleged that Mulgrave led him to expect that the office for which he was specially fitted, the Attorney-Generalship, would be offered him. There can be no doubt that the nomination of the great Roman Catholic leader to a situation in the Government would have highly gratified the mass of the Irish people, as a proof that the barriers which had hitherto excluded them from office had been really thrown down, and that the Emancipation Act was now a reality. It would have withdrawn O'Connell himself from a career of agitation,

which was now productive of much evil, though not wholly unmingled with good, and would have enlisted his great abilities and influence on the side of law and order. It would also have compelled him to moderate his language as well as his actions, and to enforce upon his followers a regard to order and law, and the peace of the community. 'He longed,' he said, 'for the opportunity of proving to the Protestants of Ireland that when in power he could and would do them justice,' and there is every reason to believe that he would have carried out his intention. But unfortunately the king was doggedly bent on O'Connell's exclusion from office, and became furious at the very suggestion that the 'Liberator,' as he was termed, might be proposed to him as Attorney-General for Ireland. 'Lord Grey would never have done this,' he exclaimed, and he would never sanction it; and he wrote Melbourne a letter of six pages about O'Connell and Hume and the Irish Church. Melbourne sent a short and very decided reply, informing His Majesty that he would not submit to have any one excluded, but that there was no intention of appointing either O'Connell or Hume. The fact was that a number of the Whig magnates, notably Earl Grey, cherished such a strong antipathy to the Irish leader that there is reason to believe his appointment to office would have made it impossible for Melbourne to form a Government, and the violence of his language and behaviour had so strongly exasperated, not only the king and the court, but the great body of the educated classes, that no premier could at this time have ventured to place him on the Treasury bench. Lord Lansdowne mentions, as an example of the strong dislike entertained towards him, that after Lord Melbourne's Government was formed, and O'Connell became one of its supporters, 'Mr. Thomas Grenville, with whom,' he says, 'I had been most intimate for many years, wrote to me, saying that he regretted he could no longer visit my house, as he could not go anywhere where he incurred the risk of meeting

O'Connell.' Edward Ellice was employed to inform the formidable ally of the Whigs that they were under the necessity of excluding him; that his friends were unable to overcome for the moment the prejudices against him; and that, unless he consented to waive his personal claims, all hope of forming a Liberal Ministry must be abandoned. O'Connell behaved, as one of the party said, 'admirably well,' declared that he waived all claim to employment, and promised his gratuitous assistance.

A more serious difficulty was the course to be followed with regard to Lord Brougham, who was confidently expecting his restoration to the Woolsack. No one could deny that the ex-Chancellor was a man of stupendous ability, and that he had rendered eminent services to the country by his long-continued and strenuous efforts to procure the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, the improvement of law, the reform of charitable trusts, the promotion of education, and the furtherance of civil and religious liberty. But, as Lord John Russell said, 'Lord Brougham's vast powers of mind were neutralized by a want of judgment, which prevented any party from placing entire confidence in him, and by a frequent forgetfulness of what he himself had done or said but a short time before. . . . His faults were a recklessness of judgment which hurried him beyond all the bounds of prudence, an omnivorous appetite for praise, a perpetual interference in matters with which he had no direct concern, and, above all, a disregard of truth.' For these reasons, many weeks before the change of Government, Lord Melbourne resolved not to offer the Great Seal to Lord Brougham, and mentioned this resolution to Lord John

Russell, and probably also to other leading members of the party. 'If Brougham were left out,' he said, 'he would indeed be dangerous; but if taken in he would simply be destructive. We may have little chance of being able to go on without him, but to go on with him would be impossible. Even if all the rest agreed to let in Brougham, I could not,' he added, 'bring myself to force him upon the king.' But of 'all the rest' who were immediately concerned or consulted there does not appear to have been any one who proposed that the ex-Chancellor should be recalled. Even Lord Spencer, who was warmly attached to him, wrote to Spring Rice (April 19, 1835), 'I suppose I must say I believe you right; but I cannot but be grievously sorry for poor Brougham. I see, of course, his glaring defects. I know the mischief these defects are calculated to do to himself and to every one with whom he is acting; but still I have worked with him for so many years, and have at different times lived on such intimate terms with him that I must lament, though I by no means censure, his being thrown overboard, when I fear there is no whale ready to receive him, and after a limited time to replace him on dry land.' The bitterness of the disappointment was somewhat softened by the resolution of the Prime Minister to keep the Chancellorship vacant for a time, and the Great Seal was accordingly put in commission. Brougham cherished the hope that the king's prejudice against him, to which he ascribed his exclusion, would gradually wear away, and that he would ultimately be reinstated in his former position; but his official career was in reality at an end.

CHAPTER IX.

Condition of the Established Churches in the three Kingdoms—The Irish Tithe system—Controversy respecting Church Establishments in Scotland—Supremacy of the Church of England—Its supineness, negligence, and jobbery—Its revival—The Evangelical Party—Their zeal and success in benevolent Schemes—Style of preaching and living among the High Church Clergy—Patronized by the Government—Rise of the Tractarian Party—Their opinions and objects—Apostolic Succession—Sacramentarianism—Tradition—The Via Media—Origin of the Tractarian movement—Rose, Hurrell Froude, Pusey, Keble, Newman—Tracts for the Times—Number xc. condemned by the Hebdomadal Council—Discontinuance of the Tracts—Origin of Irvingism—Edward Irving's Ministry in London—His extraordinary popularity—Personal appearance and character—His notions of Prophecy—Mr. Henry Drummond—Manifestations at the Gareloch—The Gifts of Tongues and of Healing—Manifestations in Irving's Church—He is in consequence excluded from the building by the Trustees—His Deposition by the Annan Presbytery—The Alhury School of Prophets—Their treatment of Irving—Character of the Manifestations—Irving's illness and death—Carlyle's description of his character—First Meeting of the British Association at York—Great impetus given to Science by means of the Association—The Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—Mechanics' Institutes—Cheap Literature.

WHILE a revolution so extensive was taking place in the political and social institutions of Great Britain, changes scarcely less important were in progress in the ecclesiastical establishments of the country. It will now be admitted on all sides that, at the era of the Reform Bill, the state of the Churches in the United Kingdom was the reverse of satisfactory. In Ireland the Roman Catholics, numbering five millions and a half, had declared open war against the Established Church, which, though in the possession of revenues yielding £800,000 a year, included within its pale only a comparatively small proportion of the Irish people. It had become impossible to collect tithes even at the point of the bayonet, and the clergy were in consequence reduced to a state of the greatest distress—almost to starvation. The most prudent and steadfast friends of Protestant supremacy had come to the conclusion, that 'the only way to afford the Irish Church the least chance of a permanent existence was to abolish tithes entirely, and to cut down her other emoluments very low indeed; that is to say, to reduce them until they amount to no more than a fair equivalent for the services which she can render in return for them.' Even the Archbishop of Dublin declared that he spoke the opinion of many of his clerical brethren, as well as his own, when he said in his evidence before the Committee of

the House of Lords, 'As for the continuance of the tithe system it seems to me that it must be at the point of the bayonet—that it must be through a sort of chronic civil war. The ill feelings that have so long existed against it have been embodied in so organized a combination that I conceive there would be continually breakings out of resistance, which must be kept down by a continuance of very severe measures, such as the Government might indeed resolve to have recourse to for once, if necessary, but would be very unwilling to resort to habitually, so as to keep the country under military government. And the most intelligent persons, and the most experienced, I have conversed with, seem to think that nothing else will permanently secure the payment of tithes under the present system.' In such circumstances as these it was impossible that a religion of 'peace and good-will to men' could flourish.

In Scotland a fierce controversy was now raging between Churchmen and Dissenters respecting the Scriptural character, the justice, and the expediency of Church Establishments. The Seceders, who had been driven from the national Presbyterian Church by the arbitrary manner in which the law of patronage was enforced by the ecclesiastical courts, had now become hostile to the entire system, and denied, on the one hand, the right of the State to interfere

with the Church, and on the other, the claim of the Church to receive support from the State. After the extension of popular power and privileges by the passing of the Reform Bill, a number of Liberal politicians began to contend against the endowment of the Church from national funds. 'Voluntary Church Societies,' as they were called, sprang up throughout the Lowland districts of Scotland, and a fierce assault was made on the connection between Church and State, which religious Dissenters regarded as inconsistent with the freedom and spirituality of Christ's kingdom, and therefore unscriptural, and Liberal statesmen denounced as an ecclesiastical monopoly, as a violation of the principles of free trade, as the imposition of a tax on one section of the community for the benefit of another sect, and therefore as both unjust and inexpedient. The controversy, which raged with great fury for several years, contributed to some extent to the policy that ultimately led to the disruption of the Scottish Church.

Down to the close of the first quarter of the present century the Church of England retained, not only the supremacy, but all the privileges with which it had been endowed at the restoration of the Stewart dynasty. Its members, both lay and clerical, were legally entitled to honours, offices, and endowments, from which both Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics were rigidly excluded. No person who had not received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at the hands of an Episcopal clergyman was legally eligible for any public office, civil or military or naval, or for any office in a municipal corporation or in the Bank of England. No minister except one connected with the Established Church could celebrate a marriage; and the only funeral service which could be read over the dead was that contained in the English Prayer Book, and was confined to those who had been baptized in the Church of England. Members of that Church alone were admissible to the National Universities, or indeed

to any of the endowed schools, which were all under the control of Episcopal clergymen. The resources of the Church were enormous; but while its dignitaries and a few fortunate incumbents were in the receipt of almost fabulous incomes, the great body of the clergy were in extreme poverty. The evils of pluralities and non-residence were flagrant, and were sanctioned instead of being restrained by the Bishops. There were 10,421 benefices in England and Wales; and in 1811 6311 of the incumbents were non-resident. The best livings were bestowed, not on pious and learned divines, but on the relations and proteges of powerful noblemen, and politicians, and clerical dignitaries. The fortunate candidates for these preferments restricted their professional duties to those services which the law required them to perform on Sundays, or at funerals on week days, and spent the most of their time in hunting, shooting, or fishing. The picture which the poet Crabbe has painted of the parish priest in the 'Village' is not at all overdrawn. He describes him as

'A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday task
As much as God or man can fairly ask;
The rest he gives to loves and labours light,
To fields the morning, and to feasts the night.
None better skilled the noisy pack to guide,
To urge their chace, to cheer them or to chide.
A sportsman keen, he shoots through half the day,
And, skilled at whist, devotes the night to play.'

A distinguished scholar and clergyman—the late Mr. Conybeare—describes in indignant terms the 'jobbing and corruption' which at that period prevailed in the Church, 'when the money-changers not only entered the temple, but drove out the worshippers; when ecclesiastical revenues were monopolized by wealthy pluralists; when the name of curate lost its legal meaning, and instead of denoting the incumbent of a benefice came to signify the deputy of an absentee; when Church services were discontinued; when University exercises were turned into a farce; when the holders of ancient endowments vied with one another in evading the intentions of their founders;

when everywhere the lowest ends were most openly avowed, and the lowest means adopted for effecting them; and when, in their preaching, nineteen clergymen out of twenty carefully abstained from dwelling upon Christian doctrines. Such topics exposed the preacher to the charge of fanaticism. All religious men, indeed, at that time were branded by such persons with the epithets of enthusiasts, fanatics, and Methodists.' The fundamental doctrines of the Gospel were rather tacitly ignored, however, than openly contradicted. By most the Articles were neither believed nor disbelieved. 'The mass of the clergy troubled not their souls with theological difficulties, but hunted and tiddled peacefully with the squirearchy.'

This state of stagnation was disturbed in the first instance by the rise of the Evangelical party which, no doubt, was indirectly due to the influence of Wesley and Whitefield and the Methodists, especially among the ignorant and degraded portion of the population of England. The four Evangelists of that party, as Sir James Stephens terms them, were John Newton, Thomas Scott, Joseph Milner, and Henry Venn. 'Newton held himself forth, and was celebrated by others as the great living example of the regenerating efficacy of the principles of his school, Scott was their interpreter of Holy Scripture, Milner their ecclesiastical historian, and Venn their systematic teacher of the whole Christian institutes.' These men, aided by Wilberforce in the Senate and by Simeon in the University, were undoubtedly the 'second fathers of the Church of England. If not entitled to the praise of genius, of eloquence, or of profound learning, they were devout, sincere, and genuine men—the doctrines of the New Testament were to them a reality, and the English Liturgy a truth; their public ministrations and their real meaning were in exact accordance. They rose as much above the *Hoadleian* formality as above the *Marian* superstition. They revived amongst us the spirit of Paul and Peter, of Augustine and Boniface, of

Wicliffe and Ridley, of Baxter and Howe. They burned with a loyal and enlightened zeal for the kingdom of Christ, and for those eternal verities on which that kingdom is founded. Their personal sanctity rose to the same elevation as their theological opinions; and in all these respects they formed a contrast, as cheering in one light as it was melancholy in another, to the spirit which in that age characterized their clerical brethren.'

The Evangelical party, though a comparatively small minority among the Church clergy, exercised an important influence on its teaching, and contributed not a little to make it more in accordance with its formularies; but its influence was mainly felt in the changes which it effected in the social condition of the English people, and the efforts to extend Christianity in our Colonial dominions. Their representatives in Parliament—Wilberforce, Stephen, Thornton, Buxton, and Sir Thomas Acland—were the leaders in such philanthropic movements as the reform of prison discipline, the amelioration of the severity of the criminal law, the mitigation of the sufferings and hardships of the mining and factory operatives, the suppression of the slave trade, and the abolition of slavery. They were the founders of the Church Missionary Society, which now maintains more than 2000 ministers and teachers, and has established upwards of 100 stations in India, Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. The devoted and lamented Henry Martyn was one of their agents. They were chiefly instrumental in establishing the Bible Society, which has translated the Holy Scriptures into almost every language in the world. The Church-Building Societies owe their origin to the same source, and so do Sunday Schools, Infant Schools, Lending Libraries, Scripture Readers, District Visitors, Ragged Schools, the Pastoral Aid Society (which supports more than 300 clergymen and above 100 lay assistants), and other institutions for promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the poorer classes of

the community. In enumerating the eminent services which the 'Clapham Sect' rendered to the cause of religion and humanity, it must not be forgotten that Mr. Simeon spent his whole private fortune in purchasing in Bath, Bradford, Clifton, and other populous towns, from forty to fifty advowsons, which he vested in trustees in order that these places might be supplied with a body of laborious, zealous, and devout ministers.

The terrors inspired by the French Revolution put an end to the dilettante scepticism which for a time was fashionable in English society, and roused the High Church clergy out of the lethargic slumber into which they had fallen. They became more decorous in their conduct, and more attentive to their duty. They had always professed to hold the very same doctrines which the Evangelical clergymen held, but with this important difference that the latter held in 'cordial and prolific vitality' what the former held only in 'dull and barren formality.' They had always been compelled, in conducting the religious services of the Church, to repeat the great truths 'embodied in her formularies, enforced in her formularies, and stereotyped in her liturgy;' but they were now constrained to desist from preaching against the doctrine of the Church's creed. Henceforth, instead of contradicting in their pulpit what they were obliged to affirm in their reading-desk, they now confined their instructions to the exposition of moral duties. They studiously avoided all disquisitions on the mysteries of religion and the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, and exhorted their hearers to be faithful and honest, respectful to their superiors, obedient to their masters, and kind and helpful to their relatives and neighbours. The High Church incumbent of 1830 differed widely from his prototype of A.D. 1800, and still more from his successor of 1850. Mr. Froude, who was the son of a clergyman, the rector of a parish, an archdeacon, and a justice of the peace, says most of the

magistrates' work of the neighbourhood passed through his father's hands. 'In his younger days he had been a hard rider across a country. His children knew him as a continually busy, useful man of the world, a learned and cultivated antiquary, and an accomplished artist.' The clergy of that day, he adds, 'were generally of superior culture, manners, and character.' Many of them were 'country gentlemen of the best kind, continually in contact with the people, but associating on equal terms with the squires and the aristocracy. The average English incumbent of fifty years ago was a man of private fortune, the younger brother of the landlord perhaps, and holding the family living; or, it might be, the landlord himself, his advowson being part of the estate. His professional duties were his services on Sundays, funerals and weddings on week-days, and visits when needed among the sick. In other respects he lived like his neighbours, distinguished from them only by a black coat and white neck-cloth and greater watchfulness over his transactions. He farmed his own glebe; he kept horses; he shot and hunted moderately, and mixed in general society. He was generally a magistrate; he attended public meetings; and his education enabled him to take a leading part in county business. His wife and daughters looked after the poor, taught in the Sunday school, and managed the penny clubs and clothing clubs. He himself was spoken of in the parish as "the master"—the person who was responsible for keeping order there, and who knew how to keep it. The labourers and the farmers looked up to him. The "family" in the great house could not look down upon him.'

With regard to the laity in those days, they went to Church 'because they liked it, because they knew that they ought to go, and because it was the custom. They had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds. Christianity had wrought itself

into the constitution of their natures. It was a necessary part of the existing order of the universe, as little to be debated about as the movements of the planets or the changes of the seasons.' On a Church thus quiet, comfortable, and dominant, the agitation connected with the Reform Bill fell like a thunder-bolt out of a clear sky. It disturbed and annoyed both the clergy and the laity. The great body of the national clergymen were staunch Tories, detesting those who were 'given to change;' and the more elevated their position, the more intolerant were they of Reformers of all classes and of Reform in every shape. High Churchmen and Tories, generally of the most extreme type, alone were to be found on the Episcopal bench or among the Deans and Prebendaries of the Cathedrals. No Evangelical clergyman, no matter how learned or laborious, needed to look for promotion at the hands of a Tory Premier or Lord Chancellor in those days. The hierarchy, as a body, were the steadfast supporters of the successive Tory ministers, and the opponents of popular rights and claims. They aided and abetted the majority in the Upper House in resisting the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and indeed nearly every measure for the advancement of either civil or religious liberty. They voted almost in a body against the first Reform Bill, and drew down upon themselves such an amount of public indignation that for some time it was unsafe for any of them to appear in the street. Clamorous demands were made for the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords and the reform of the Church. An agitation was even commenced for the abolition of the Establishment, and the appropriation of its revenues to secular purposes. For once the oft-reiterated cry of 'The Church in danger' seemed to be really well founded.

There can be no doubt that 'the strength' of the English Church at this period was 'to sit still.' The reaction in the public

mind, which in the course of a brief space brought back the great Conservative party to office and power, would have told still more powerfully in favour of the Church. 'Custom, tradition, conservative instinct, and natural reverence for the truth handed down to it,' would very speedily have rallied round the Church the great body of the people of England, and 'would have sufficed more than amply to meet such danger as then existed.' But unfortunately both for the welfare of the National Church and of religion, a small body of able and energetic young men at the University of Oxford were panic-stricken at the perils which seemed to environ the Church of England, and originated a movement in her defence which has exercised a most momentous and injurious influence both on the interests of that Church and on the religious character of the present age. The repeal of the Test Acts and the abolition of the civil disabilities of Dissenters, Roman Catholic emancipation, the suppression of the Irish Sees, the clamour for the reform of the Church were all the fruits of that 'Liberalism' which was now abroad, and which, in their eyes, was the impersonation of Antichrist. In their opinion, the evils which sprung from the prevalent notion of liberty, 'false liberty of thought,' the 'supposed right of men to think for themselves and act for themselves,' could be counteracted only by the authority of the Church. But the Church itself had been corrupted by the spirit of Protestantism. That spirit must be expelled before the Church could be fit for its great work. This, then, was the first step to be taken; and then when this evil spirit which had crept into her was exorcised, and her Apostolic Succession owned and proclaimed, the authority divinely intrusted to her Bishops acknowledged, and the efficacy of her sacraments believed and felt, she would bring back the nation to its true position—she would 'rise up and claim and exercise her lawful authority over all persons in all departments.'

Ideas of this kind had been floating in

the minds of a number of young men at Oxford during the excitement caused by the Reform Bill and the attacks upon the Irish Church, and at length three of them—Arthur Percival, Richard Hurrell Froude, and William Palmer—held a conference at Hadleigh in July, 1838, with the Rev. Hugh Rose, editor of the *British Magazine*, as to the steps which should be taken to maintain and diffuse the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, and to defend the Church against the attacks of the Liberals. Mr. Rose was a person of considerable ability and scholarship, and was conversant with German theology—a rare accomplishment at this time; and had been the first, Newman says, ‘to give warning of the perils to England which lay in the biblical and theological speculations of Germany.’ He became subsequently Professor of Theology at Durham, Principal of King’s College, London, and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Newman says Rose ‘was the man above all others fitted by his cast of mind and literary powers to make a stand, if a stand could be made, against the calamity of the times. He was gifted with a high and large mind, and a true sensibility of what was great and beautiful; he spoke with warmth and energy, and he had a cool head and a cautious judgment; he spent his strength and shortened his life for the Church of God, as he understood that sovereign idea.’ Rose possessed great influence in the University, and but for him it is probable that the movement would not have been commenced at this time.

It was mainly through Hurrell Froude, however, that Newman was induced to enter upon that course which has led to such momentous results, both as regards himself and the English Church. Froude was undoubtedly a man of singular gifts—brilliant, enthusiastic, self-willed, and imperious. Newman, who cherished an unbounded admiration of him, says, ‘He was a pupil of Keble’s, formed by him, and in turn reacting upon him. He was a man of the highest gifts, so truly many-sided that

it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to describe him, except under those aspects in which he came before me. Nor have I here to speak of the gentleness and tenderness of nature, the playfulness, the free, elastic force and versatility of mind, and the patient, winning considerateness in discussion, which endeared him to those to whom he opened his heart. . . . I speak of Hurrell Froude in his intellectual aspects—as a man of high genius, brimful and overflowing with ideas and views in him original, which were too many and too strong even for his bodily strength, and which crowded and jostled against each other in their effort after distinct shape and impression; and he had an intellect as critical and logical as it was speculative and bold. Dying prematurely as he did, and in the conflict and transition state of opinion, his religious views never reached their ultimate conclusion by the very reason of their multitude and depth. His opinions arrested and influenced me, even when they did not gain my assent. . . . He had a most classical taste, and a genius for philosophy and art, and he was fond of historical inquiry and the politics of religion. He had no turn for philosophy as such.’ Hurrell Froude’s mother, in a remarkable letter published in his ‘Remains,’ gives a more discriminating view of the character of her son, and of his peculiar temper—‘impatient under vexatious circumstances, very much disposed to find his own amusement in teasing and vexing others, and almost entirely incorrigible when it was necessary to reprove him. I never could find a successful mode of treating him. Harshness made him obstinate and gloomy; calm and long displeasure made him stupid and sullen; and kind patience had not sufficient power to force him to govern himself. . . . In all points of substantial principle his feelings were just and high. He had (for his age) an unusually deep feeling of admiration for anything which was good and noble; his relish was lively and his taste good for all the

pleasures of imagination ; and he was also quite conscious of his own faults, and (untempted) had a just dislike of them.'

Mr. J. A. Froude, in his interesting 'Reminiscences of the High Church Revival,' says, with a telling side-stroke at the other Tractarians, that 'no one ever recognized facts more loyally' than his brother 'when once he saw them.' If it had become clear to him that 'he must renounce his theory' as to the rights and position of the Church of England 'as visionary, and join another communion, he would not have "minimized" the Roman doctrines that they might be the more easy to swallow, or have explained away plain propositions till they meant anything or nothing. His course, whatever it was, would have been direct and straightforward; he was a man far more than a theologian.' Hurrell Froude's papers, which were never intended for the public eye, and which Newman and Keble most unwisely and improperly published, would seem to indicate that his spirit, haughty though it was, and indeed arbitrary and intolerant, was not sustained by genuine self-confidence, but gloried in subjection to the will of other men. But his brother says that 'he had the contempt of an intellectual aristocrat for private judgment and the rights of a man. The right of wisdom was to rule, and the right of ignorance was to be ruled; but he belonged himself to the class whose business was to order rather than obey. If his own bishop had interfered with him, his theory of Episcopal authority would have been found inapplicable in that particular instance.'

Such was the man who, though he was during the last four years of his life an invalid in search of health, and was cut off in 1836 at the age of thirty-three, contributed largely to the origination of the Tractarian movement, and whose influence helped not a little to turn Newman into the road to Rome. 'He made me,' says Newman, 'to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He

fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence.' Froude himself wrote, 'Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the Rationalist spirit they set afloat is the false prophet of the Revelations.' It need excite no surprise that the disciples who were willing to sit at the feet of such a Gamaliel soon came to boast, 'We are Catholics without the Popery, and Church of England men without the Protestantism.'

Newman was travelling on the Continent with Hurrell Froude, who was in bad health, at the time when his friends held their memorable conference at Hadleigh, and had formed the resolution to unprotestantize the English Church. He returned home soon after, and at once threw himself with characteristic ardour into the movement. During his residence abroad he had cherished 'fierce thoughts against the Liberals,' and had said to himself that when he returned they should know the difference. He was incomparably the most able of the band who had solemnly bound themselves, as by an oath, to effect a 'second Reformation,' and to turn back the current of public religious opinion and feeling. He was already distinguished for his wide scholarship, his extensive reading, his clear intellectual perception, his wilful and somewhat imperious temper, and his singleness of aim and purpose. In his early days he had embraced the Evangelical creed, and had been deeply impressed by the writings of Thomas Scott the commentator, 'to whom,' he says (humanly speaking), 'I owe my soul.' At the University he came under the influence of Whately, adopted many of the Broad-Church views of that original thinker, and found himself drifting in the direction of Liberalism. Then Dr. Hawkins, vicar of St. Mary's, began to 'give him new ideas and to instil into him new phases of thought.' A 'Treatise on Apostolical Preaching,' by Sumner, which Hawkins

lent him, induced him to renounce his remaining Calvinistic opinions and to embrace the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and tradition; to believe that the Bible was not intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it; and that the doctrines of the Church were to be found in its formularies, the Catechism, and the Creeds. Hurrell Froude, as we have seen, taught him to cherish devotional feelings towards the Virgin Mary, and to believe that Christ is personally present in the sacramental elements. He now formed intimacies of the closest and most influential kind with Dr. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew, a young divine of great ability and vast learning, and Mr. Keble, the author of 'The Christian Year,' who were all deeply imbued with Patristic notions, and bent on restoring the primitive authority of the Church. 'In and from Keble,' says Newman, 'the mental activity of Oxford took the direction which issued in what was called Tractarianism.' Though Keble was held in reverence by the other members of the Anti-Protestant League, they did not estimate his intellectual power and influence so highly as Newman did. Hurrell Froude used to say, 'Poor Keble, he was asked to join the aristocracy of talent, but he soon found his level.' 'The Christian Year' has indeed attained an extraordinary popularity, but this is largely owing to the fact that it reflected the feeling of a large section of the community at that time, and embodied in a poetical form the sacramental doctrines and the pretensions of the Anglo-Catholic party. Much of it is nebulous, hazy, and almost unintelligible; but there can be no doubt that it contributed not a little to prepare the public mind for the theories afterwards promulgated by Keble's associates, and was to some extent instrumental in forming a school which detested 'heresy, insubordination, resistance to things established, claims of independence, disloyalty, innovation, and a critical censorious spirit.' Keble's poetry breathes the most refined and beautiful sentiments, and he was himself

genial and affectionate to his friends; but he was narrow-minded, prejudiced, and intolerant towards those who differed from his opinions. Mr. Froude mentions a characteristic instance of his narrowness. A member of a family with which he had been intimate had adopted Liberal opinions in theology. Keble probably did not know what these opinions were, but regarded this person as an apostate who had sinned against light. He came to call one day when the offender was at home; and learning that he was in the house, he refused to enter, and remained sitting in the porch.

The Sunday after Newman's return to England (July 14th), Mr. Keble preached the assize sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of 'National Apostasy,' and Newman always kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833. There appears to have been considerable difference of opinion at first among the associates as to the mode in which they should carry out their scheme; but Newman, by his great intellectual ability, scholarship, and courage, speedily became the leader of the party, and had his own way. Compared with him, Keble, Pusey, Williams, Palmer, and the others were 'but as ciphers, and he the indicating number.' 'The triumvirs, who became a national force,' says J. A. Froude, 'and gave its real character to the Oxford movement, were Keble, Pusey, and John Henry Newman. Newman himself was the moving power; the two others were powers also, but of inferior mental strength. Without the third they would have been known as men of genius and learning, but their personal influence would have been limited to and would have ended with themselves.' The case was altogether different with respect to Newman. He had been appointed in 1828 incumbent of St. Mary's Church, and his remarkable sermons, as well as personal character, had gained him supreme influence over the undergraduates, who 'came to regard him with the affection

of pupils for an idolized master. The simplest word that dropped from him was treasured as if it had been an intellectual diamond. For hundreds of young men, "Credo in Newmanum" was the genuine symbol of faith.' Blomfield, Bishop of London, said in his characteristic way that 'the whole movement was nothing but a Newmania.'

Newman at once threw himself into the movement with characteristic ardour, and employed all his influence to make converts to his views, especially among the clergy, on not a few of whom in various parts of the country he made a personal call, whether he was acquainted with them or not. He wrote letters to others on whom he could not personally wait. He commenced a series of letters in the *Record* on Church Reform and Church Discipline. He waxed fierce, almost to slaying, against the Liberals, and was especially indignant at Dr. Arnold, whom he scarcely thought a Christian. 'I do not shrink,' he said, 'from affirming my firm conviction that it would be a gain to the country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion than at present it shows itself to be.' 'A heresiarch,' he contended, 'should meet with no mercy: he assumes the office of the Tempter; and so far forth as his error goes must be dealt with by the competent authority as if he were embodied evil. To spare him is false and dangerous pity. It is to endanger the souls of thousands, and it is uncharitable towards himself.' 'When one of my friends,' he says, 'of liberal and evangelical opinions, wrote to expostulate with me on the course I was taking, I said that we would ride over him and his as Othniel prevailed over Chushan-rishathaim, King of Mesopotamia. Again, I would have no dealings with my brother. I dissuaded a lady from attending the marriage of a sister who had seceded from the Anglican Church.' Such was the spirit—narrow-minded, bigoted, and intolerant—in which Newman commenced his assaults upon Liberalism, and took

part in the effort to unprotestantize the English Church.

The celebrated series of 'Tracts for the Times' was commenced at this period by Newman out of his own head, as he expressed it. They were looked upon with considerable alarm by Palmer, Percival, and other friends of the movement, who earnestly entreated Newman to put a stop to them; but, encouraged by Keble and Froude, he resolved to continue the series. The foundation of the Tractarian system, as set forth by its founders in these and other papers, was the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. In the first tract, which was written by Newman, the question is put, 'On what are we to rest our authority when the State deserts us,' and the answer given is 'On our Apostolical descent.' The Tractarians affirmed that Christ had instituted in his Church a special body of men, deriving their authority by unbroken succession from the Apostles through Episcopal ordination and the imposition of hands. This order of men, it is alleged, are first, priests mediating between Christ and his people, with the right and power to offer sacrifice, to dispense the sacraments, and to grant absolution of sins; and secondly, they are the sole legitimate rulers and governors of the Christian Church. 'As to the fact of the Apostolical Succession,' said one of Newman's associates, '*i.e.*, that our present Bishops are the heirs and representatives of the Apostles by successive transmission of the prerogative of being so, this is too notorious to require proof. Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present Metropolitan.'

Each Bishop, according to this theory, from the Apostolic times down to the present day received in his consecration a mysterious 'gift,' which he transmits in turn to every priest whom he ordains, indicated by the words, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' conferring upon him the power to bind and to loose, to administer the sacraments, and to preach. Ministers not Episcopally ordained have no right to preach the Gospel or to administer the sacraments, let them be as

holy as they may. On the other hand, no matter how ungodly and openly wicked a properly ordained minister may be, divine grace will be communicated through the sacraments dispensed by him, and falsehood from his lips will have the effect of truth to the hearers. 'The unworthiness of man,' it was asserted, 'cannot prevent the goodness of God from flowing in those channels in which he has destined it to flow;' and the Christian congregations of the present day, who sit at the feet of ministers duly ordained, 'have the same reason for reverencing in them the successors of the Apostles, as the primitive Churches of Ephesus and Crete had for honouring in Timothy and Titus the Apostolic authority of him who had appointed them.' So consistently did they carry out this theory to its logical conclusion, that they affirmed that even when a 'duly ordained minister exhibited in his sermons a wrong system of doctrine, the Church would certainly receive profit from his preaching.' 'When everything,' it was said, 'seems against the true followers of Christ, so that on a carnal calculation you would suppose the services of the Church stripped of all efficacy, then by acting faith in the Head of the ministry they are instructed and nourished, though in the main the given lesson be falsehood and the proffered sustenance little better than poison.' Holding this theory it was natural that Mr. Newman, in the first Tract, should ask, 'Why should we talk so little of an Apostolical Succession? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with this plain truth, that by separating themselves from our communion they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from the only Church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure she has the Lord's body to give to his people?'

Closely connected with this theory of Apostolical Succession is the notion entertained by Tractarians respecting the nature and validity of the sacraments. In their opinion Baptism and the Lord's Supper are

not simply expressive rites symbolical of religious doctrines, and capable of awakening religious emotion through the medium of the senses and imagination; they are themselves the channel through which a 'supernatural grace' is communicated, but only when they are administered by a minister who is in the line of Apostolic Succession. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is held by a large party in the English Church who are not Tractarians; but the leaders of that party contend not only that regeneration is effected in every case of baptism administered by a properly ordained minister, but that there is no certain hope of the pardon of sin wilfully committed after that rite has been administered. 'The Church,' says Dr. Pusey, 'has no second baptism to give, and so she cannot pronounce him who sins after baptism altogether free from his past sins. There are but two periods of absolute cleansing—baptism and the day of judgment.' If this doctrine were true, another leading Tractarian would have been warranted to speak, as he has done almost blasphemously, of 'the vastness of the power claimed by the Church—a power which places it almost on a level with God Himself—the power of forgiving sins by wiping them out in baptism, of transferring souls from hell to heaven without admitting a doubt of it.'

As to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the doctrines taught by the Tractarians differed only in the language employed to describe it from the Roman Catholic tenet of Transubstantiation. When the founders of this school met in council to organize its operations, they pledged themselves to the belief that 'the participation in the body and blood of Christ is essential to the maintenance of Christian life and hope in each individual,' or, as Mr. Keble expressed it, is 'the only way of salvation;' and 'that it is conveyed to individual Christians only by the hands of the successors of the Apostles and their delegates'—that is, Bishops and Priests. They contend strongly for the mysterious and miraculous character of the

Eucharist, and ask, 'Is there all the difference, or indeed anything more than the difference, between things seen and unseen (a difference worth nothing in faith's estimate), between healing the sick and converting the soul, raising man's natural body and raising him in baptism from the death of sin? Is the wonder wrought at the marriage of Cana a miracle, and the *change which the holy elements undergo as consecrated by the priest* and received by the faithful no miracle, simply because the one was perceptible to the natural eye, while the other is discerned by the spiritual alone?'

As these notions have received no countenance from the Holy Scriptures, the Tractarians asserted that the Bible is not the sole or a perfect rule of faith, and that it is to be supplemented by tradition, which is exalted by them into a co-ordinate authority. Hence the reverence with which they regard the Fathers as the historians of tradition, whose most childish fancies, stories of pretended miracles, and whimsical and ridiculous interpretations of Scripture they adopt and eulogize. Hence, too, the doctrine of development on which the Papal Church lays such stress, and has turned so largely to account. The doctrine of 'reserve' in the mode of exhibiting, or rather veiling Christian truth, was also borrowed from Rome, and it was even contended that the doctrine of the atonement should not be set forth by ministers in an explicit and prominent manner. Prayers for the dead were openly justified as being, in the opinion of Newman, 'Catholic and apparently Apostolical;' and with regard to the Popish doctrine of Purgatory we are told that, 'taken in the mere letter, there is little in it against which we shall be able to sustain formal objections.' It was strongly recommended that the image of the cross—'a holy and efficacious emblem'—should be multiplied far and wide, and 'with the cross should be associated other Catholic symbols. For these painted windows seem to furnish a suitable place. They should at all events be confined to

the most sacred portion of the building. Such are the lamb with the standard, the descending dove, the anchor, the triangle, the pelican, the fish, and others.' The absence of anointing at baptism and confirmation was lamented as the 'loss of a privilege.' It was recommended that 'two wax candles should be placed upon the altar,' that is, over the communion table, and to use altar-cloths, flowers woven into wreaths and chaplets, the dedication by private Christians of particular days to the religious commemoration of deceased saints, and to employ in their honour a service after the pattern of an office in the breviary of a Roman saint. 'Days and places,' it was said, 'specially dedicated to the saints, are means to us of communion with them. They not only remind us of them, and lead us to contemplate their lives, but they give us a special interest in the prayers which these blessed spirits offer up day and night before the throne.' Some of the Tractarian writers pleaded openly for the restoration of Monasticism; others expressed their predilection for the celibacy of the clergy. In short, as the system was developed they gradually adopted one by one all the essential principles of Romanism, except submission to Papal authority, and not a few of its rites and ceremonies.

The Tractarian movement at Oxford was regarded at first with curiosity or surprise rather than with apprehension; but as the views and aims of its leaders expanded, and the number of their followers rapidly increased, the public began to suspect the integrity of the authors of the Tracts and of kindred articles in periodicals devoted to the advocacy of their tenets, and to perceive that they were steadily advancing Rome-ward. They talked indeed of a *Via Media*—a middle path between Protestantism and Popery, which they argued was the proper road for the English Church to follow; and their leader spoke of the 'Papal Apostasy,' 'the corrupt system of the Papacy,' declared that Rome was 'heretic,' was 'invaded by an evil genius,' that she

had 'apostatized in the Council of Trent,' that 'she had joined herself in perpetual league to the cause of Antichrist,' and that 'her communion was infected with heresy, and ought to be shunned like the plague.' The sincerity of these strong sentiments was doubted at the time, and it was uncharitably alleged that they were used merely as a blind—not altogether without reason; for their author subsequently acknowledged that he justified himself in publishing such opinions by the excuse that he was not speaking his own words, he was but following a consensus of the divines of his Church. They had ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. 'I wish,' he said to himself, 'to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe.' He now frankly admits, however, that he had reason to fear that such language was to be ascribed in no small measure to a hope of approving himself to persons he respected, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism. When told, therefore, that the tenets he was advocating were 'sheer Popery,' he replied, 'True; we seem to be making straight for it; but go on a while, and you will come to a deep chasm across the path which makes real approximation impossible.'

These excuses and pleas served their purpose for a time, all the more readily that the efforts of the Tractarians seemed likely to counteract the movements in an opposite direction of the Broad Church party, headed by such men as Arnold and Whately. But when the system was further developed, and the Tracts were devoted to the advocacy of doctrines and ceremonies which had hitherto distinguished the Romish from the Protestant Church, such as auricular confession, prayers for the dead, the intercession of saints, a rigid observance of fasts, the priest praying with his back to the people, the elevation of the bread at the Communion in imitation of the elevation of the host, placing lighted tapers at noonday on the Communion table,

and other similar innovations; when a clergyman holding office in the English Church was seen proceeding through the streets in his surplice, with a crucifix in his hand, to administer the sacrament to a dying parishioner; when the Church of England was described to be in a state that required 'means of *recovery* and *re-establishment* to make her a *pure* branch of the Catholic Church;' when leading Tractarians were heard to declare that they 'hated the Reformers and the Reformation more and more;' when the Reformation was spoken of as all but a fearful judgment, and it was declared that the 'unprotestantizing of the National Church' was an object which they should strain every nerve to accomplish—then it became evident to the most unsophisticated and simple-minded that the alleged 'deep chasm' did not exist, and that the *Via Media*, after striking off at a large angle from the Protestant path, was now leading direct into the broad road which conducted pilgrims to Rome. In short, the 'Anglican Church,' as it was termed by the Tractarians, was to be regarded, according to the Tractarian theory, as a definite society endowed with high gifts exclusively limited to the clergy ordained in an unbroken succession from the Apostles, out of which there is no salvation; it was affirmed in their Tracts that the ministers of this Church possess the gift of inspiration, and are authorized collaterally with the Bible to declare the revealed will of God, not only in the way of interpretation, but also in the assertion of doctrines which are not actually found in Scripture; that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the appointed channel for man's salvation, and that none but an apostolically ordained minister can administer it; that there is a real presence of Christ in the consecrated elements; that General Councils are infallible; that works of penance procure pardon of sins; that there is a Purgatory for the purification of the saints; that there is a sacrifice of the Mass, wherein offering is made to God for the remission of sin; that

celibacy is a holier state than marriage; that the blessed saints intercede with God for men, and that prayers for the dead are desirable. When these tenets were publicly professed and advocated, it became evident to the 'meanest comprehension' that Anglicanism and Romanism were twin sisters.

Meanwhile the Tractarians, emboldened by the manifest reluctance of the Bishops to interfere with them, proceeded to develop more and more clearly their system in all its principles and details, either unconscious or regardless of the growing indignation of the people. Tract number xxx., written by Mr. Isaac Williams, which advocated 'reserve' in communicating religious knowledge, and contended that the 'mysteries' of religion should not be made known to the general public, provoked a serious outcry, and was understood, not without reason, to recommend that their most unpopular doctrines, leading direct to Romanism, should be kept back till the public mind was prepared to receive them. A tract by Newman, on the Breviary, was so Romanizing that it drew down a remonstrance even from Dr. Bagot, the High-Church Bishop of Oxford; and Tract lxxxix., on 'the Mysticism of the Fathers,' not only defended but eulogized many of the stupendous errors of patristic allegory, which to sober-minded interpreters of Scripture seem the merest dreams of a crazed fancy. But Tract number xc. brought matters to a crisis. Crosses, crucifixes, triangles, anchors, doves, fishes, garlands, and other ecclesiastic frippery, had excited a strong feeling in the community; and when one after another of the more forward and hot-headed Tractarians went over to Rome, no one could doubt what was the tendency if not the object of the system. But the publication of the notorious tract referred to elicited a burst of public indignation which seems to have astonished and overawed the leaders of the party.

The object of the Tract, as Mr. Newman its author declares, was to 'minimize'

the teaching of the Articles, in order to induce the members of his party who were inclined to go over to the Romish communion to remain within the pale of the English Church. He aimed at showing that a clergyman could subscribe to the Articles of the Established Church, and yet hold almost all the Popish doctrines against which these Articles were regarded as a protest. He maintained that the Thirty-nine Articles were not really opposed to the Romish doctrines, but might be subscribed by those who were in heart at one with the Papal system. It was confidently asserted by him that these Articles were directed, not against the doctrines of Popery, but only against the popular abuses of these doctrines; that they condemned Masses, but not the Mass; that they were not written against the creed of the Romish Church, but only against actual existing errors in its practice; that a clergyman may subscribe these Articles and yet believe in the Mass, in Purgatory, indulgences, worshipping and adoration of relics, and the invocation of saints; may hold that confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction are sacraments, though the Articles expressly declare that they 'are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel;' and may contend that General Councils 'gathered together in the name of Christ' are infallible, though the Articles affirm that such councils 'may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God.' The attempt thus made to explain away the plainest and most explicit statements of these Articles, and to reconcile the creed of the Episcopal Church with the dogmas of Popery, was received with a storm of indignation the violence of which startled Newman himself, who says, strangely enough, that he was 'quite unprepared for its violence.' The 'priestly glossing' of the Tract was compared to the moral jugglery and the mental reservations of the Jesuits, as saying one thing and meaning another and vitally different thing, as destructive

of public truth and morality, and as fitted to destroy all confidence in the honour and good faith of mankind.

The University of Oxford was thrown into a fever of excitement, and clamorous demands were made that adequate punishment should be inflicted on 'the traitor who would betray the citadel he was sworn to defend.' Four of the leading tutors, of whom the present Archbishop of Canterbury was one, published a letter stating that the Tract had a tendency to 'mitigate' the differences between Roman and Anglican doctrine; and the Hebdomadal Council, consisting of the vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, held a meeting (March 15, 1841) to consider the complaint of the four tutors, and passed the following resolution—'Considering that it is enjoined in the statutes of the University that every student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them; considering also that a Tract has recently appeared, dated from Oxford, and entitled "Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," being Number Ninety of Tracts for the Times, a series of anonymous publications purporting to be written by members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself: Resolved that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the same Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes.'

A great outcry was made at the time by the Tractarians and their friends that the action of the Hebdomadal Board was precipitate, and that they refused to delay even for a day their decision on the subject. But no explanation whatever could have rendered the Tract less offensive or jesuitical, and the all but universal opinion now, after the lapse of forty years, is that the sentence was just. As one of the

Bishops said, 'Under the specious pretence of deference to antiquity and respect for primitive models, the foundations of the Protestant Church are undermined by men who dwell within her walls, and those who sit in the Reformers' seat are traducing the Reformation.' The strong feeling which this attempt to explain away the meaning of the Articles excited, at length compelled the High-Church Bishop of the Diocese to intimate his strong desire that the Tracts should be discontinued, and this step was accordingly taken. From this time onward the views of the party were set forth mainly in the *British Critic*, of which Newman was the editor. But their zeal was in no degree checked by the disapprobation of 'the successors of the Apostles,' to whose authority they had hitherto professed almost slavish obedience. One after another, the leaders of the party found their appropriate asylum in the bosom of the Papacy; but the great majority retained their livings, though they had abandoned the principles of the Church whose bread they eat, and from the vantage-ground of the parishes, the pulpits, the Universities and the Sees of the National Church they have continued most dishonestly to undermine the Protestant faith, and to propagate all the essential principles of the Romish system.

At this period of restlessness and excitement, both religious and secular, another sect sprang into existence, which for several years attracted a good deal of attention and led to not a little angry controversy—the Irvingites, as they were termed, from the most eminent person connected with the society. Edward Irving, one of the most powerful and impressive pulpit orators of his day, began his remarkable career in London in 1822, where he was appointed minister of a little Scottish Church in Hatton Garden. His personal appearance, commanding, prophet-like manner, and peculiar mode of thought and language speedily made an impression on the public, notwithstanding the disadvantageous posi-

tion in which his ministry in London began. But the immediate origin of Irving's sudden and remarkable popularity, and the circumstance which led to a crowd of noble and fashionable hearers pouring in upon his chapel, is said to have been a speech of Canning's in the House of Commons. Sir James Mackintosh had accidentally been led to hear the new preacher, and was much struck with the words uttered by Irving in his prayer, describing a family of orphans as now 'thrown upon the fatherhood of God.' He repeated the words to Canning, who 'started,' as Mackintosh said, and made an engagement to accompany the philosophic historian to the Scottish Chapel next Sunday. Shortly after, a discussion took place in the House of Commons, in which reference was made to the resources of the Church and the necessity of liberal endowments, in order to secure eminent clerical abilities. Canning told the House that so far from universal was this rule that he himself had lately heard a Scottish minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of Churches and established in one of her outlying dependencies possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever listened to. The curiosity awakened by Canning's speech was the first beginning of the invasion of 'Society' on the mean and dingy-looking Caledonian Chapel and its gifted minister. Crowds of people, mainly of the intelligent, the learned, the intellectual, and the noble—statesmen, poets, painters, philosophers, literary men, merchants, members of Parliament, peers and fashionable ladies, mingled with shopkeepers and mechanics—flocked to hear the Scottish orator, who thus at a bound 'sprang out of obscurity with a sudden unexampled leap to the giddiest height of popular applause, abuse, and idolatry.' Irving's tall and stalwart figure, rich deep-toned voice, remarkable countenance, and prodigious energy heightened the effect of his fearless denunciation of everything, civil or ecclesiastical, which he considered wrong;

while his style, which was formed on the model of the old Puritans, attracted attention by its quaint phraseology and abrupt simplicity. The attacks made upon him by the witlings of the metropolis, squibs and caricatures, as well as the criticism of all the leading periodicals, including the *Quarterly* and *Westminster Reviews*, contributed not a little to the extraordinary sensation produced by Irving's remarkable style of oratory. In the zenith of his fame he published a volume of discourses under the title of 'For the Oracles of God; Four Orations: For Judgments to Come; an Argument in Nine Parts,' three editions of which were called for in little more than six months. It excited greater attention, was more extensively criticised with a greater diversity of opinion, than probably any other volume of sermons ever published in the English language. The work has now sunk into oblivion; but though disfigured by numerous and glaring faults in style and manner and taste, it contains many passages of extraordinary beauty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which deserved to survive.

Irving's popularity continued with no abatement for about two years, and a new and stately church was erected for him in Regent Square, capable of accommodating at least two thousand persons. But unfortunately his thirst for applause had grown morbid, and strong excitement had become a necessity of his nature. 'There was now,' says Carlyle, 'the impossibility to live neglected; to walk on the quiet paths where alone it is well with us; singularity must henceforth succeed singularity.' The crowd of frivolous sight-seers and fashion-hunters soon flocked elsewhere in pursuit of some new object of attraction; and Carlyle, who was Irving's early and intimate friend, was of opinion that it was his eager and vain attempts to retain his hold on the class who at one time thronged his church which led him astray from the path of sober and sound doctrine, and entangled him inextricably in absurdity and error. There can

be little doubt that the excitement which he had created had been too powerful for even his strong understanding and noble spirit to control, and that he now found it impossible to pause in his fervid career. But there were other and more potent causes at work, hurrying him on towards the goal which he was soon to reach. Irving had become a most enthusiastic disciple of Coleridge, and the influence of the Highgate sage contributed not a little to increase the tendency the Scottish minister had already manifested to mysticism and obscurity. Though Irving's sermons and prayers still manifested power, and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, their mysticism and extreme allegorization rendered them always wearisome, and often unintelligible. He now devoted himself with characteristic ardour to the exposition of unfulfilled prophecy, and through that medium sought to explain the difficulties of the Bible, and the condition and prospects of humanity. In a bulky volume entitled 'Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed by God,' published in 1826, he ventured to predict the exact date of the final overthrow of Popery and Infidelity, and confidently fixed upon the year 1868 as the period when the Millennial reign of Christ on earth was to commence. He next adopted the opinion that it was the want of faith alone which prevented the miraculous gifts conferred upon the primitive Church from being enjoyed by the Church in modern times, and the ministers of the one from doing what had been done by the Apostles of the other. Having for some time earnestly prayed for and eagerly expected the return of these miraculous gifts, it was natural that he should ere long believe that they had been again bestowed upon the Church.

Shortly before this period Irving had come under the influence of Mr. Henry Drummond, a banker and member of Parliament, a very remarkable man. He was the recognized head of a small body of religious men, whose principal bond of union

seems to have been a confident belief in the Second Advent of Christ. His character presented a curious combination of a believer in all the mysteries of religion, and a shrewd caustic man of the world. His wealth, high social position, and restless activity, combined with his impatient, fastidious, and wilful disposition, made him very arbitrary in his dealings with others, and especially with those whose connection with him arose out of their common religious belief. He held conferences of students of prophecy, lasting for six days at a time, at his country-seat, Albury in Surrey, which were regularly attended by Irving, and of course served to confirm him in his expectation that the Millennium would commence at no distant day. The influence of the impetuous and imperious Albury religious potentate on the simple-minded, tender-hearted Scottish preacher was not beneficial, and tended to make him plunge deeper and deeper into mystical and prophetic speculations, and as his biographer says, 'to cast wistful looks over all the world, not only for prophecies fulfilled, but for signs approaching—watching the gleams upon the horizon which should herald the advent of the Lord.' When Irving was in this state of mind, a kind of religious frenzy broke out at Row, on the Firth of Clyde. A girl of the name of Mary Campbell was supposed to be dying of consumption. 'One of her sisters, along with a female friend who had come to the house for that end,' wrote Irving, 'had been spending the whole day in humiliation and fasting, and prayer before God with a special respect to the restoration of the "gifts." They had come up in the evening to the sick chamber of the sister, who was laid on a sofa, and along with one or two others of the household they were engaged in prayer together. When in the midst of their devotions the Holy Ghost came with mighty power upon the sick woman, as she lay in her weakness, and constrained her to speak at great length and with superhuman strength in an unknown tongue, to the

astonishment of all who heard and to her "own great edification."

The excitement soon spread to the opposite shores of the Firth of Clyde. A family in humble life, of the name of Macdonald, contained an invalid sister who one day addressed her two brothers, James and George, at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James that he might *at that time* be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost instantly James calmly said, 'I have got it.' He walked to the window and stood silent for a minute or two. He then walked up to his sister's bedside, and addressed her in these words, 'Arise and stand upright.' He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she rose. The next step taken by James Macdonald was to write to Mary Campbell, conveying to her the same command which had been so effectual in the case of his sister. On receipt of this letter she too rose up, and declared herself healed. 'Whatever the cause,' says Irving's biographer, 'the result was real. Mary Campbell, who before this time had been confined to bed, from this moment without any interval returned to active life; became, as was natural, the centre of double curiosity and interest; spoke, expounded, gave forth the utterances of her power in crowded assemblies, and entered into the full career of a prophetess and gifted person.' The whole country was speedily ringing with the tale of these wondrous events, and not a few implicitly believed that a new miraculous dispensation, embodying the gifts of Tongues and of Healing, was inaugurated in all the power of Apostolic times.

It is not difficult to understand the effect which the news of these manifestations had upon a mind like Irving's, in the state in which it then was. 'A subtle agitation of hope, wonder, and curiosity pervaded the Church, which, under Irving's half miraculous realizations of every truth he touched, must have been fully prepared for the entirely miraculous whenever it should appear with reasonable warrant and wit-

ness.' Instances of miraculous healing were now alleged to be taking place on the banks of the Thames, of the same nature with those that had been witnessed on the shores of the Gareloch, and these were followed by manifestations in Irving's own congregation. 'Two of my flock,' he wrote to a friend in July, 1831, 'have received the gift of tongues and prophecy.' They had prayed for these gifts, and had not, he said, 'dared to believe that when we asked for bread He gave us a stone, and when we asked fish He gave us a serpent.' 'The Spirit took them, and made them speak in a tongue—sometimes singing in a tongue, sometimes speaking words in a tongue, and by degrees this gift was perfected until they were moved to speak in a tongue even in the presence of others. Then in process of time, perhaps at the end of a fortnight, the gift perfected itself so that they were made to speak in a tongue and to prophesy; that is, to set forth in English words for exhortation, for edification, and comfort.' Irving then proceeded to 'try the spirits,' but, as his biographer says, 'his was not a mind judicial, impartial, able to confine itself to mere evidence,' and prepossessed as he was with the notion that these gifts were directly sent in answer to prayer, he had no misgivings as to the genuineness of the manifestations, which had now become frequent at his prayer meetings. He hesitated, however, for some weeks to suffer the utterances in his Church even in the morning meetings; but the warning and reproving voices which interrupted his prayers and exhortations in private meetings were not to be restrained. These prophets told him, in mournful outbursts, that he was restraining the Spirit of God. He could not bear this reproach; and believing that the exhortations and reproofs came from God, he felt that he had no choice but to obey them.

Matters soon came to a crisis. Early in November Irving delivered two sermons on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and both at the morning and evening services

the congregation was disturbed by individuals pretending to the miraculous gift of tongues. In the morning a lady, unable as she said to restrain herself, rushed into the vestry, and spoke for some time in an unknown tongue, while another from the same impulse ran down the side aisle out of the church. 'The sudden, doleful, and unintelligible sounds,' said an eye-witness of the scene, 'being heard by all the congregation, produced the utmost confusion; the act of standing up, the exertion to hear, see, and understand, by 1600 or 2000 persons, created a noise which may be easily conceived.' Irving paused in his preaching when this strange interruption occurred; and when order was restored he stated that the occurrence was not new except in the congregation, where he had been for some time considering the propriety of introducing it; but though satisfied of the correctness of such a measure, he was afraid of dispersing the flock. Nevertheless, as it was now brought forward by God's will, he felt it his duty to submit.

In the evening there was a tremendous crowd, and great excitement. Mr. Irving had nearly finished his discourse when another of the ladies spoke. Then a gentleman in the gallery rose from his seat, and commenced a violent harangue in the unknown tongue. The confusion occasioned was extreme. The whole congregation rose from their seats in affright. Several ladies screamed aloud, and others rushed to the door. 'There was, indeed, in the strange, unearthly, and extraordinary power of voice, enough to appal the most stout-hearted.'

There was considerable difference of opinion respecting the precise nature and meaning of the sounds thus uttered by the prophets and prophetesses. Some asserted that the 'tongue' was real language. Mary Campbell affirmed that the tongue given to her was that of the Pelew Islands, of which she was not likely to know much; while others expressed their conviction that it was the Turkish or Chinese language. A third class declared that it was mere

gibberish, utterly devoid of meaning. But in the end the devout believers in the miraculous character of these manifestations came to the conclusion that the tongues were not actual languages, but only 'a supernatural sight attestation' of the intelligible prophecy which followed. But when the unintelligible utterances did pass into English they were found to contain exhortations, warnings, or commands of the most commonplace character, which it required no supernatural power to discover and set forth.

The die was now cast; the door once opened could not be shut. The manifestations grew in number and intensity, and were completely beyond Irving's control. He became a spectator, rather than an actor, in the strange scenes that were now regularly witnessed in his church. The prophets assumed a higher authority than his in the regulation of its proceedings, and not unfrequently addressed him in the language of warning, admonition, and rebuke. A Mr. Baxter, in particular, carried matters with a high hand, and not only interpreted prophecy, but uttered predictions. He fixed the day and the year when the 'rapture of the saints' was to take place; he laid claim to the character of an apostle, declared 'in the power' that the Church no longer retained the privilege of ordaining, and that all spiritual offices were henceforth to be filled by the 'gifted,' or those specially called through the gifted by the Spirit of God. Irving was troubled, and no wonder, at some of these manifestations; and when addressed in 'a commanding tone' by Baxter, who afterwards confessed that he had been all along under a delusion, 'he was much startled, and doubted whether it was of God or of the enemy,' and said to the prophet, 'Faith is hard;' but in the end he always submitted to 'the gifted brethren.' About this time the exorcism of an evil spirit was attempted by Mary Campbell (afterwards Mrs. Caird) and Mr. Baxter, who stood over the supposed demoniac, adjuring the devil to come out of him, but without

success. Irving, who was a looker on, only ventured to utter the significant suggestion, 'This kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting.' He looked on helpless, and doubting, and 'trying the spirits with anxious scrutiny,' while 'prophet after prophet, with convulsed frame and miraculous outcry, took up the burden and enforced the message of his predecessor, by times electrifying the little assembly with sudden denunciation of some secret sin in the midst of them, or of some intruding devil who has found entrance into the sacred place.'

Irving's conduct had long been regarded with uneasiness and suspicion by the Church of Scotland, and it was at length brought under the notice of the London Presbytery by the trustees of his church in Regent Square, in accordance with the advice of Sir Edward Sugden; and by the decision of that court he was excluded from the building on the ground of the irregular and improper proceedings permitted in the public worship. He and those who still adhered to him found refuge for a time in a large room in Gray's Inn Road, and afterwards, in 1833, in a large picture gallery in Newman Street which had belonged to West the painter. The Presbytery of Annan, by which Irving was licensed, in compliance with the injunction of the Commission of Assembly, summoned him to appear before them on a charge of heresy arising out of his opinions respecting the human nature of Christ. The proceedings terminated in his deposition from the office of the ministry, and his final separation from the Scottish Church.

It is a significant fact most characteristic of the 'Albury School of Prophets,' as they were termed from their rich and powerful patron, that on Irving's return to Newman Street after his deposition, sad and weary, and with a sorely wounded heart, 'he was received, not with extraordinary honours as a martyr, but with an immediate interdict "in the power," forbidding him to exercise any priestly function, to administer sacraments, or to assume anything out of the province of the deacon, the lowest office in

the newly-formed Church.' He was not even permitted to preach except in those 'less sacred assemblies in which the outer world of unbelievers were admitted to meet the Church; but in the Church itself he sat silent, deprived of his office, no longer the angel to whom the apostle himself had to bow, but a simple servant—doorkeeper in the house of the Lord.' He had no expectation of so extraordinary a proceeding; but not a syllable of complaint upon the subject ever came from his lips. 'The prophets spoke and elders ruled; but in the midst of them Irving sat silent, listening wistfully, if perhaps the voice from heaven might come to restore him to that office which was the vocation of his life.' At last, while he sat in the lowest place, and waited with rare humbleness of mind, the 'utterance' called him to resume his office. As the authorized 'Chronicle' of the Church expressed it, by 'the concurrent action in manifested supernatural power, both of prophet and apostle, he was called and ordained angel or chief pastor of the flock assembled in Newman Street.' The sacred office was restored to him by 'the apostolic hands of Mr. Cardale, at the command of one of the ecstatic speakers;' and Irving humbly accepted that re-ordination.

The general public continued still to take an interest in these 'spiritual manifestations,' and the place of meeting was generally crowded with curious spectators who seem to have been at a loss whether to ascribe the 'utterances' to imposture or fanaticism. Among others the Clerk of the Council found his way to Newman Street, and his description of the 'exhibition of tongues' which he witnessed represents it correctly as it appeared to the outer world. 'The chapel,' he says, 'is oblong, with a semicircular recess at one end. It has been fitted up with galleries all round; and in the semicircle there are tiers of benches, in front of which is a platform with an elevated chair for Irving himself, and a sort of desk before it; on each side of the chair are three arm-chairs, on which three

other preachers sat. The steps from the floor to the platform were occupied by men (whether peculiarly favoured or not, I don't know); but the seats behind Irving's chair are evidently appropriated to the higher class of devotees, for they were the best dressed of the congregation. The business was conducted with decency, and the congregation was attentive. It began with a hymn, the words given out by one of the assistant preachers and sung by the whole flock. This, which seems to be common to all Dissenting services, is always very fine, the full swell of human voices producing a grand effect. After this Irving delivered a prayer in a very slow drawling tone, rather long, and not at all striking in point of language or thought. When he had finished, one of the men sitting beside him arose, read a few verses from the Bible, and discoursed thereon. He was a sorry fellow, and was followed by two others not much better. After these three Spencer Perceval* stood up. He recited the duty to our neighbour in the Catechism, and descanted on that text in a style in all respects far superior to the others. He appeared about to touch on politics, and (as well as I can recollect) was saying, "Ye trusted that your institutions were unalterable; ye believed that your loyalty to your king, your respect for your nobility, your"—when suddenly a low moaning voice was heard, on which he instantly stopped, threw his arm over his breast, and covered his eyes in an attitude of deep devotion, as if oppressed by the presence of the Spirit. The voice, after ejaculating three "Oh's," one rising above the other in tones very musical, burst into a flow of unintelligible jargon, which whether it was in English or gibberish I could not discover. This lasted five or six minutes, and as the noise was silenced, another woman, in more passionate and louder tones, took it up; this last spoke in English, and words though not sentences

were distinguishable. I had a full view of her, sitting exactly behind Irving's chair. She was well-dressed, spoke sitting, under great apparent excitement, and screamed on till from exhaustion, as it seemed, her voice gradually died away, and all was still. Then Spencer Perceval in slow and solemn tones resumed, not where he had left off, but with an exhortation to hear the voice of the Lord, which had just been uttered to the congregation; and after a few more sentences he sat down. Two more followed him, and then Irving preached. His subject was God's love, upon which he poured forth a mystical, incomprehensible rhapsody, with extraordinary vehemence of manner and power of lungs. There was nothing like eloquence in his sermon, no musical periods to captivate the ear, no striking illustrations to charm the imagination; but there is undoubtedly something in his commanding figure and strange wild countenance, his vehemence, and above all the astonishing power of his voice, its compass, intonation, and variety, which arrests attention and gives the notion of a great orator. I dare say he can speak well, but to waste real eloquence on such an auditory would be like throwing pearls to swine.'

The 'Albury School of Prophets' were of opinion that before the Second Advent took place there would intervene a time of great tribulation and a brief triumph of evil, and this notion was shared by not a few who had no sympathy with their peculiar opinions. At the time when the cholera was raging and the whole country was in a state of commotion, and 'men's hearts were failing them for fear and for looking after the things that were coming on the earth,' the large-hearted, liberal-minded Dr. Arnold wrote in reply to a question about the alleged Irvingite 'gift:'—'If the thing be real, I should take it merely as a sign of the coming of the day of the Lord—the only use, as far as I can make out, that ever was derived from the gift of tongues. I do not see that it was ever made a

* Son of Mr. Spencer Perceval, the well-known Prime Minister, 1809-1812.

vehicle of instruction or ever superseded the study of tongues, but that it was merely a sign of the power of God—a man being for the time a mere instrument to utter sounds which he himself understood not. However, whether this be a real sign or no, I believe that “the day of the Lord” is coming—that is, the termination of one of the great “ages” of the human race, whether the final one of all or not: that I believe no created being knows, or can know. The termination of the Jewish “age” in the first century, and of the Roman “age” in the fifth and sixth, were each marked by the same concurrence of calamities—wars, tumults, pestilences, earthquakes, &c.; all marking the time of one of God’s peculiar seasons of visitation . . . My sense of the evil of the times, and to what prospects I am bringing up my children, is overwhelmingly bitter. All the moral and physical world appears so exactly to announce the coming of “the great day of the Lord,” that is, a period of fearful visitation to terminate the existing state of things—whether to terminate the whole existence of the human race, neither man nor angel knows—that no entireness of private happiness can possibly close my mind against the sense of it.’

Meanwhile affairs were proceeding from bad to worse with Irving. If the Church of his fathers had chastised him with whips, his new associates were chastising him with scorpions. They required him to be instructed in the duties and position of this new office of Angel, which at first it appears he did not understand to be anything more than that of a Presbyterian minister. He had to reconcile himself to the newly bestowed spiritual functions (much more wide than those which belonged to the same offices in the Church of Scotland) of the elders and deacons, which their *Chronicle* declares, and no doubt truly, ‘he had not the least conception of, and at first entertained the utmost repugnance to,’ and no wonder. He had to learn besides that ‘after the apostolic office had

been brought out,’ it was no longer his part to draw conclusions from the prophecies or to follow their guidance upon his own authority; and so contrary was it to his views and practice to ‘await the Apostles’ decision upon these matters, that he still continued to judge and act upon words spoken in his flock, whereby great trouble and perplexity were occasioned to himself and to his people.’ It is added, however, that ‘he at length perceived his error.’ In other words, this large-hearted, simple-minded, really great man was compelled to submit to the dictation of the wretched fanatics whom he had exalted to office and power, and to bow to decisions against which his reason and his heart revolted, because he had brought himself to believe that they were ordained by God.

The end was, however, now at hand. His iron constitution began to give way under his incessant labour and excitement, and premature old age crept upon him. ‘The last time I saw him,’ says Carlyle, ‘friendliness still beamed in his eyes, but now from amidst unquiet fire. His face was flaccid, wasted, unsound; hoary, as with extreme age, he was trembling on the brink of the grave.’ In the month of January, 1834, feeble as he was, he was sent on a message to Edinburgh by the Newman Street conclave, and returned very ill with threatenings of disease in his chest; and it soon became apparent that his wearied frame and broken heart were unable to strive longer with the griefs and disappointments which encompassed him. His medical advisers earnestly warned him that he could not live over the winter, unless he retired to a milder climate and was entirely at rest. But some of the oracular voices proclaimed it to ‘be the will of God that he should go to Scotland and do a great work there.’ The leaders of the community seem, in fact, to have felt his presence among them a restraint; but Irving, the most guileless and simple-minded of men, had no suspicion of their motives, and yielded a prompt and unhesitating obedience to their commands in defiance of the prohi-

bition of his medical attendant, and though scarcely able to walk through the room. The season was inclement, the weather boisterous and stormy; and he reached Glasgow completely exhausted. He died there on the 8th of December. His last words were, 'In life and in death I am the Lord's.' He was only fifty-two years old at the time of his death. He at last found a resting-place in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. 'Devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.'

Edward Irving, with all his frailties, was a man of devout and earnest spirit, honest, simple-hearted, and bold as a lion. He had a vivid imagination and great power of eloquence, and was a profound and original though not a sound thinker. 'He strove,' says his friend Carlyle, 'with all the force that was in him to be a Christian minister. He might have been so many things; not a speaker only, but a doer—the leader of hosts of men. For his head, when the fog of Babylon had not obscured it, was of strong far-searching insight. His very enthusiasm was sanguine, not *atrabilian*; he was so loving, full of hope, so simple-hearted, and made all that approached him his. A giant force of activity was in the man; speculation was accident, not nature. But above all, be what he might, to be a reality was indispensable for him. But for Irving I had never known what the communion of man with man means. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with. I call him on the whole the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world or hope to find.'

So ends one of the strangest, saddest episodes in the history of religious thought during the nineteenth century. At the time of Irving's death it was estimated, that about 50,000 persons throughout Great Britain had adopted his views. These adherents are now known by the designation of the 'Catholic Apostolic Church.'

It is satisfactory to notice that amid the political and ecclesiastical excitement and

controversies at this period, literature and science were making rapid progress. In 1831 took place the first meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The idea of an annual congress of the cultivators of science originated with Professor Oken of Jena, and the first meeting was held at Leipsic in 1822. It was attended by only twenty individuals belonging to that city and twelve strangers. The apparent insignificance of the Association proved its safety, for if it had been attended by a large concourse of members from every part of Germany it would, without doubt, have been suppressed at once by the arbitrary rulers of that country. The Association assembled in successive years, and with continually increasing numbers, at Halle, Wurzburg, Frankfort, and Dresden. In 1827 it met at Munich, where it was cordially patronized by the King of Bavaria. The assemblage at Berlin in 1828 was presided over by the illustrious Humboldt, and its meetings were graced by the presence of the King of Prussia, the Heir-apparent of the Crown, and the other princes of the royal family, as well as by the Prussian nobility and the foreign princes and foreign ambassadors. The *savans* who attended the Berlin meeting amounted to 464, and the strangers to 269. Meetings were subsequently convened at Heidelberg and Hamburg, and the tenth anniversary was fixed to be held at Vienna; but it did not assemble, on account of the prevalence of cholera, at that time, in the Austrian capital and throughout the rest of Germany.

The success of the German Association encouraged four eminent British philosophers and *savans*—Sir David Brewster, Sir John Herschel, Sir Humphry Davy, and Mr. Babbage, who deeply lamented the decline of science and scientific arts in their own country—to try a similar experiment in Great Britain. The honour of originating the scheme belongs to Sir David Brewster. In one of his appeals to the public respect-

ing the neglect of scientific pursuits and the urgent need of prompt measures to arrest its downward course, that distinguished philosopher declared 'that the sciences and arts of England were in a wretched state of depression, and that their decline is mainly owing to the ignorance and supineness of the Government, to the injudicious organization of our scientific boards and institutions, to the indirect persecution of scientific and literary men by their exclusion from all the honours of the State, and to the unjust and oppressive tribute which the patent law exacts from inventors.' He proposed as a remedy for these palpable evils that the example of Germany should be followed in holding annual meetings of eminent cultivators of science and literature, which he was confident would be attended with the most beneficial results. 'An Association,' he said, 'of our nobility, clergy, gentry, and philosophers can alone draw the attention of the sovereign and the nation to this blot upon its fame. Our aristocracy will not decline to resume their proud station as the patrons of genius; and our Boyles and Cavendishes and Montagues and Howards will not renounce their place in the scientific annals of England. The prelates of our national Church will not refuse to promote that knowledge which is the foundation of pure religion, and those noble inquiries which elevate the mind and prepare it for its immortal destination. If the effort fail we must wait for the revival of better feelings, and deplore our national misfortune in the language of the Wise Man, "I returned and saw under the sun that there is neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill."'

The objects of the Association, as defined by its founder, were to revive science from its decline and the scientific arts from their depression; to instruct the Government when ignorant, and stimulate it when supine; to organize more judiciously our

scientific institutions and the public boards to which scientific objects are intrusted; to sweep away the oppression of the patent laws; and to raise scientific and literary men to their just place in society, and vindicate their claims to the same honours as any other class of national benefactors.

Sir David Brewster's appeal excited a strong feeling throughout the country, and in a month or two after its publication (October, 1830) he issued a proposal for a great scientific meeting to be held at York in 1831. York was selected as the most central and convenient point for such a scientific reunion, and because it possessed an active Philosophical Society, at whose apartments the meetings might be conducted. The invitation met with a cordial response from the cultivators and friends of science in every part of the United Kingdom, and accordingly a congress assembled at the place proposed on the 29th of September, at the time when the country was in a state of the greatest excitement respecting the fate of the first Reform Bill. The members of the Association who were present at the first meeting did not exceed 200, but they cherished an enthusiastic admiration of science, and were sanguine as to the usefulness and success of the Institution. Among them were men of the highest scientific eminence, such as Dalton, Brisbane, Brewster, Greenough, Murchison, Harcourt, Lloyd, Pritchard, Howard, Pearson, Smith, Robinson, and Scoresby, with younger men of great promise, who found it equally pleasant and instructive to sit at the feet of these scientific Gamaliels. The Universities, however, stood aloof, Oxford having sent only one representative, Dr. Daubeny, while Cambridge was entirely unrepresented.

In the following year the Association held its second meeting at Oxford on the 18th of June. Dr. Buckland was President, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Dr. Whewell Vice-presidents. Although Parliament was sitting at the time, and the Reform excitement had not yet subsided, it was attended by upwards of 700 members,

including a large number of the members of both Houses of Parliament. The meeting was regarded as in all respects most successful. The third meeting was held at Cambridge on the 18th of June, 1833, under the presidency of Professor Sedgewick and the vice-presidency of Dr. Dalton and Professor Airy. The proceedings were carried on with great spirit, and the scientific reports were both able and interesting. The meeting was attended by upwards of 900 members. The 'fourth congress of British philosophers' was held at Edinburgh on the 8th of September, 1834. Sir Thomas Brisbane was President, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Dr. Romney Robinson Vice-presidents. This meeting was graced by the presence of a number of distinguished foreigners, the chief of whom were M. Arago, whose splendid discoveries in optics and magnetism had placed him among the first philosophers in Europe; M. Agassiz, the eminent naturalist; Professor Moll, and M. Treviranus. Lord Brougham, who was also present, and was admitted a member by acclamation, added not a little to the interest of the meeting by his powerful eloquence, and eulogized the Association as having brought together 'on the neutral ground of science men of all countries, of all religions, and of all shades of political opinion. Nations and communities and individuals, separated by exasperating feuds, by religious creeds, by speculative differences, and by personal distastes, find here one kindly tie which unites them in the common brotherhood of intellectual natures.' The rapid progress of the Institution was indicated by the gratifying fact that the Edinburgh meeting was attended by 1268 members.

Objections were brought against the Association at the outset, mainly by those who were jealous of its founders and envied their success, to the effect that such a large assemblage must in reality be more an imposing show than a truly valuable and working institution; that its meetings were calculated to encourage and

to bring into notice forward and shallow declaimers, to the exclusion of modest merit, and to lower the character and true dignity of scientific men by giving them inducements and opportunities to make public displays for which their habits are not at all suited. It was further objected that an institution of this kind has a tendency to generate cabals and jealousies amongst its members. There is no doubt some force in these allegations, and experience has proved that a good deal of quackery, of ostentatious display and boasting, has been shown by the unscientific and less qualified members of the scientific world; that there has been a great deal too much of mere talk at the meetings of the Association; and that the modest and patient investigators have been too often thrust aside by forward, presumptuous, and fluent sciolists. But after all deductions have been made on these accounts, it cannot be denied that by bringing together 'a congress of ardent minds willing to impart to each other their intellectual stores, comparing and combining their views and their methods and their objects, animating each other's ambition by the interchange of original discoveries, and uniting their common efforts for promoting the interests of scientific and literary men,' the British Association has to a large extent fulfilled the objects for which it was professedly instituted; has given a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry; has promoted the intercourse of scientific men in different parts of the British empire with one another and with foreign philosophers; and has obtained a more general attention to the objects of science, and a removal of not a few of the disadvantages of a public kind which impeded its progress. The originator of the Association, on surveying its progress and the benefits which it has conferred on the scientific world, could say with no less truth than eloquence, 'The primary and grand object of the Congress, that of collecting in the focus of an annual weekly

meeting the lights and the fuel of British science, has been nobly and successfully pursued. This is her vestal fire which will ever burn; this is the true origin of that impulse of high pressure which can alone elevate the prostrate science of England, which can give speed to the faltering steps of its hard-working sons, and which will ultimately wring from a reluctant Government that liberality which every other Government and every other sovereign have voluntarily proffered to the living stars of their empire. Those who have enjoyed the happiness of sitting down at these intellectual banquets can alone judge of the strength and fervour which they infuse into ardent and ambitious minds. To discuss the topics of abstract or natural science at the same board with the Daltons, the Aragos, the Herschels, the Faradays, the Browns, the Airys of modern science, is a privilege of immeasurable value. A light from the union of such minds, or even a spark from their *collision*, would rouse the decaying fires of the oldest sage, would excite the dullest flame of the youngest aspirant, and summon to fresh triumphs the surviving faculties of the most exhausted mind. But besides this electric influence which darts through kindred spirits, the communion of eminent great men presents more direct and durable advantages. At the sectional meetings we have listened for hours to the details of original research; we have examined fine instruments and apparatus; we have been taught new methods of observation; and have witnessed instructive and brilliant experiments. Thus was knowledge added to enthusiasm, and thus was the excited and improved mind sent back to pursue its inquiries with a stronger impulse and in a more systematic direction.

‘But there are other incitements to labour presented by the congenial intercourse of the cultivators and the friends of science. While popular assemblies afford abundant orifices for the discharge of shallow declamation, and sufficiently numerous occasions

for the gratification of pompous vanity modest merit is brought forward even by its own silence; and he whose youthful and unpatronized genius has never had a friend to guide or a patron to approve will here find his labours appreciated, his friendship courted, and his fame extended. Nor are these advantages conferred by his fellow-labourers alone. Rank, and wealth, and official dignity add their applause, and the young philosopher resumes his toils under the strongest and the noblest impulse which can be applied to a generous mind.’

The impetus now given to the extension of knowledge was not limited to men of learning and science. Mechanics’ Institutes may trace their origin to the efforts of Dr. Birkbeck in Glasgow, in the year 1800, to give instruction in the elements of natural and mechanical philosophy to a class of mechanics formed in connection with the Andersonian Institution; but they existed only in an embryotic state until the year 1823, when societies of this kind were organized in many of the large towns of England. Their primary object was to impart instruction to working men in the rules and principles of the various mechanical arts with which they were already practically acquainted. Lectures were given on the elements of natural philosophy, on chemistry, on mechanics, on geometric drawing, and on a variety of other topics bearing more directly upon the occupations of the artisans. Libraries were collected to carry out the instruction suggested in the lectures, and the books were lent out to the members for a small sum. At a subsequent period works on light literature, music, and poetry were introduced and circulated. But the operations of these Institutes and Reading Societies were greatly hampered by the difficulty of obtaining good books on science and literature at a moderate price. Elementary treatises on scientific subjects, adapted to the comprehension of mechanics and artisans, did not in fact exist at this time, and the zealous advocates of national edu-

cation saw that it was absolutely necessary that this want should be supplied.

The first suggestion as to the mode in which works truly elementary could be issued so cheaply as to meet the demands of the members of Mechanics' Institutes was made by Mr. Brougham in his 'Treatise on Popular Education,' published in January, 1823. A most essential service, he said, would be rendered to the cause of knowledge by the person who should prepare elementary treatises on the mathematics sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to impart an accurate knowledge of the most useful fundamental propositions, with their application to practical purposes; and similar treatises on natural philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics and their practical application to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are even wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Mr. Brougham also recommended that political as well as scientific works should be published in a cheap form; treatises on the history and the principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, and the doctrines of political economy would be of great service, he said, both to masters and men, expounding to them the true principles and mutual relations of population and wages. He expressed his hope that a Society would be formed for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of cheap and useful works for the wide diffusion of solid and practical information among the working classes of the community.

A few months after the publication of this appeal (April, 1825), Mr. Brougham, Lord John Russell, Dr. Lushington, William Allen, and other well-known friends to the education and improvement of mankind, formed themselves into an association under the name of the 'Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.' But the commercial crisis of that year arrested

the progress of the work, and it was not till November, 1826, that the organization of the Society was completed. Large subscriptions were offered by the Duke of Bedford and other liberal friends of education, and in March, 1827, their treatises were initiated by a 'Discourse upon the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Scientific Pursuits,' intended to prepare the public for the series of dissertations which were to be published upon all branches of physical science. This introductory discourse was followed by treatises published fortnightly, of unexampled cheapness, upon hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, and heat. After the series on natural philosophy was concluded a few were issued on general subjects, and then came a series on the different branches of mathematics. The promise was held out at the commencement that it was the intention of the Society to teach the elements of all the sciences, moral as well as natural, politics, jurisprudence, and universal history, as well as physical science. But for some reason or other, probably connected with the popular excitement at that period and the jealousy with which the proceedings of the Society were regarded in various influential quarters, the projected historical and political treatises were not issued.

The treatises on the various branches of natural philosophy, setting forth profound scientific views in plain and pure English diction, brought these views down to the level of the most ordinary capacity, and for the first time pointed out how advantageous such knowledge is to every class of workmen. Chemistry was shown to be practically useful and immediately profitable to the bleacher, the dyer, the painter, the glass-maker, and the brewer; a knowledge of mechanical powers to engineers; of hydraulics to the canal men; and of vegetation, of zoology, and of mineralogy to the agricultural labourer who has to deal with plants, and with cattle, and with manure. Such knowledge is more important now than ever, for it has become evident that if

our manufacturers are to compete successfully with the industrial productions of other countries; and if our farmers are to hold their ground against the competition of American, Russian, Canadian, and colonial exporters of agricultural produce, it will be absolutely necessary that practical instruction of the kind referred to shall be given to agriculturists, manufacturers, engineers, and mechanics—in short, to handicraftsmen of every grade.

Down to this period the popular literature was of a coarse, vulgar, and degrading character, and if not positively immoral, was fitted to debase rather than to instruct or elevate the character of the poorer classes of the community. But the general thirst for instruction which now began to manifest itself did not long remain ungratified. An immense number of cheap periodicals were originated, but were almost as short-lived as Jonah's gourd, which sprang up in a night and perished in a night. They were started without capital, or any definite plan, or the co-operation of any writers of talent and experience, apparently under the impression that, as their price was small, voluntary and unpaid contributions and extracts from books were all that could be expected or were desired by their readers. The credit of establishing the first really good and cheap periodical belongs to Mr. William Chambers of Edinburgh, with whom was speedily conjoined his younger brother Robert. Mr. Chambers had the sagacity to perceive that a small profit from each copy of a widely circulated publication would amount to a larger sum than the profit derived from a high-priced work of limited circulation. But that in order to procure and sustain a large circulation it was indispensably necessary that the articles which it contained should be written with ability, and should contain useful and agreeable information suited to the taste of the class for whom it was designed. At the commencement of the year 1832 he issued the prospectus of 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,' intended

to 'supply intellectual food of the best kind, and in such form and at such a price as would suit the convenience of every man in the British dominions.' He promised that the Journal should contain original and select papers on literary and scientific subjects, including articles on the formation and arrangement of society, on trade and commerce, observations on education, sketches in topography, and statistics relative to agriculture, gardening, planting, sheep-farming, the making of roads, bridges, and canals; the establishment of ferries, the best means of conveyance by land and water, increase of population, the use of machinery to simplify human labour, manufactures, &c.; information to artisans on the various branches of their industry, and notices of new inventions in mechanics; to the naturalist sketches illustrative of his pursuits; and all this solid and instructive information was to be enlivened by memoirs of eminent men in every walk of life, traditionary anecdotes, and amusing tales and accounts of voyages and travels for the young. The promise thus held out has been amply fulfilled in every department during a period of fifty years, and the extensive circulation which the Journal obtained almost from the first, and retains to the present day, shows that the public has fully appreciated the laborious and persevering efforts of the conductors of the Journal to minister to their intellectual instruction and moral improvement.

Other works, eminently fitted to promote the elevation of the industrial classes of the community, have followed the Journal in steady succession. In 1834 the brothers Chambers issued a series of popular, scientific, and historical treatises entitled, 'Information for the People,' of which the sale of each number averaged 30,000 copies. The 'Cyclopædia of English Literature;' the 'People's Editions' of Standard English Works; the 'Educational Course,' designed to form a complete set of text-books for public or private tuition; 'The Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts;' 'The

Popular Library; 'The Juvenile Library;' 'The Papers for the People,' and numerous other works of a similar kind which followed, have all attained a wide circulation. The efforts of these public-spirited publishers and authors have given to the system of cheap and popular literature a healthy and beneficial direction, and have contributed largely towards the substitution of entertaining and useful works for the coarse and degrading publications which were previously extensively read by the working classes of this country.

Very shortly after 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal' had been started, the 'Penny Magazine' began to be issued under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, but at the risk of Mr. Charles Knight, an enterprising bookseller who had already published, in 1828, for that Society the 'British Almanac'—which had the effect of at once extinguishing the 'absurd old-world' almanacs—and, still more important, the 'Companion to the Almanac,' an annual publication full of useful general information on the legislative statistics, &c., of each year, which could not be procured elsewhere, and united to valuable original papers all of an instructive kind. In 1831 Mr. Knight wrote and published a very popular and useful work, the 'Results of Machinery,' followed by the 'Rights of Industry, Capital, and Labour.' In the same year he began, for the Useful Knowledge Society, the publication of the 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge.' The 'Penny Magazine,' instituted in 1832, speedily reached a weekly circulation of 200,000 copies, and retained one of 25,000 when it stopped in 1846. A still more important publication was the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' commenced on the 1st of January, 1833—a work at once popular, original, and exhaustive, sold at a penny a number. The total cost of authorship and engraving of this Cyclopædia was not less than £42,000, and the excise duty for the paper used in it amounted to £16,500. It was

not without reason that the enterprising publisher complained that, so far from receiving any encouragement from the Government in his efforts to disseminate useful information, and to promote the intellectual, moral, and industrial interests of the people, he had been compelled in the course of twenty years to contribute to the public revenue in paper duty the large sum of £50,000, while he had spent £80,000 on copyright and editorial labour.

It was stipulated in the charter of the Useful Knowledge Society that there was to be no division of profits. The gains, therefore, from their more popular works were devoted to the publication of more costly works, which could not be expected to yield any pecuniary profit, such as the 'Statistics of the British Empire.' The publication of the Society's Atlas led at once to a reduction in the cost and an improvement of the quality of maps. The same remark holds good with respect to the Society's Geographical and Astronomical Maps, its 'Cyclopædia,' its 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge,' 'Journal of Education,' and other valuable works brought out under its patronage. Other societies followed its example. The Christian Knowledge Society, for instance, established their 'Saturday Magazine' after the model of the 'Penny Magazine;' and numerous interesting and instructive periodicals have since been instituted on a similar pattern. But to the Useful Knowledge Society belongs the credit, not of being the founders of the system of cheap literature, but of both stimulating and supplying the demand for sound information on an immense variety of interesting and important subjects, and of driving out of the field the debasing works which had previously formed the staple literature of the common people in England. No act of the Legislature, no efforts of a public police, could have accomplished what was effected by simply affording the community a more agreeable and improving means of entertainment.

CHAPTER X.

Difficulties of the Melbourne Ministry—Hostility of the King and Court—Character of the Premier—Defeat of Lord John Russell and Mr. Charles Grant—Irish Ministerial appointments—Lord Auckland nominated Governor-General of India—The Irish Tithe Bill—The Appropriation Clause rejected by the Lords—The Bill in consequence withdrawn—Ecclesiastical Controversies in Scotland—Church Extension—Appointment of a Commission to inquire into the subject—Dissatisfaction of the Clergy—State of Municipal Corporations—Inquiry into their condition—Bill for the reform of the Scottish Burghs carried—Abuses in the English Municipalities—Bill for their reform carried in the Commons—Mutilated in the Lords—The Government, supported by Sir Robert Peel, reject the amendments of the Peers—The Bill becomes law—Insulting and imprudent conduct of the King towards the Ministry—Orange Lodges—Their illegal constitution and conduct brought before the House of Commons—Their existence in the Army—Treasonable Intrigues of their Leaders—Condemned by the House of Commons—Dissolution of the Lodges—Agricultural Distress—Motion of the Marquis of Chandos—Death of William Cobbett—Mr. Robinson's motion for the Taxation of the Country—Unpopularity of the House of Lords—O'Connell's Tour of Agitation in the North of England and Scotland—Attacks upon him by the Tories—His abuse of Lord Alvanley—Carlow Election—Charge brought against O'Connell by Raphael—His acquittal by a Committee of the House of Commons.

WHEN Lord Melbourne announced to the House of Lords the formation of his Government, he spoke of the difficulties he would have to encounter as 'great and arduous—many, indeed, of a peculiar and severe kind.' And there could be no doubt of the accuracy of his statement. The king and the court were bitterly hostile to the new Administration; so were the great majority of the House of Lords, led by one of the greatest generals England had ever produced, along with one of the most formidable masters of argument and biting sarcasm that ever adorned that assembly. In the Lower House they had to encounter the opposition of a compact and powerful minority irritated, but not discouraged, by defeat, under the leadership of one of the most skilful Parliamentary tacticians and powerful debaters of modern times, aided by the fiery eloquence of Lord Stanley and the cogent and impressive arguments of Sir James Graham. This most serious difficulty of the Ministry, as usual, arose out of the state of affairs in Ireland—the alliance with O'Connell, who was peculiarly obnoxious to the great body of the people of England, and the necessity of effecting a settlement of the tithe system in that disturbed country, and of combining with that measure the appropriation clause, which the Lords were certain to reject. The Prime Minister, however, was not a man to be dismayed by

difficulties. His abilities and attainments and fitness for the position in which he was placed were as yet only partially known to the nation, but his friends and associates had long been aware that he possessed not a few qualities of a first-rate kind, which are not often found in combination. He had an intellect of a high order, which had been improved by careful cultivation, a cool and courageous temperament, a dispassionate and unprejudiced mind, and a remarkably good-humoured and conciliatory manner. He was an excellent classical scholar, was familiar with all the best English writers and with those of France and Italy; he also possessed an extraordinary amount and variety of general and miscellaneous knowledge, and, strange to say, was fond of controversial divinity and church history. In private life his manners were singularly graceful and agreeable. His mirth was natural and sparkling, and the picturesque drollery of expression and genial wit which characterized many of his sayings rendered him a most delightful companion. Though not deficient either in feeling or imagination, he had no pretensions to eloquence. His speeches usually consisted of short and striking sentences, expressing home-truths or common-sense conclusions, and, occasionally, philosophic views in terse, familiar, and idiomatic language. In the House of

Commons, and indeed at first in the Upper House, though an effective he was a very rare speaker. But when he was placed at the head of affairs he soon displayed some of the most useful and telling qualities of a good debater—a thorough knowledge of his audience; a frankness and good nature which disarmed an enemy; a ready wit, which was always at hand to encounter an obstinate antagonist; and such sound and statesmanlike views on all important subjects as gave the tone of wisdom to his raillery and the air of dignity to his ease. His handsome and manly countenance and noble figure, his melodious and resonant voice, and his manner, at once frank and spirited, no doubt contributed not a little to the effect of his speeches. Add to all this that Lord Melbourne was remarkably straightforward and upright in all he said and did—had no selfish or sinister ends to pursue—was so utterly without vanity that he could not even comprehend its influence upon others; and though not without ambition, ‘the last infirmity of noble minds,’ it was always directed to worthy and noble ends.

Lord Melbourne’s dislike to all exaggeration and false pretension led him not unfrequently to conceal his real feelings, and to pretend to be careless and indifferent about matters in which he really cherished a deep interest. This affectation of indolence and negligence, so unworthy of his good sense and so foreign to his real character, is amusingly described by Sydney Smith in his well-known humorous and not greatly exaggerated sketch of the Premier. ‘If the truth must be told,’ he said, ‘our Viscount is somewhat of an impostor. Everything about him seems to betoken careless desolation. Anyone would suppose from his manner that he was playing at chuck-farthing with human happiness; that he was always on the heel of pastime; that he would giggle away the great charter, and decide by the method of tectotum whether my lords the bishops should or should not retain their seats in

the House of Lords. All this is the mere vanity of surprising, and making us believe that he can play with kingdoms as other men can with nine pins. Instead of this lofty nebulo, this miracle of moral and intellectual felicities, he is nothing more than a sensible, honest man, who means to do his duty to the sovereign and to the country. Instead of being the ignorant man he pretends to be before he meets the deputation of tallow-chandlers in the morning, he sits up half the night talking with Thomas Young* about melting and skimming, and then, though he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of prime Leicester tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould. In the same way when he has been employed in reading Acts of Parliament, he would persuade you that he has been reading “Cleghorn on the Beatitudes,” or “Pickler on the Nine Difficult Points.” Neither can I allow to this Minister, however much he may be irritated by the denial, the extreme merit of indifference to the consequences of his measures. I believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or evil that he is doing, and that his caution has more than once arrested the gigantic projects of the Lysurgus of the Lower House. I am sorry to hurt any man’s feelings, and to brush away the magnificent fabric of liberty and gaiety he has reared; but I accuse our Minister of honesty and diligence; I deny that he is careless or rash; he is nothing more than a man of good understanding and good principle, disguised in the eternal and somewhat wearisome affectation of a political *roué*.’

The Government met with a mortifying rebuff at the outset of their career. A good many new elections took place, as usual, on the acceptance of office by the new members. Lord John Russell represented South Devon, which had always been a Tory stronghold, and the electors preferred an obscure country squire to the leader of

* Lord Melbourne’s private secretary.

the House of Commons. Mr. Charles Grant sat for Inverness-shire, which had a comparatively small constituency of a purely agricultural, or rather pastoral character, and was mostly in the hands of a few great Tory proprietors like the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Seafield, and Lord Macdonald. He was elected by a very small majority, but a petition having been presented against his return, he declined to defend his seat, and was raised to the Upper House with the title of Lord Glenelg. Littleton, whose indiscretion had brought about the retirement of Earl Grey and nearly upset the Government, could not be again intrusted with office, but he was solaced with a peerage, and was succeeded in the representation of Staffordshire by Sir Henry Goodricke, a Conservative. These defeats, of course, not only encouraged the opponents and disheartened the supporters of the Ministry, but caused them a good deal of inconvenience, as they were compelled to meet Parliament without the assistance of Russell or of Palmerston, who had lost his seat for Hampshire at the general election. The Foreign Secretary found a comfortable and secure seat in the small borough of Tiverton, which he retained until the end of his career; and Russell found a place of refuge in Stroud, which was vacated by Colonel Fox, who became Secretary to the Ordnance.

The chief weapon, which was employed in season and out of season by the Conservatives against the Government, was their alliance with O'Connell. Lord Melbourne, on being challenged by a Tory peer to explain the terms on which he had secured the assistance of the Irish agitator, replied with his usual straightforwardness and spirit that he had made no terms with O'Connell, and had taken no means to secure his support. No one doubted the truth of Melbourne's statement; but there is reason to believe that Mulgrave had, without any authority, held out to the 'Liberator' the hope that he would be appointed to office should the Liberals come into power. It was undeniable that,

without the aid of the Irish popular party, the Conservative Government could not have been overthrown or a Liberal administration formed. And as soon as Mr. Perrin was appointed Attorney-General for Ireland O'Connell, with his sons and Parliamentary friends, quitted the place he had occupied for some time below the gangway on the Opposition side of the House, and took his seat on the Ministerial side, as an expression of his satisfaction with the Irish appointments. Mr. O'Loughlen, a Roman Catholic barrister of high standing, was nominated Solicitor-General. Mr. Drummond, the new Under-Secretary, was a very remarkable man—clear-headed and highly accomplished, judicious and impartial, and possessing a thorough knowledge of the country and the people. He made a noble use of the influence and the opportunities which his office afforded him; and though his career was prematurely cut short, the zeal and energy with which he devised and carried practical remedies for existing evils entitles him to a permanent position in the annals of Irish administration. The appointment of the accomplished and large-hearted Lord Morpeth to the office of Secretary gave general satisfaction, but the selection of a Viceroy was less fortunate and was severely censured. Lord Mulgrave (afterwards the Marquis of Normanby) was the author of several clever novels depicting the manners and habits of fashionable society, and was well known in London as a man of fashion and popular manners. He was besides, as Greville says, 'hospitable, generous, courteous, and agreeable in private life.' But he had no pretensions to statesmanship, or to the qualifications required at this critical period to govern Ireland with firmness and impartiality. He had, however, secured the goodwill of O'Connell, and, no doubt for that reason, received on his arrival at Dublin an enthusiastic welcome from the Irish people. He was escorted to the Castle by a procession, in which banners were displayed bearing inscriptions in favour of the repeal of the

Union and the extinction of tithes. Not a few of Mulgrave's own friends expressed strong disapprobation of his conduct in entering the city in procession with the Dublin mob; and the Protestants in Ireland, not unnaturally, were highly incensed at a demonstration which partook so much of a partisan character.

The indignation of the Conservatives and the dissatisfaction of the king and the court were greatly increased by another injudicious step taken by the Government at this time. Shortly before the overthrow of the late Administration Lord Heytesbury, a sensible, cautious, painstaking man, was appointed Governor-General of India. But Sir John Hobhouse, the new President of the India Board, grudged this splendid prize to a Conservative, and proposed that Lord Heytesbury, who was already on his way to the East, should be recalled. The other members of the Cabinet acquiesced in the proposal, and a fast-sailing vessel was despatched after the new Viceroy and overtook him at Lisbon. On his return to England, Lord Auckland was appointed in his room. The Chairman and Deputy-chairman complained, not without reason, of this proceeding; and the public did not approve of the new appointment, which was mainly ascribed to the undue partiality of Lord Lansdowne. Auckland, who had held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty in Melbourne's first Administration, was a person of very moderate abilities and no great experience. As Mr. Torrens says, 'It must be owned that Lord Auckland was a bad appointment. He had not earned it by any services worth naming; he did not vindicate it by the display of any qualities worth recording.' It would have been well for India and Great Britain both if the history of his viceroyalty had been merely negative; but it cannot be forgotten that the first Afghan war, with its terrible disasters, was owing to Lord Auckland's incapacity and erroneous policy.

The Ministry had resolved to limit the work of the remainder of the session to

two important measures—the settlement of tithes in Ireland, and the reform of the municipal corporations. The commutation of tithes, the abolition of church rates, and the reform of the marriage laws, were necessarily postponed till 'a more convenient season.' Some time unavoidably elapsed before the Irish Tithe Bill was brought before Parliament. It was not until the 26th of June that Lord Morpeth, the Irish Secretary, introduced a bill regarding tithes in Ireland, founded on the late resolutions of the House of Commons. The Bill consisted of two distinct sets of arrangements. The first of these provided for the conversion of tithe into a rent charge, in much the same way as had been proposed in the previous measures, but on terms less favourable to the clergy. In the Bill brought in by the Melbourne Government in 1834, as it was originally framed, a deduction of 20 per cent. was to be made from the total amount of the tithe; but this was altered to 40 per cent. before it passed the Commons. The tithe-owner, however, was to be partly compensated for this loss out of the Perpetuity Purchase fund. In the Bill brought in by the Conservative Administration it was proposed that 25 per cent. should be deducted from every £100 of tithe when it was converted into a rent charge. Morpeth proposed that every £100 of tithe should be commuted for £75 of rent charge, but that the tithe-owners should pay the expense of collection, which was estimated at sixpence in the pound, thus leaving the sum of £68·5 as the net amount to be paid to the tithe-owner for every £100 of tithe. It was considered proper, however, to make a distinction between existing and future incumbents; and in order that the change in the law might press less heavily on the former, Morpeth proposed that existing clerical tithe-owners should receive an additional five per cent. out of the Perpetuity Purchase fund, thus allowing them £73·1 for every £100 of tithe. Under the first scheme, the existing incumbents were to receive £77½ per cent.; under the second,

£75 per cent.; but under the third, only £73 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their tithe. The old story of the Sybilline books was repeated in the dealings of the Government with the Irish clergy.

There can be little doubt that if Morpeth's scheme had included nothing more than the commutation of the tithes it would, in the critical position of the Irish Church, have been adopted by both Houses of Parliament. But the great mistake committed by the Liberal party, in conjoining the effort to expel the Conservatives from office with the measure for the settlement of Irish tithe, compelled the Melbourne Ministry to insert in the Bill a provision for devoting the surplus revenue of the Irish Church to the general education of the people. This proposal was of course resisted by Peel, who, however, expressed his willingness to support that portion of the Bill which commuted the tithe into a rent charge. He therefore allowed the Bill to be read a second time without discussion; but on the motion for going into committee, he moved an instruction to the committee to divide the Bill into two parts, in order that he and those who agreed with him might have an opportunity of supporting the provisions in which he was willing to concur, and of opposing that part of the measure which would appropriate to other purposes the revenues of those benefices, 860 in number, which did not contain fifty members of the Episcopal Church. The debate on Peel's motion was protracted over three nights. It was supported by Sir Robert H. Inglis, Mr. Goulbourn, Sir James Graham, Lord Stanley, and other leading members of the Opposition; while the Ministerial scheme was advocated by Spring Rice, Lord Howick, Lord Morpeth, Lord John Russell, Mr. Hume, Mr. Shiel, and Mr. O'Connell. Peel's proposition was rejected by 319 votes to 282. Attention was pointedly called to the fact that of the English members a majority of eight voted in favour of the motion; of the members for Eng-

land and Scotland the majority against it was only eight; but of the Irish representatives only thirty-four were in favour of Peel's motion, while sixty-three voted against it.

The Bill was carried through the House of Commons without any further opposition on the part of the Ministry. It passed the Commons on the 12th of August, and was sent up to the House of Lords, where the second reading took place on the 20th. But in committee the course which Peel had proposed was followed. All the clauses relating to the appropriation scheme and the suspension of church revenues were struck out by a majority of 138 votes to 41, and that portion of the Bill which referred to the substitution of a rent charge for tithe was alone retained. The measure was in consequence abandoned by the Government.

The rejection of the Tithe Bill made it legally necessary for the Ministry to take proceedings against the Irish clergy for the recovery of the sums advanced to them out of the million fund. But the clergy were in such a state of destitution that it was utterly impossible for them to repay the money, unless the House at the same time furnished them with the means of compelling the payment of the arrears of tithe, which had been found utterly impracticable. A Bill was therefore brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer empowering the Government to suspend the claim for the instalment which was due. In the end, as is usual with loans from the Exchequer for Irish purposes, payment of the money had to be remitted altogether. It was afterwards discovered that a considerable part of the million voted by Parliament for the relief of starving clergymen had been appropriated, much to their discredit, by wealthy dignitaries of the Church, and by peers, the possessors of large estates, who were tithe-owners.

The Church question in Scotland was now creating a bitter controversy, and contributed to increase the troubles of the Ministry. The clergymen of the Estab-

lished Church had, in retaliation of the attack made by Voluntary Churchmen on its endowments, devised a Church Extension scheme for building and endowing new places of worship in destitute localities, and in places where the Church was weak and Dissent was strong. They proposed to supply the funds required for the erection of the buildings, but during Lord Melbourne's first administration they made application for an annual grant from the Exchequer to assist in paying the stipends of the new clergymen. No definite answer was given to their claim; and when Sir Robert Peel came into office it was suggested to him, that if he were to hold out a hope that it would now be granted, additional support would be obtained to the Conservative party in Scotland. Accordingly, in the royal speech at the commencement of the session, His Majesty was made to say, 'I feel it also incumbent upon me to call your earnest attention to the condition of the Church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the United Kingdom.' The Conservatives did not remain long enough in office to take any steps to carry this recommendation into effect, and on the formation of the Liberal Government the demand for additional endowments was again urged upon them. In the interval, however, the Scottish Nonconformists, who were on principle opposed to all religious endowments, had raised their voice against any grant of public money to the Established Church; and as they were almost to a man the most strenuous and stanch supporters of the Liberal party, the Ministers were naturally reluctant to offend their best friends in order to gratify those who were their most violent opponents. Sir William Rae, the late Lord Advocate, as the representative of the Scottish Church party, moved 'that the petitions for a grant to that Church should be referred to a select committee, to inquire and report how far the building and endow-

ing places of worship is required for the moral and religious instruction of the lower orders of the people of Scotland.' The Government refused to accede to this proposal, on the ground that it was impossible for a committee of the House of Commons to ascertain the state of every parish in Scotland, to decide in what parishes it was necessary to build new churches, and in what parishes it was only necessary to repair or enlarge old ones, and to ascertain the exact state of matters amid the conflicting averments of the two opposing parties. It was ultimately agreed, on the motion of Lord John Russell, that 'a humble address be presented to His Majesty, praying that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to appoint a commission to inquire into the opportunities of religious worship, and the means of religious instruction, and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, and how far these are available for the religious and moral improvement of the poor and working classes; with a view to obtain information with respect to the state of their attendance in places of worship, and their actual connection with any religious denomination; to inquire what funds are, or may hereafter be, available for the purposes of the Established Church of Scotland, and report from time to time in order that such remedies may be applied to any existing evil as Parliament may think fit.'

The General Assembly of the Established Church were dissatisfied with the resolution of the Government to refer the investigation into the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland to a commission instead of a select committee of the House of Commons; and when the names of the commissioners were made known they sent up a violent remonstrance against their appointment. The Commission consisted of the Earl of Minto, who was chairman, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Mr. Hope Johnston, member for Dumfriesshire, the Procurator of the Church, and five or six advocates, one of whom was a Dissenter, and had written a

work on ecclesiastical polity against the theory of Church establishments. The Dissenters, on the other hand, complained that they had only one representative on the Commission, while all the rest were members of the Established Church. The Ministry, however, refused to make any change in the composition of the Commission, and it soon became evident that, whatever might be the private opinions of its members, they had discharged their duties with exemplary diligence and impartiality. But the great body of the Established Church clergy, partly on this ground, became hostile to the Liberal Government, and exerted all their influence for its overthrow.

The only other important measure brought forward by the Ministry this session was a Bill for the reform of the municipal corporations of England, which indeed was a necessary result of the reform of the system of Parliamentary representation. The old boroughs were incurably corrupt, and most of the new boroughs constituted under the Reform Act had no proper municipal government. It was impossible, indeed, for that Act to obtain fair play, or the electors to exercise their newly conferred privileges freely and effectually, so long as the self-elected members of the corporation squandered the public funds in bribing the freemen and pot-wallopers of the borough, and the town clerks and other corporation officials were the most active agents in the work of electioneering corruption. Under the old system a large portion of the Parliamentary representatives of the English boroughs were simply the nominees of a few influential individuals, who had the entire control of the revenues, and employed them and all corporate rights and privileges for their own personal benefit or the interests of their political party.

The condition of these municipalities had long been a matter of public scandal and of loud complaints from the citizens, who groaned under the oppressive burden

of these evils; and Earl Grey's Ministry lost no time in taking steps to effect a thorough reform. In the first session of the Reform Parliament Lord Althorp moved that a commission should be appointed under the Great Seal of twenty gentlemen, who were charged 'to proceed with the utmost despatch to inquire as to the existing state of the municipal corporations in England and Wales, and to collect information respecting the defects in their constitution; to make inquiry into their jurisdiction and powers and the administration of justice, and in all other respects; and also into the mode of electing and appointing the members and officers of such corporations, and into the privileges of the freemen and other members thereof, and into the nature and management of the income, revenues, and funds of the said corporations.'

The commissioners divided the country into districts, and made local investigation through the agencies of some of their number into each municipality. The inquiry was searching and complete, and brought to light a mass of abuses of the most scandalous description, exceeding both in number and magnitude all that had been alleged or suspected to exist. Corruption and jobbery; malversation of trust funds, which had been bequeathed for the aged, the infirm, and the sick, and the instruction of the young, in lavish or costly entertainments or in bribing the most degraded class of electors; the perversion of the privileges of the freemen to serve political purposes; embezzlement of the public property by the officials or members of the corporation; and other practices equally immoral and discreditable — were found flourishing in rank luxuriance in every district of England. The elaborate report of the commissioners, which was not issued until 1835, laid before the Parliament and the country a bold and unsparing exposure of the system that had grown up under the shelter of the unreformed House of Commons, and had contributed not a little

to demoralize the lower classes in the large towns.

'Even where these institutions,' they said, 'exist in their least imperfect form and are most rightfully administered, they are inadequate to the wants of the present state of society. In their actual condition, where not productive of evil, they exist in a great majority of instances for no purpose of general utility. The perversion of municipal institutions to political ends has occasioned the sacrifice of local interests to party purposes, which have been frequently pursued through the corruption and demoralization of the electoral bodies. In conclusion, we repeat to your Majesty that there prevails among the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns a general, and in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with their municipal institutions; a distrust of the self-elected municipal councils, whose powers are subjected to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the municipal magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence and respect of your Majesty's subjects; and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be—useful and efficient instruments of local government.'

It was proposed when the Commission

was appointed that Scotland should be included in its inquiries; but it was intimated that the Government had already obtained full information respecting the Scottish burghs, and that Jeffrey, as Lord Advocate, would bring in a Bill for their reform. The information referred to had been obtained in 1819 by the activity of Lord Archibald Hamilton. The disclosures made at that time respecting the state of Montrose, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and other municipalities of Scotland had made a profound impression, both on the country and the House. Mr. Fletcher, advocate, an indefatigable champion of burgh reform, who had for many years devoted his energies to this cause, exerted himself vigorously to rouse popular feeling on the subject. Numerous petitions were presented from Scotland in favour of a thorough inquiry into the abuses of the corporate bodies, and Lord Archibald Hamilton moved that those petitions should be referred to a select committee 'to examine the matter thereof, and to report their observations and opinions thereon to the House.' The Ministry of course opposed the motion and resisted all change, but greatly to their surprise and mortification they were defeated by 149 votes to 144.

A committee was accordingly appointed, to the great delight of the Scottish people, and practically continued its labours for three years. Numerous abuses of the most scandalous kind were brought to light. The revenues of the corporations were jobbed and squandered in the most extravagant and reckless manner. Considerable sums were regularly spent in expensive entertainments; the ecclesiastical and civic patronage of the Town Councils was almost always exercised, not for the public good, but to promote the private and selfish interests of the councillors; and a great deal of the property of the burgh was found to have been alienated to powerful patrons, or hospitable entertainers of the councils. Four of the burghs whose affairs were investigated were clearly proved to be bank-

rupt. Lord Archibald Hamilton, finding his views thus strengthened by the disclosure of the numerous abuses set forth in the reports of the Committee, early in 1822 moved that 'the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the royal burghs of Scotland.' But the Government dreaded that burgh reform would lead to Parliamentary reform, and that popular election of the members of the Town Councils would inevitably involve the election of Liberal members of Parliament. Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion was therefore resisted, and defeated by a majority of thirty-five. The old system was maintained. The Town Councils were allowed to go on in their old evil ways, and the people were compelled to return to their old bondage.

The evil day of reform, however, was only postponed till a greater mass of abuses had accumulated, and a more favourable hour for a thorough reform had arrived. The result was that municipal reform in Scotland was carried out two years before the English corporations were cleansed, and the work was performed more completely and effectually.

The Bill for the reform of the Scottish burghs was brought in by the Lord Advocate on the 12th of March, 1833, without any discussion, and the second reading took place in the same quiet and comfortable way. 'The secret of this is,' Jeffrey says, 'that we finally arranged to send it after the second reading to a special committee up stairs, consisting of all the twenty-three burgh members for Scotland, who may there discuss and suggest at their leisure, and having so exhausted themselves, will not be much disposed or readily allowed to bother about it in the House.' Lord Cockburn archly suggests, that it may be owing to their anticipating this result that the members took their own way in committee. The Lord Advocate, he says, 'seems to have been absolutely worried—not so much by the direct opposition of those who were against the measure, as by the restless conceit and

intolerance of its friends. Every man in every town thought this was a matter on which he was entitled to speak, and confidently; and as there was little analogy to be affected by it in England, it was not adequately taken charge of by Government.' The labour and worry connected with the discussion of the Bill in committee were most distressing to the Lord Advocate. 'Our Committee,' he wrote—'I mean the Scottish Burgh Committee—goes on as ill as possible, and it is difficult to say who behaves worst. They chatter and wrangle, and contradict and grow angry, and read letters and extracts from blockheads of town-clerks and little fierce agitators; and forgetting that they are members of a great legislature, and (some of them) attached to a fair Ministry, go on speculating, and suggesting, and debating more loosely, crudely, and interminably than a parcel of college youths in the first novitiate of disception.'

The Bill, however, emerged from this crucible a really good measure. It swept away at once the whole abuses of the old corrupt system, and intrusted the election of the Town Councils in the royal burghs to the Parliamentary constituency. The provost and bailies were to be chosen by the councillors. One-third of the Council were to retire annually. Municipal institutions on the same principle were provided by a separate bill for the new Parliamentary burghs.

Two years elapsed before a similar reform was effected in England. The Bill for the reform of the English municipalities was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, on the 5th of June, 1835. It was founded on the report of the Commissioners, and adopted the greater part of their recommendations. The Bill proposed to deal with 183 boroughs (exclusive of the metropolis), containing a population of at least two millions. Russell entered into numerous details to show the gross abuses that prevailed under the existing system, and to make it plain that a total change was imperatively required. 'In Bedford,' he

said, 'the corporate body is only one-seventh of the population, and one-fourth of the property of the place. In Bedford there are 1400 electors; but a great many of these are not rated inhabitants, and generally there has been so much treating and so many corrupt practices at elections, that seldom more than 500 can be said to be free from them. In Norwich there are 4231 resident freemen, but of these 1123 are not rated at all, and out of the 1123 three hundred and fifteen are paupers; and it is stated that out of £25,541 raised by rates, no less than £18,224 is on the property of persons who do not in any way belong to the Corporation. At Lincoln three-fourths of the corporate body are not rated, and nearly four-fifths of the population are excluded from it. At Ipswich there are 2000 ratepayers, but only 187 of them belong to the corporation. At Cambridge the population is about 20,000, and there are 1434 ten-pound houses; but there are only 118 freemen. The property produces in rates £25,499, of which not more than £2111 is paid by freemen. It should be the object of these Corporations to represent the property, to share the general feelings, and to take care of the interests of the town over which they are placed. There are two modes of excluding this wholesome sympathy between the governors and the governed. The one—the more obvious and common mode—is, where the Corporation is an entirely select body, where there is no appearance of popular election, and where the government is carried on in total defiance of the general body of the inhabitants; the other and, in my opinion, still more glaring abuse, is that which connects a few persons carrying on the government for their own benefit with a portion of the lower class of the people belonging to the town, whose votes they buy and whose habits they demoralize. The consequences of these various modes are, that the grossest and most notorious abuses have prevailed. In the distribution of charitable funds, two-thirds, three-fourths,

and sometimes a larger portion, have been delivered to the Blue party, or to any other colour that is the favourite symbol of the local government. The charitable estates, instead of being employed for the general benefit of the town, have been consumed for the partial benefit of a few individuals, and not unfrequently in the feastings and entertainments in which the mayor and other corporators have been in the habit of indulging. In some not very large boroughs the expenses have amounted to £500 or £600 a year, and the enjoyment has been confined to the freemen on one side, as some inducement to stand by that side, and not to desert the Corporation in any political emergency. These facts are so fully established in the reports of the Commissioners that I do not purpose to enter into them; yet I think I may venture to state one or two instances which are particularly striking proofs of the way in which, in some of the smaller places, corporate funds have fallen into the hands of persons who have assumed the duties of corporators, but have totally neglected them. One of these is Aldborough, where the corporators have been continually changed. They used to ask a regular sum: the price of "an honest burgess" (such are the terms of the charter) was £35, and one the most "respectable, honest, and discreet burgesses" asked for, and was rewarded with influence to obtain a chancellor's living for a clergyman worth £100 a year. Whenever the patron of the borough was changed, all considered themselves bound in honour to resign. The members of the Council are the Marquis of Hertford, two members of his family, his solicitor, the superintendent of his estates there, his steward, the right hon. John Wilson Croker, a captain in the army or navy, and the chamberlain of the Corporation. The details respecting Oxford are nearly similar. The Marquis of Hertford is one of the honest men of Oxford, and the others consist of four or five members of his family, his present steward, his former steward, the superintendent of his

estates, and the right hon. John Wilson Croker. To some future antiquary, who should not carry his researches completely into the history of the present age, it might seem that to find a noble lord and the right hon. John Wilson Croker devoting their talent and attention to the business of the borough was a proof of most extraordinary and exemplary kindness. I mention these cases because the main facts apply to a hundred other boroughs that I could name, which formerly returned members to Parliament. It has been proved by the investigations of the Commissioners that, in large towns and in small, the municipal corporations have not employed the powers with which they have been invested that their boroughs might be "well and quietly governed"—to use the words of some of the charters—but for the sole object of establishing an influence for the election of members of this House.'

With regard to the measure which the Government had brought forward for the abolition of these glaring abuses, it was declared in the first enacting clause that all powers in the charters of the 183 boroughs dealt with by it, and all practices under them inconsistent with the provisions of the Bill, are null and void. It was proposed that there should be one uniform system of government and one uniform franchise for the purpose of election. The governing body was to consist of a mayor and council. Their numbers were to vary, according to the population of the boroughs. They were to be elected by ratepayers who had been for three consecutive years rated to the relief of the poor. The boroughs—twenty in number—containing a population of above 25,000 were to be divided into wards, and a certain number of councillors were to be chosen by each ward. In all the other boroughs the whole common council were to be elected in a body. The mayor was to be chosen annually by the council, who were also to have the right to appoint the town-clerk and treasurer. If the present town-clerks were removed from

office, they were to obtain compensation. The pecuniary rights of existing freemen were to be maintained; but in future no peculiar privileges were to be conferred, and all the old modes of acquiring the freedom of a corporation were to be abolished. All exclusive rights of trade were also to be abrogated. The charity estates placed at the disposal of corporations had hitherto been scandalously mismanaged. They were now to be put under the control of separate committees chosen from the burgesses. The power of granting ale-house licenses was to be vested in the Council. A recorder, nominated by the Crown, who was to be a barrister of five years' standing, was to be allotted to any borough which chose to provide an adequate salary for the office. The boundary of the municipality was, in the majority of cases, to be the same as the boundary of the Parliamentary borough—in the other instances it was to be defined by the Crown.

This radical measure of corporation reform, affecting as it did the pecuniary interests of a great number of persons, and certain to have a powerful influence on the Parliamentary representation of all the royal boroughs in the kingdom, caused extraordinary excitement, and was violently denounced by the extreme Tories of the Eldon school. The venerable ex-Chancellor himself regarded the measure with mingled horror and indignation, as furnishing one of the worst precedents to be found in the Journals of the proceedings of Parliament. 'I must maintain,' he said, 'that it is no other than a bill of pains and penalties.' It is stated in a contemporary sketch of the old lawyer, that 'he protested loudly in private with feverish alarm' against the measure. 'Its interference with vested rights shocked his sense of equity even more than the sweeping clauses of the Reform Act. To set at nought ancient charters as so many bits of decayed parchment, and destroy the archives of town-halls, seemed in the eyes of the old magistrate, for so many years the guardian

of corporate rights, a crowning iniquity. Pale as a marble statue, and confined to his house in Hamilton Place by infirmity, he would deprecate equally the temerity of Ministers and the madness of the people; and his ratiocinations, like the prophet's scroll, were full to overflowing with lamentations and woe. His correspondence for some years previously had borne marks of the troubled gloom with which he viewed the changes gradually darkening over all he had loved and venerated, till he almost felt a stranger to the institutions of his native land.'

Fortunately for the interests of the country, and even of the Conservative party itself, their great leader in the House of Commons took a different and much more judicious view of the Corporation Bill than did the Tories of the Eldon and Cumberland school. He boldly declared at once that the time had arrived when it was necessary for Parliament to provide some effectual remedy for the abuses which had been brought to light; and that it was of the utmost importance to the well-being of society to establish a good system of municipal government in places which were at present destitute of that advantage. But while thus approving of the principle of the Bill, he reserved to himself the right to deal as he thought fit with the details. With reference to the somewhat unhandsome notice taken by Russell of Lord Hertford's borough of Aldborough, and his sneer at John Wilson Croker, who had now retired from Parliamentary life, Peel said, 'I hope the antiquarian will travel into the interior. I hope he will go to Derby. He will find it stated in the ease of the Corporation of that borough, that whenever they thought the number of freemen in their interest was "getting low" the mayor, or some other influential member of the Corporation, applied to the agents of the Cavendish family, and requested a list of the names of persons to be admitted as honorary freemen. On the last occasion

on which honorary freemen were made, almost all of them were tenants of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. The agents of his Grace paid the fees on the admission of the honorary freemen. Without the admission of such freemen it was said the Corporation "could not have kept the Tories quiet; they would have been restless." In truth, the abuses complained of existed in Whig as well as in Tory corporations.

The High Tories were indignant at this speech; but with Peel against them they were powerless in the Commons. They were obliged, therefore, to conceal their dissatisfaction, and to profess their willingness to follow him in the liberal course on which he had entered. The Bill in consequence passed through the Lower House without any material alterations. It was read a second time, on the 15th of June, without a division; but an earnest effort was made in Committee to change several of its details. Sir William Follett, who had been Solicitor-General in Peel's Administration, moved on the 23rd of June that the rights of freemen to the Parliamentary franchise, which had been preserved by the Reform Act, should still be maintained; but he was defeated by 278 votes to 232. The question was raised a second time on the 16th of July; but was again lost by 262 votes to 234. An attempt to preserve all the other rights of the freemen was defeated by 234 votes to 203. A proposal made by Peel himself, to require a qualification for town councillors of property worth £1000 or a £40 rated rental in boroughs divided into wards, and of £500 or a £20 rental in other towns, was rejected by a much larger majority—267 votes to 204. Lord Stanley's motion, that a third of each Council should retire biennially instead of annually, was lost by 220 votes to 176.

The measure was carried to the House of Lords on the 21st of July; but there it met with very different treatment. The first hostile movement was a proposal that

counsel should be heard in support of a petition from Coventry against the Bill. If this had been acceded to, all the other 209 boroughs would have also claimed to be heard, and the interminable delay thus incurred would have been fatal to the measure. It was ultimately arranged, on the suggestion of Brougham, that 'the corporations should consolidate their opposition under one banner,' and select two counsel to plead their case. This course was accordingly followed, and Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight (afterwards Knight Bruce) were heard on three consecutive evenings against the principle of the Bill (the former occupied twelve hours and a half with his speech). Lord Melbourne then gave notice that on the 3rd of August he would move that the House should go into committee on the Bill.

The Tory peers, however, were not satisfied with having heard counsel in defence of the freemen's right of property. 'The Tory lords,' said Greville, 'had been worked into a frenzy by Wetherell and Knight at the bar of the House of Lords, and Newcastle and Winchelsea bellowed and blustered in grand style. There was a great assemblage of peers at Apsley House, to determine what was to be done; and amazed was I when I learnt that they had resolved to move that evidence should be heard against the principle of the Municipal Corporation Bill. At dinner I met Stuart, to whom I expressed my astonishment at the course they had adopted; and he owned that it was rather hazardous, and said that it was adopted at the suggestion of Lyndhurst, who had insisted upon it at Apsley House, and that the Duke had given way.' Accordingly Lord Carnarvon moved that the House should receive evidence against the Bill; and though the motion was resisted with great power of argument by Lansdowne and Plunkett, and especially by Brougham, it was carried by 124 votes to 54. For five days the peers were occupied hearing witnesses assert that the

corporations were models of purity, independence, and economy, and that self-election by small minorities in corporate towns was the proper and popular way of choosing mayors, aldermen, and councillors. The Tory peers began at last to see that such evidence as this was not promoting their own cause. 'I met the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Lancelot Shadwell) at Charing Cross,' says Greville, 'going down to the House of Lords. "Well," said he, shrugging his shoulders, "here am I going down to the House of Lords after hearing evidence all the morning, to hear it again for the rest of the evening." "What is to happen?" I asked him. "It is the greatest bore; they have heard Coventry and Oxford. They got something of a case out of the first, but the other was beyond anything tiresome; they are sick to death of it, and Brougham and Lyndhurst have agreed that it is all d——d nonsense, and they will hear nothing more after Saturday next." So this is the end of all this hubbub.'

Lyndhurst had promised to the ultra-Tory peers to convert the Bill into a Conservative measure, and he kept his word. The Prime Minister, with the powerful aid of the ex-Chancellor, supported by Lansdowne and Holland, defended the Bill with courage and energy; but their arguments fell powerless on the stolid and bigoted Opposition peers. An amendment, preserving for ever all the rights of the freemen, was carried by 130 votes to 37. They determined, by 120 votes to 39, that the councillors should be chosen from the ratepayers who were assessed at the highest rate in each borough. This amendment was peculiarly offensive and injudicious. It made a pecuniary element the sole qualification for office, and limited the choice of the electors to the smallest number of citizens, excluding others far superior in talent and experience—an enactment odious in itself and utterly alien to the spirit of the British constitution. At a subsequent stage an additional qualification was required—the possession of £1000 in real

or personal estate in boroughs divided into four or more wards, and of £500 in the other boroughs. Other alterations of a similar kind followed. The aldermen were to hold office for life; the powers of existing justices were to be preserved on a similar tenure. Authority to divide boroughs into wards was taken from the Crown and intrusted to revising barristers; the power to grant licenses was taken from the Town Councils and conferred on the county magistrates; the ecclesiastical patronage of the corporations was intrusted to those members of the Town Councils who belonged to the Church of England; the town-clerks were to hold their office during good behaviour; and the power of determining the boundaries of boroughs, which the Bill left to the king in council, was to be retained by Parliament. It was not without good reason that ex-Chancellor Eldon said that Lord Lyndhurst's amendments 'did him great credit,' and that Lord Ellenborough declared that the Corporation Bill had been converted into 'a full, consistent, and constitutional Conservative reform.' But judicious and disinterested spectators must have been ready to concur in the remark of Charles Greville, 'It does certainly appear to me that the Tory lords will never rest until they have accomplished the destruction of the House of Lords.'

Lyndhurst and his followers had, however, reckoned without their host. They were all-powerful in the Upper House; but without the aid of Peel they were powerless in the House of Commons. Besides, the feeling of the country ran strong against this attempt to perpetuate the abuses from which the burghal population had so long suffered; and the moderate men of the party shrunk from a course which would have brought the House of Lords into a position of antagonism both to the Commons and the nation. 'I am at a loss,' said Greville, 'to comprehend the views by which Lyndhurst is actuated, or how he can fancy that any object is attainable which involves in it a breach

or separation between Peel and the great body of the Tories.' The ex-Chancellor himself professed to be entirely indifferent to the opinions of the Conservative leader in the Lower House. When Sir John Campbell reproached him with striking out clauses which Peel had approved of and supported in the Commons, his reckless answer was, 'Peel! what is Peel to me? d—n Peel.' It is even alleged that at this period the Newcastles, Londonderrys, and other ultra-Tories were looking forward to the formation of a Tory Ministry with Lyndhurst as Prime Minister. On the other hand, moderate Liberals were deeply indignant at this short-sighted and selfish policy. Lord Howick talked of 'the Lords being swept away like chaff,' and Hobhouse declared that their conduct was the beginning of the end. Moderate and reasonable men of both parties deprecated a policy which was certain to lead to a renewal of fierce agitation throughout the country, and to end in the defeat and humiliation of the peers.

On the last day of August Lord John Russell summoned a meeting of his supporters in Downing Street, and explained to them the course which the Government proposed to adopt. Hume made a violent speech, deprecating any compromise. O'Connell, with more tact and good sense, earnestly recommended that the Liberal party should not lose the important privileges and power which even the mutilated bill placed within their reach, and should trust to time and better opportunity to make the measure more complete. On the 1st of September the Ministerial leader repeated his intentions in the House of Commons. The Government refused to accept the proposals that aldermen should be elected for life; that the election of town councillors should be limited to the ratepayers who paid the highest assessment; that freemen should be exempted from tolls; that town-clerks should be unremovable; that borough magistrates, already justices, should be continued in that office; that

Dissenting councillors should be excluded from all share in the management of ecclesiastical property. On the other hand, they were willing that a limited number of aldermen should hold office for six years; that the boundaries of boroughs should be settled by revising barristers, and that freemen should retain the Parliamentary franchise. Peel, who had retired to the country in high dudgeon at the proceedings of the Tory peers, suddenly and unexpectedly arrived in town, and rose as soon as Russell sat down. He expressed his concurrence in the proposals made by the Ministry, and supported their views in opposition to the amendments of the Lords, with the single exception of the exclusion of Dissenters from the management of Church patronage. The Tories listened to his speech with ill-suppressed dismay and anger. 'The Lords cannot take it,' said Lord Strangford; 'and if we are to be ruined I think we had better be ruined by real Radicals than by sham Tories.' In spite of their indignation the Conservatives were compelled to accept the compromise which the Government offered. On the 3rd of September the Duke of Wellington called a meeting of Tory peers at Apsley House, and recommended them to give way. Lyndhurst, with a very bad grace, gave a similar advice on the following night in the House of Lords. They adhered to their proposal that justices should be named directly by the Crown, and that the division into wards should begin with boroughs containing a population of 6000 instead of 9000. It was agreed, on the motion of Spring Rice, that the ecclesiastical patronage belonging to corporations should be sold, and the price invested for the purpose of being applied to the public good of the citizens. The bill thus amended became law, and a measure, second only to Parliamentary Reform in importance, was at last carried into effect.

The perverse and obstructive conduct of the Tory peers was not the only difficulty with which the Ministry had at this time

to contend; they were treated by the king in a manner most insulting and irritating. He behaved with tolerable civility towards Melbourne and Palmerston, of whom he was afraid; but he reserved the explosions of his wrath for the mild and diffident Secretary for the Colonies, and other members of the Government. When Lord Gosford, a man of excellent character and judgment, was named Governor of Canada, His Majesty said to him 'Mind what you are about in Canada. By —— I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective. Mind me, my lord, the Cabinet is not my Cabinet; they had better take care, or by —— I will have them impeached.' Hobhouse, who was personally treated with kindness and consideration in his audiences on affairs of his own department, says, he shared at times the doubts of other members of the administration whether incivilities that appeared gratuitous and unseemly were not prompted in some degree by a hope that they might provoke the insulted Ministers to resign, and thereby lead to a break up of the Government. 'It seemed clear to me,' he adds, 'that if we continued in office it would be entirely owing to the good sense and good manners of our chief, who knew how to deal with his master as well as with his colleagues, and never, that I saw, made a mistake in regard to either. I may add that when a stand was to be made on anything considered to be a vital principle of his Government, he was as firm as a rock.'

When Lord Gosford's instructions were first submitted by Lord Glenelg to the king for his approval, His Majesty broke out violently against certain words in the document, saying, 'No! my lord, I will not have that word; strike out "conciliatory," strike out "Liberal."' And then he added, 'You cannot wonder at my making these difficulties with a Ministry that has been forced upon me.' However, as Lord Glenelg went on reading, His Majesty grew more calm and courteous, and expressed his approval of the instructions on

that day. But when Lord Glenelg went into the closet two days after, the king was very sulky and indeed rude, and objected to some things to which he had previously consented.

Another scene of the same kind, which Greville justly terms a very disgraceful one, occurred with Lord Torrington, one of the Lords of the Bed Chamber, at the levee on the 9th of August. A card was put into Torrington's hands of somebody who was presented, which he read, 'So and So, Deputy Governor.' 'Deputy Governor!' said the king; 'Deputy Governor of what?' 'I cannot tell your Majesty,' replied Torrington, 'as it is not upon the card.' 'Hold your tongue, sir!' said the king; 'you had better go home and learn to read;' and shortly after, when some bishop presented an address against the Irish Tithe Bill, and the king was going as usual to hand over the papers to the Lord-in-Waiting, he stopped and said to Lord Torrington, who advanced to take them, 'No, Lord Torrington, these are not fit documents to be intrusted to your keeping.' Scenes of this kind were of frequent occurrence. 'The king,' says Greville, 'cannot bridle his temper, and lets slip no opportunity of showing his dislike, impotent as it is, of the people who surround him. He admits none but Tories into his private society. Wherever he goes Tories accompany him; at Windsor Tories only are his guests. This provokes his Ministers; but it necessarily makes them more indifferent to the cultivation of his favour, and accustoms them to consider themselves as the Ministers of the House of Commons, and not of the Crown. Perhaps they cannot do otherwise as things now are. It is, however, a very melancholy and mischievous state of affairs, and does more to degrade the monarchy than anything that has ever occurred. To exhibit the king publicly to the world as a cipher, and something less than a cipher, as an unsuccessful competitor in a political squabble, is to

take from the Crown all the dignity with which it is invested by that theoretical attribute of perfection that has been so conveniently ascribed to it.'

His Majesty's own indiscretion and hatred of his Ministers no doubt were the main cause of this untoward state of affairs so perilous to the throne; but the extreme folly and violence of those about him contributed not a little to encourage him in this most improper behaviour to those statesmen, whom the country and the House of Commons had placed at the head of affairs. Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, the king's son, told Lord Melbourne that 'his father had much to bear, being beset by the Duke of Cumberland and the Duchess of Gloucester by day, and by the queen at night.' But he had himself mainly to blame for the trouble and mortification he had to endure. As Greville has justly remarked, 'When the king found himself compelled to take those people back, and to surrender himself a prisoner into their hands, he should have swallowed the bitter pill and digested it, and not kept rolling it in his mouth and making wry faces. He should have made a very bad business as tolerable as he could by yielding himself with a good grace; and had he treated them with that sort of courtesy which one gentleman may and ought to show to all those with whom he is unavoidably brought into contact, and which implies nothing as to feeling and inclination, he would have received from them that respect and attention which it would have been equally their interest and their desire to show.'

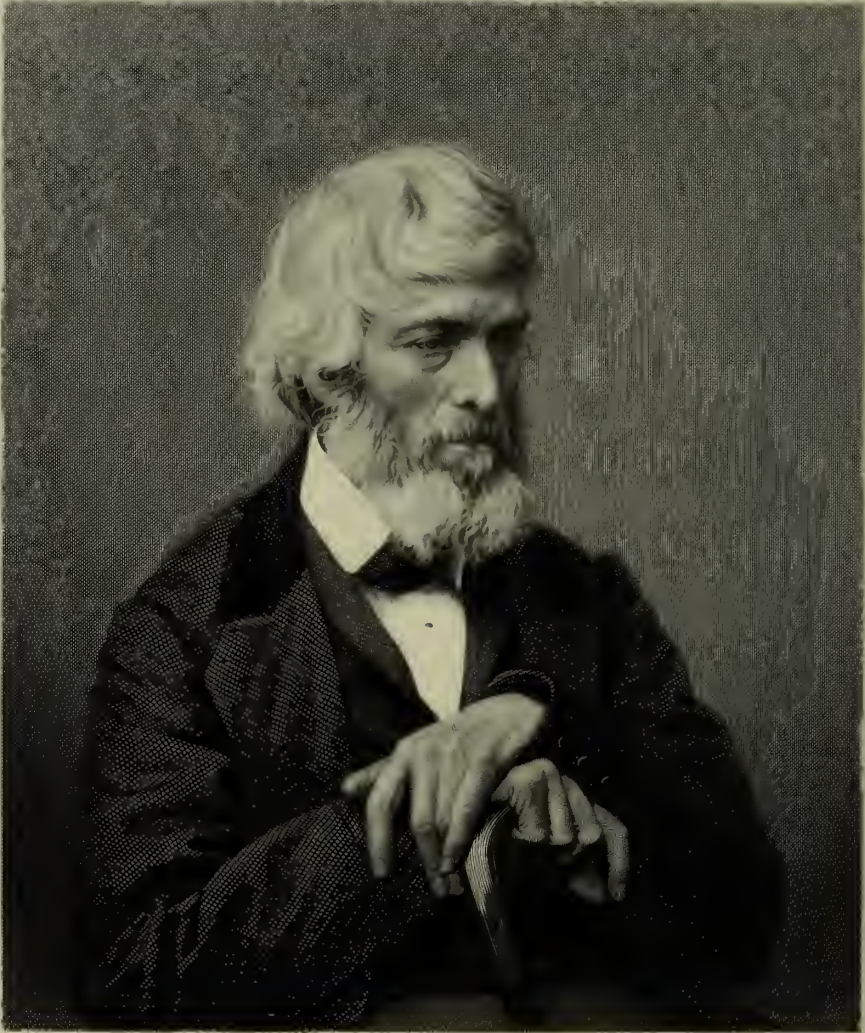
The Orangemen of Ireland had always taken a prominent part in opposition to the policy of the Government, and they were especially hostile to all concessions made to the Roman Catholics. They had of late become more than usually offensive in their demonstrations, and had in consequence drawn down upon themselves the hostility of the Liberal party in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland. A

great Protestant meeting was held at Dublin, at which the Earl of Winchelsea, an honest but weak and fanatical Tory of the most extreme type, was introduced to the Irish Orangemen and admitted into their society. 'The meeting was great in one way,' says Greville, 'for there were a great many fools who talked a great deal of nonsense, and evinced a disposition to do a great deal of mischief if they can.' It was discovered at this time that the Orangemen had gone much farther than the public were aware, in meditating very serious mischief indeed.

Orange Lodges had been in existence for forty years. They originated among the Protestants in the north of Ireland, and were instituted after the battle of the Diamond in 1795 by a few yeomen and farmers, for mutual protection, and the defence of the Union with England against the treasonable plots of the Roman Catholics to unite Ireland with France. The Orangemen were the deadly foes of the United Irishmen, and they soon began to take steps for the expulsion of the Roman Catholics from the northern counties of Ireland. So vigorously did they set to work in wrecking and destroying the houses of their obnoxious fellow countrymen, and in inflicting other outrages of a similar kind, that 7000 Roman Catholics were said to have been driven out from Armagh alone. The Earl of Gosford, who was Lord-Lieutenant of that county, convened a meeting of the leading magistrates there, and set before them a plan which he had devised for the protection of the Roman Catholics against the barbarities inflicted on them by the Orangemen. In his address to the meeting, proposing certain resolutions for the acceptance of his brother magistrates, his lordship said—'It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in that country. Neither age nor acknowledged innocence as to the

late disturbances is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this merciless persecution are charged with is a crime of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible—it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attended the execution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can afford. For where have we read—in what history of human cruelty have we read—of more than one-half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement winter, to seek shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country; yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest heart. These horrors are now acting, and acting with impunity.'

Orange Lodges were at first confined to Ireland, but in 1808 a Lodge was founded in Manchester; it was afterwards removed to London, and its meetings were held at the house of Lord Kenyon, who was Deputy Grand Master. It was intended to appoint the Duke of York Grand Master, but he declined the office on learning that the law officers of the Crown considered the institution illegal. The rules of the society were in consequence altered in order to remove this objection. The Act which passed in 1825, prohibiting for the space of three years political societies in Ireland, suppressed the Orange Lodges, or at least caused them to be held in secret. But on



Engraved from a Photograph by Elliott & Fry

T H O M A S C A R L Y L E .

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW

the expiry of the Act in 1828 they sprang up more vigorous than ever. Besides the Irish organization of 1600 Lodges, with 175,000 members, the Orangemen in Great Britain numbered 140,000, no fewer than 50,000 of whom were in London. At first they all belonged to the lower classes, but they now included in their ranks men of the highest position—peers and members of Parliament, and great numbers of landed proprietors.

When the Orange Lodges were re-established in 1828 the Duke of Cumberland was appointed Grand Master, with authority to veto any of their proceedings of which he might disapprove, and to issue orders, which every Orangeman was bound to obey; and he set about extending the organization with characteristic energy and zeal. He gave a commission under the great seal of the society, in the most formal manner, to the 'trustworthy, well-beloved, and right-worshipful brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Fairman,' whom his Royal Highness selected 'from a knowledge of his experience and a confidence in his integrity,' as a fitting agent to establish Orange Lodges throughout Great Britain. The Colonel made two extensive tours in England and Scotland, and succeeded in inducing a great number of the Tory party to 'rally round the throne and the church,' as he expressed it. Lodges were established in all the larger towns and populous districts of the country. They were industriously extended also to the colonies and dependencies of the British empire. There were no fewer than 12,000 Orangemen in Canada, and Lodges were even formed at Malta, Gibraltar, Corfu, New South Wales, Bermuda, and Van Diemen's Land.

The emancipation of the Roman Catholics seems to have driven the leaders of the Orangemen frantic; and they actually persuaded themselves that the Duke of Wellington intended to usurp the Crown on the death of George IV., who was at that time in feeble health, and evidently drawing near his end. A letter from Colonel Fair-

man to the Duke of Cumberland written at this period says, 'Should an indisposition which has agitated the whole country for a fortnight take a favourable turn—should the Almighty in His mercy give ear unto the supplications that to His heavenly throne are offered up daily to prolong the existence of one deservedly dear to the nation at large—a divulgement I have expressed a willingness to furnish would be deprived of no small portion of its value. Even in this case, an event for the consummation of which, in common with all good subjects, I obtest the Deity, it might be as well your Royal Highness should be put in possession of the rash design in embryo, the better to enable you to devise measures for its frustration; at any rate, you would not then be taken by surprise, as the nation was last year, but might have an opportunity of rallying your forces and of organizing your plans for the defeat of such machinations as might be hostile to your paramount claims. Hence, should the experiment be made and its expediency established, your Royal Highness would be in a situation to contend for the exercise, in your own person, of that office at which the wild ambition of another may prompt him to aspire.' In another letter Fairman refers to the Duke of Wellington as having been 'weak enough to ape the coarseness of Cromwell. His seizure of the diadem, with his planting it upon his brow, was a preposterous sort of self-inauguration.' During the last illness of George IV. Fairman addressed a letter to the *Morning Herald*, in which he says, 'Some whisperings have gone abroad that in the event of the demise of the Crown a regency would probably be established for reasons which occasioned the removal of the next in succession from the office of High Admiral. That a maritime Government might not prove consonant to the views of a military chieftain of the most unbounded ambition may admit of easy belief; and as the second heir presumptive is not alone a female but a minor, in addition to the argument which might be applied

to the present, that in the ordinary course of nature it was not to be expected that his reign could be of long duration in these disjointed times, it is by no means unlikely a vicarious form of Government might be attempted. The effort would be a bold one, but after the measures we have seen, what new violations would surprise us? Besides, the popular plea of economy and expedience might be urged as the pretext, while aggrandizement and usurpation might be the latent motive.'

These letters throw great light on the objects and intrigues of the Orange leaders at this period. Incredible as it may now appear, they evidently believed that the Duke of Wellington might either usurp the Crown or seize the Regency on the death of George IV.; and in order to prevent this step they proposed that the Duke of Clarence should be set aside on the plea of insanity, and the Princess Victoria because she was a woman and a minor, and that the Duke of Cumberland should be raised to the throne. It was proved beyond the possibility of denial or doubt that Colonel Fairman was in the confidence of the leaders of the Orangemen, and was in constant confidential communication with them respecting their plans and proceedings. In April, 1832, he was unanimously elected to the important office of Deputy Grand Secretary on the nomination of the Duke of Cumberland himself, seconded by Lord Kenyon and the Duke of Gordon; and two months later he was sent out on his mission with full powers to establish Lodges wherever he could, and by whatever means he thought proper. His correspondence with the Marquis of Londonderry, the Duke of Gordon, Lord Kenyon, and other Orange leaders shows their confidence in him, and their full knowledge and approval of his designs. Writing to Lord Londonderry, he speaks of the 'necessity for our laying aside that non-resistance, that passive obedience, which has hitherto been religiously enforced to our own discomfiture.' He says, 'We have the military with us as far as they are

at liberty to avow their principles and sentiments,' and he earnestly recommends the establishment of Orange Lodges among the pitmen on the estates of the Marquis. To the Duke of Gordon he wrote, following up what he had said to Lord Londonderry, about 'a rapid augmentation of our physical force'—'We shall be assuming, I think, such an attitude of boldness as will strike the foe with awe; but we inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience and of non-resistance too religiously by far.' In entire harmony with these statements, an Orangeman of the name of Haywood asserted that Fairman had sounded the friends of the cause, at Sheffield and other places, on their willingness to support the pretensions of the Duke of Cumberland to the Crown, if King William should be deposed for his assent to the Reform Bill.

Their number, their organization, and the rank and power of their leaders rendered the Orangemen a very formidable body, and they made their influence felt in every part of the country. The Bishop of Salisbury was their Lord Prelate and Grand Chaplain of the Order, and they had twelve or thirteen clergymen, who acted as Deputy Grand Chaplains and Masters of Lodges. Their language and their actions alike were menacing to the public peace and the welfare of the country. Lord Kenyon, their Deputy Grand Master, expressed his hope of 'the arrival of a day of reckoning,' when certain 'hell-hounds' would 'be called on to pay the full penalty of their cold-blooded tergiversations.' They avowedly contemplated the employment of physical force to repeal the Reform Bill, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, and other measures of a similar kind. Any member who voted for a Liberal candidate was at once expelled. Roman Catholic workmen were driven out by their Orange fellow-labourers, with whom they 'had before lived and worked in peace and harmony.' The inducement was held out to clergymen to join the association, that their doing so might lead to patronage.

Threats were held out to pensioners, disbanded soldiers, and half-pay officers of the army and navy, and they were told that it was their 'bounden duty, in a crisis of danger like the present, to enlist under the banner of a loyal association, instead of repairing to factious unions, no less hostile to sound policy than to true religion, at the imminent risk of incurring a just forfeiture of their hard-earned remunerations, of which a scrupulous Government would not hesitate to deprive them. Of this intelligible hint the half-pay of the army and navy might do well to profit, in a prospective sense.'

Some information respecting the nature and object of these Orange Lodges had come to the knowledge of Mr. Hume, and other members of the House of Commons; and a few weeks before the downfall of the Peel Administration they insisted on receiving from the Ministers a specific answer respecting the addresses which had been presented to the king from Orange Lodges applauding the change of Government—whether they had, as reported, been 'graciously received' by His Majesty, while addresses from Whigs were merely acknowledged, without the addition of a gracious reception; and whether these Lodges were legal or illegal. Goulbourn, the Home Secretary, who was an Orangeman when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated in reply that the answers to these addresses were intended merely as an acknowledgment of their receipt, and not as any recognition of the legality of the society from which they proceeded. It thus appeared that the king had been receiving, and acknowledging with studied graciousness, addresses from societies which were undoubtedly illegal, and in which the question of his deposition from the throne had been favourably considered.

The first step taken was to move for the production of the addresses to the king from Orange Lodges, and the answers which had been returned to them, which was granted. It was next proposed by Mr. Finn, the mem-

ber for Kilkenny, that 'a select committee be appointed to inquire into the nature, character, extent, and tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations, or Societies in Ireland, and to report their opinion thereunto to the House.' Finn called attention to the mischief such societies were working in Ireland, and stated that Orange juries refused to convict Orange prisoners even on the clearest evidence; and the misconduct of one jury in the obstruction of justice was so flagrant that the Chief Justice Bushe felt constrained to say, 'That is your verdict, gentlemen of the jury; thank God it is not mine.' The Orangemen themselves saw that it was impossible to resist inquiry, and they resolved to adopt the bold and judicious course of supporting the motion for inquiry. Mr. Henry Maxwell, member for Cavan, the Grand Secretary, seconded Mr. Finn's proposal, and a committee was accordingly appointed. Mr. Wilson Patten, the Conservative member for North Lancashire (now Lord Winmarleigh), was made chairman, and the Committee was occupied for several months in receiving evidence. They reported this evidence on three separate occasions to the House. It transpired that Orange Lodges in considerable numbers had been formed in the army; and before the third report of the Committee was presented Mr. Hume thought it necessary to expose this illegal and most dangerous practice, in order that no time might be lost in suppressing it. On the 4th of August, 1835, he moved a series of eleven resolutions declaratory of the existence of numerous Orange Lodges in Ireland; of their character, objects, and mode of procedure; of the illegality of such an organization in the army, in direct contravention of the general orders issued by the Commander-in-chief in 1822 and 1829, strongly reprobating the holding of Orange Lodges in any regiment as 'fraught with danger to the discipline of the army, as contrary to order and to the rules of the service, and warning the soldiers that a disregard of this

caution will subject offending parties to trial and punishment for disobedience of orders.' Mr. Hume also moved that the resolutions and the evidence taken before the Committee should be laid before His Majesty, and that the king's attention should likewise be called to the fact that the Duke of Cumberland, a Field-Marshal in the British service, had signed warrants for constituting Orange Lodges in the army.

Colonel Perceval, member for the county of Sligo, Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, and other friends of the Duke, asserted that His Royal Highness had signed the warrants referred to in blank, and that he was ignorant of the purposes for which they were used. But unfortunately for the truth of this assertion, the Select Committee found that Lord Kenyon had written to Colonel Fairman, 'His Royal Highness promises being in England a fortnight before Parliament assembles. To him privately you had better address yourself about your military proposition, which to me appears very judicious.' In another letter the Deputy Grand Master says, 'The statement you made to me before, and respecting which I have now before me particulars from Portsmouth, should be referred to His Royal Highness as military matters of great delicacy. At the same time private information, I submit, should be made to the military correspondents, letting them know how highly we esteem them as brethren.' In a third letter Lord Kenyon says, 'If you hear anything further from the military district, let His Royal Highness know all particulars fit to be communicated.' Further, the records of the Lodge meetings, at which the Duke of Cumberland presided, contained direct evidence of the complicity of His Royal Highness in the illegal proceedings referred to. At these meetings new warrants, some of which were actually styled 'military warrants,' were granted to soldiers present. 'The military Lodges were entered in the books noticed by the circular-reports of the meetings where the Duke of Cumberland

presided; and the laws and ordinances containing provisions for attracting soldiers and sailors by a remission of fees are declared to have been inspected by the Duke, and handed over to Lord Kenyon for final supervision.' It is not wonderful that in these circumstances the Committee reported, 'That they find it most difficult to reconcile statements in evidence before them with ignorance of these proceedings on the part of Lord Kenyon and by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.'

Lord John Russell, as the organ of the Government, expressed his willingness to concur in the resolutions respecting the constitution of Orange Societies, and the introduction of these societies into the army; but he objected to the mention of the name of a member of the royal family, without giving him an opportunity to make his defence or explanation. He therefore moved that the debate should be adjourned for a week. He at the same time expressed his surprise, that when the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Kenyon, and other distinguished individuals, saw that the whole discipline of the army might be subverted under colour of their high authority, they should not at once have ceased to be members of such an association.

The discussion was resumed on the 11th of August. In the interval the Duke of Cumberland wrote and published a letter to the Chairman of the Committee, in which he positively denied having ever issued warrants to soldiers, or known of such being issued; asserted that he had refused to send out military warrants, on the ground that it was contrary to the orders and regulations of the Horse-Guards; and intimated that all warrants inconsistent with these orders should be annulled. This letter was not regarded as satisfactory, and no credit was given to the Duke's denial. Lord John intimated plainly that, if his Royal Highness had merely signed blank warrants that had been filled up in a manner of which he had expressed his disapproval, he ought to have withdrawn

from an association which, according to his own account, had so grossly abused his confidence. Mr. Hume's last resolution, which called the attention of the king to the conduct of his royal brother in this matter, was therefore adopted, with the omission of the statement that the warrants signed by the Duke were designed for the establishment of Orange Lodges in the army. His Majesty's reply to the address assured the House that the utmost vigilance and vigour would be put forth to suppress political societies in the army, and a circular was issued by the Commander-in-Chief ordering that any officer or soldier who should continue a member of an Orange Lodge should be tried by court-martial.

In the course of their investigations the Select Committee called on Colonel Fairman to produce a book which was alleged to contain copies of the correspondence between him and other officers of the society, respecting the establishment of Orange Lodges in certain regiments at Gibraltar and among the troops in the Ionian islands. He refused to comply with this order, on the ground that the book contained private documents. His refusal was reported to the House of Commons (August 19), and he was called before it and interrogated; but repeated his refusal, though admonished by the Speaker that he must obey the orders of the House. Next day, as he was still contumacious, the House declared that he had been guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered that he should be committed to Newgate; but by this time the Colonel had disappeared. Some members proposed that the Speaker should issue his warrant to search Fairman's house for the book, as was done in the case of the South-Sea Directors; but the majority were unwilling to follow such a precedent, or to exercise a power which had so much odium attached to it, and it was thought expedient not to issue the order.

The public, however, were still unsatisfied; and a number of the Radical members

of the House were bent on carrying further their attack on the Duke of Cumberland and other leaders of the Orange party. They had satisfied themselves that the law under which the Dorsetshire labourers had been convicted in 1834* had been violated by the Orangemen, and they made arrangements to bring the Duke, Lord Kenyon, the Bishop of Salisbury, Colonel Fairman, and others, before the Central Criminal Court. Eminent counsel were retained for the prosecution. The indictments were actually drawn, when Haywood, the witness on whose evidence they mainly relied to obtain a conviction, suddenly died, and the case was consequently dropped.

The Select Committee had merely inquired into the character and extent of the Orange Lodges in Ireland and the army; but another Committee was now appointed, on the motion of Mr. Hume, to carry the investigation into Great Britain and the Colonies. The result of this inquiry was the reverse of creditable to the Orangemen. Their hot-headed, perverse leaders, however, would take no warning, but persisted in their imprudent and exasperating proceedings. The Duke of Cumberland himself set at nought the authority of

* The Dorsetshire labourers were six poor men who had taken part in forming an agricultural Union. They were tried at Dorchester under an obsolete statute of George III., enacted after the Mutiny at the Nore, which made the administering of illegal oaths punishable by transportation. These men were quite ignorant of the existence of such a law, and were not aware that they had been guilty of any offence. They were, notwithstanding, found guilty, and sentenced to seven years' transportation. They were hurried out of the country, and despatched at once to Australia, in order to forestal the public sympathy and clamour which it was foreseen a sentence so severe and unjust was certain to excite. Petitions, complaining of the sentence, were poured in from various quarters of the country. A monster meeting of between 20,000 and 30,000 working men was held in Copenhagen Fields, London, to remonstrate against it. The meeting excited great alarm in the metropolis, but successful precautions were taken by Lord Melbourne, in conjunction with the Duke of Wellington, to preserve the public peace. Public opinion ran so strongly in favour of the poor, ignorant, ill-used labourers, that a free pardon was sent out to them in Van Diemen's Land, and they were brought back to England in 1837.

the House of Commons, and persisted in retaining his position as Grand Master. Exasperated by this foolish and intemperate behaviour, the member for Kilkenny renewed his attack on the Duke on the 12th of February, 1836, and was seconded by Mr. Hume, who criticised the conduct of his Royal Highness with great severity. The debate was adjourned to the 23rd, and on that night Hume, after a full and minute exposure of the whole Orange conspiracy, proposed an address to the king, requesting him to cause the dismissal from office of every judge, privy-councillor, lord-lieutenant, magistrate, militia officer, inspector, or constable who, after the lapse of one month, should retain connection with any Orange or Ribbon Lodge, or any other political club. The motion was much too strong and sweeping to commend itself either to the House or the country, and was superseded by a motion of Lord John Russell for an address to the king, praying that His Majesty would take such measures as he might deem 'advisable for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges, and generally of all political societies excluding persons of a different religious faith, using signs and symbols, and acting by affiliated branches.' Greville, who is not usually complimentary to the Whig Ministry, speaks in highly eulogistic terms of the temperate and conciliatory speech of the leader of the House.

'Lord John Russell,' he says, 'immortalized himself on Tuesday night. After a speech from Hume of three hours, in which he produced a variety of the most inconceivable letters from Kenyon, Wynford, Londonderry, and other Orangemen, but made the most miserable hash of his whole case, and instead of working up his ample materials with dexterity and effect, stupidly blundering and wasting them all—after this speech Lord John Russell rose, and in a speech far surpassing his usual form—dignified, temperate, and judicious—moved a resolution of a moderate inoffensive character. The speech actually drew tears

from the Orangemen, enthusiastic approbation from Stanley, a colder approval from Peel, and the universal assent of the House. It was a night of harmony; the Orangemen behaved very well, and declared that after this speech they would abandon their association; they only objected to the Orange Lodges being mentioned by name, and urged that the resolution should be only general in expression, and in that Stanley and Peel supported them. Lord John declined, and properly; the others would have done better to advise the Orangemen not to cavil at this, but to swallow the whole pill handsomely, and not mar the effect of their really meritorious conduct by making any trivial difficulties. Peel's and Stanley's speeches were characteristic—the latter with a generous enthusiasm of praise and congratulation to his old friend, which evinced feeling and was sincere; Peel, colder in his expressions, and showing a great interest in the Orangemen, for the purpose evidently of conciliating them towards himself, and even incurring some risk of disturbing the general harmony by his warmth and sympathy towards them, and I have no doubt that he is as glad as any man on the dissolution of the confederacy.'

There can be no doubt that Russell on this occasion conferred a great and permanent benefit upon the country. The royal reply to the address of the House expressed his Majesty's firm resolution to discourage all such societies throughout his dominions. A copy of it was transmitted by the Home Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland, who feeling that he could no longer set at defiance the decision of the Commons, stated in answer, that before the last discussion in the House of Commons he had recommended the dissolution of Orange Societies in Ireland, and that he would now give orders that they should be broken up in every other part of the British dominions. A great danger to the peace and safety of the empire was thus happily averted.

The remaining business of the session was not of any material importance. The

Marquis of Chandos, the leader of the agricultural interest, who declined office in the Peel Ministry because the repeal of the malt tax was not included in the Tamworth Manifesto, proposed, on the 25th of May, that an address should be presented to the king, referring to the frequency with which agricultural distress had been mentioned in different royal speeches at the opening of several successive sessions, and urging that the attention of His Majesty's Government should be directed to the subject 'with a view to the immediate removal of some portion of the burdens to which the land is subject through the pressure of general and local taxation.' In support of his motion the Marquis referred to the heaviness of the county rates, the expenses of assize prosecutions, and of maintaining prisoners in gaols; the cost of building and repairing bridges and mending roads by statute labour; and other burdens of a similar class, which have been often since pleaded by 'the farmer's friends' down to the present time. An amendment was moved by Lord John Russell, and was supported by Sir Robert Peel on the ground that if the resolution were adopted it would have the effect of exciting hopes which, consistently with public credit, could not be fulfilled. The amendment was carried by a majority of 211 to 150. Another remedy for the agricultural distress was proposed by Mr. Cayley, the Whig member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, recommending an alteration of the currency; but though supported by O'Connell, as well as by the agricultural representatives, it was negatived by a majority of 216 to 126.

The debate on the motion of the Marquis of Chandos proved fatal to William Cobbett, who, though seventy-three years of age and labouring under severe illness, persisted in addressing the House in favour of a motion for the repeal of the malt tax, and when almost completely prostrated, sat up to a late hour in order to give his vote on the motion respecting agricultural distress. He lingered on for three weeks in a state of

great weakness and suffering, and died on the 18th of June.

The career of William Cobbett was very remarkable, both as regards his personal qualities and his public action. The son of a Surrey farmer, with nothing more than the scanty education of his class at that time, he became in succession an attorney's clerk, a private soldier, a sergeant-major, a political writer, a farmer, and a member of Parliament. He was undoubtedly possessed of eminent ability; but his glaring inconsistencies greatly marred his influence for good. When he started on his career as a journalist he stoutly advocated Tory principles. Some offence given him by the party in power transformed him into an extreme Radical. His writings at one time exercised a powerful influence on the working classes of the community, and greatly alarmed the aristocracy and the Government. He was repeatedly prosecuted, and fined and imprisoned; but with indomitable perseverance he held on his course, vehemently assailing the institutions and the ministers that had provoked his indignation. To him belongs the credit of being the first to diffuse political knowledge among the working classes of England, and to make the Legislature and the Government feel the influence of periodical literature. Cobbett had no claim to high or indeed fixed principle of any kind; his natural temper was imperious and overbearing; his opinions showed a strange mixture of illiberality and Radicalism, and his language was not unfrequently violent and abusive. But his writings, though sometimes coarse, were characterized by remarkable vigour, common sense, shrewdness, and humour, and their style was clear, terse, and idiomatic. As Coleridge remarked, he lifted the latch of every cottage door, and thundered with no runaway knock at the palace gate. He was at one time a power in the country; but his Parliamentary career was a failure. His habits were not suited to the late hours of the House of Commons, and his crude notions on

financial and indeed on many political questions were entirely at variance with those of both parties in the Legislature. His demise therefore made no perceptible blank in public life.

On the 12th of June, Mr. Robinson, member for Worcester, brought the whole subject of taxation under the notice of the House, and moved 'that it is expedient to refer the general taxation of the country to a select committee, with a view to a repeal or reduction of such imposts as injuriously affect the interests of agriculture, trade, manufactures, or navigation, or those which may be found to press with unequal severity upon any portion of the community, especially on the working and productive classes; and, further, to consider the propriety of substituting, if necessary, other taxes less objectionable in their operation, so as to simplify and economize the enormous cost of collection, and lighten the pressure by a more just and equitable distribution of the public burdens.' Mr. Robinson was unfortunately before his day. Neither the House nor the country were at that time prepared to act upon the principles which he laid down, and enforced by cogent arguments and telling examples. It was reserved for Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone to carry out fully the policy with which the nation was indoctrinated by Richard Cobden and John Bright. Mr. Bulwer, one of the members for Marylebone, made a commencement of another important reform by a motion for the repeal of the stamp duty on newspapers, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged could not be defended upon grounds either of moral policy or of sound political doctrine, but resisted exclusively because the state of the revenue did not allow him to give it up.

The protracted session was at length brought to a close on the 10th of September.

The House of Lords had not risen in public estimation by the course which, at the instigation of Lyndhurst, it had followed in regard to the reform of the municipal

corporations and the commutation of tithes in Ireland. An idea began to prevail that it was impossible for the two Houses of Parliament to co-operate harmoniously without an organic change in the constitution of the Upper House. The press teemed with pamphlets, leading articles, reviews, and reports of speeches advocating the necessity of Peerage reform, and proposing schemes for bringing the Peers and the Commons into harmony. The most moderate of these, proposed by Roebuck, was that the veto exercised by the Lords should be taken away, and that a suspensive power, to be exercised only once on each measure in the same session, should be allowed them instead of it. There was a sort of vague apprehension abroad that the collision between the Lords and the Commons during the past session would not be terminated, without some violent measures or important changes. The Duke of Richmond said 'he thought the House of Lords was nearly done for;' and Greville, a staunch Tory, coincided in this opinion. 'I am not at all sure,' he said, 'but that the Government is content to exhibit its paltry numbers in the House of Lords, in order that the world may see how essentially it is a Tory body, that it hardly fulfils the conditions of a great independent legislative assembly, but presents the appearance of a dominant party faction which is too numerous to be affected by any constitutional process, and too obstinate to be turned from its fixed purpose of opposing all the measures which have a tendency to diminish the influence of the Conservative party in the country. It is impossible to look at the disposition exhibited by this great majority and not admit that there is a very small chance of its acting harmoniously with the present House of Commons, and that some change must take place in order to enable Government and legislation to go on at all. It is anything but clear that the nation desires the destruction of the House of Lords, nor is it clear that the nation cares for its preservation. It is, I think, exceedingly probable

that a majority of those who return members to Parliament, and in whom collectively the supreme power really resides, though they might be content to retain the House of Lords if it could be made to act in harmony with, and therefore necessarily in subordination to the House of Commons, would not hesitate for an instant to decree its downfall if it became clear that there was no other way of crushing the Tory faction which now rules triumphant in that House.'

At the close of the session O'Connell, who considered that Ireland had special reasons for demanding a reform of the House of Lords, declared that he now abandoned Repeal and all other projects in order to devote himself to the great task of reforming the Upper House, to which he ascribed the continuance of the grievances of which the Irish complained. He set out on what he called 'a mission' to the north of England and Scotland, to rouse the people to demand that an elective chamber should be substituted for the present hereditary House of Lords—that a peer should be chosen for a term of years by every 200,000 electors, which would yield a House of 130 peers, instead of the 170 who at that time composed the legislative body. He was received with unbounded enthusiasm by enormous crowds, composed, however, for the most part, of the lower classes. In Scotland especially, men of rank, property, and character generally held aloof from the Agitator; and one of the Established Church ministers of Paisley was even rebuked by his Presbytery for saying grace at a public dinner given to O'Connell at Glasgow. O'Connell's style of oratory, which produced such a rousing effect on the inflammable natives of Ireland, fell coldly on the ears of the shrewd manufacturing classes in the north of England, and of hard-headed, cautious Scotsmen. He talked of the 170 tyrants who had prevented Parliament from passing more than one good measure during the previous session. He told the citizens of Edinburgh that ancient Athens was degraded

for submitting to thirty tyrants; modern Athens will never allow 170 tyrants to rule over her. The 'House of Lords began the quarrel with me,' he said. 'They may treat me as a mad dog if they please; I must fight them, but I will treat them as the Quaker treated the dog which had attacked him. "Heaven forbid," said he, "that I should do thee the slightest injury; I am a man of peace, and I will not hurt thee;" but when the dog went away he cried out, "Mad dog! mad dog!" and all the people set upon him. Now, that is my remedy with the House of Lords. I am more honest than the Quaker was; for the dog that attacked me is really mad. Bills were rejected in the House of Lords simply because Daniel O'Connell supported them; and I do say that if I had any twelve men on a jury in a question of lunacy, I would put it to such a jury to say if such men were not confirmed madmen. So you perceive the dog is really mad, and accordingly I have started on this mission to rouse the public mind to the necessity of reforming the House of Lords, and I have had 50,000 cheering me at Manchester and 100,000 cheering me in Newcastle, and I heard one simultaneous cry, "Down with the mad dogs and up with common sense!" The same cry has resounded through Auld Reekie; the Calton Hill, and Arthur's Seat re-echoed with the sound; and all Scotland has expressed the same determination to use every legitimate effort to remove the House of Lords. Though the Commons are with us, yet the House of Lords are against us, and they have determined that they will not concede a portion of freedom which they can possibly keep back. Sir Robert Peel, the greatest humbug that ever lived, and as full of political and religious cant as any man that ever canted in this canting world—feeling himself quite safe on his own dunghill—says that *we* want but one chamber, one House of Radical reformers. He knew that in saying this he was saying what was not true. We know too well the advantage of double

deliberation not to support two Houses ; but they must be subject to popular control ; they must be the servants, not the masters, of the people.' 'A hundred and seventy men our masters !' he exclaimed in Glasgow. 'It is impossible that it can last—that such a set of stupid and ignorant, half-mad fops and coxcombs should continue to lord it.'

O'Connell's orations were greeted with tumultuous applause by the mob, but they produced anything rather than a favourable impression on the thoughtful and influential portion of the community, who, though deeply dissatisfied with the conduct of the House of Lords, were not prepared to substitute an elective for a hereditary legislative assembly. He became the object of unmeasured abuse—the target at which every shaft of the Opposition was aimed. He repaid in kind the torrent of invective poured upon him with the most virulent and scurrilous vituperation. The acrimonious controversy was not creditable or profitable to either party, and will be read now with mingled astonishment and regret. O'Connell's 'mission' did not contribute in any way to the reform of the House of Lords, and the fierce attacks made upon him by the Tory organs and orators did not tend to diminish his power. Greville shrewdly remarked that O'Connell was exalted to the eminence at which he had arrived, more by the assaults of his enemies, than by the efforts of his friends. 'It is the Tories,' he says, 'who are ever insisting upon the immensity of his power, and whose excess of hatred and fear makes him of such vast account that "he draws the rabble after him as a monster makes a show."'

The ministers winced a good deal under the patronage of the Irish agitator—not the less that his support was indispensable to their continuance in office. On returning to his position as the head of the administration, Lord Melbourne was questioned by Lord Alvanley as to the terms of the compact he was alleged to have made with

O'Connell. He replied in calm but most explicit terms, 'I am asked how far I coincide in the opinions of Mr. O'Connell about the Union with Ireland? I answer, Not at all. I am asked whether I am to have the aid of Mr. O'Connell? I reply that I cannot tell. And lastly, on what terms? I answer, I have made no terms with him whatever.' No one questioned Lord Melbourne's word ; but it is quite certain that there was an understanding between O'Connell and some members of the Government, which, however, was not necessarily discreditable to either party. The Opposition, of course, continued to ring the changes on the dependence of the Ministry on Irish support, and the danger they in consequence incurred. One of H. B.'s cartoons published at this time attracted a good deal of attention, and contributed not a little to impress this charge on the public mind. The drawing depicted a lion, with whose massive features those of O'Connell were subtly interlined, good-naturedly allowing Lord John to put his head into his mouth, as Van Amburgh was in the habit of doing at Exeter Change. When half-way in the keeper, whose position prevented him from seeing what was going on, is represented as asking anxiously, 'Does he wag his tail?' In another sketch the Agitator is represented as a farmer sowing seed out of a bag labelled 'Sedition,' while Russell is holding the plough and Morpeth is driving the horses. In a third he is depicted as Guy Fawkes detected by Peel and Stanley in the vault, which is stowed with fagots bearing the titles of 'Agitation,' 'Delusion,' 'Fraud,' 'Rent,' 'Rights of Ireland,' 'Repeal of the Union,' 'Separation,' 'Treason.' These popular sketches both indicated the state of public feeling and helped to strengthen it.

O'Connell's behaviour in his personal relations to society gave great offence to the upper classes of both parties, and did no good to the Ministry. His coarse attack on Lord Alvanley, a witty, spirited nobleman, whom he denounced as 'a bloated buffoon,'

and then refused to give him either an apology or satisfaction,* led to a duel between Alvanley and O'Connell's son Morgan, which did not tend to raise the reputation either of father or son. The proceedings produced an extraordinary sensation, and helped to bring the immoral practice of duelling into disrepute.

Sir Francis Burdett, who had been gradually falling away from the Whig party, was so strongly dissatisfied with O'Connell's conduct that he wrote a letter to the managers of Brooks's Club, proposing his expulsion. The ground on which the ex-Radical baronet made this unusual proposal was O'Connell's refusal to 'act in accordance with the code of social law which was universally regarded as necessary and indispensable for the preservation of social harmony and decorum.' He had given public notice that he was self-emancipated from its obligations, that he acknowledged none of the restraints and would submit to none of the penalties by which the intercourse of society is regulated and kept in order; and having thus surrounded himself with all the immunities of irresponsibility, 'out of the reach of danger he is bold, out of the reach of shame he is confident.' Instead of feeling that he was especially bound to guard his language with the most scrupulous care, and to abstain religiously from every offensive expression, he rioted in invective and insult, and had rendered himself unfit for the society of gentlemen.† Burdett's

* O'Connell at an earlier period had shot in a duel a Mr. D'Esterre, a member of the Dublin Corporation, who had sent him a challenge, and he, in consequence, made a vow that he would never fight another duel. It was said, not without reason, that in these circumstances he ought to keep strict watch over his speech, and avoid the use of scurrilous and abusive language.

† O'Connell's chief opponents, however, were not entitled to cast the first stone at him. The *Times* at this very period, not contented with attacking him almost daily in prose, inserted (26th November, 1835) a copy of verses denouncing him as—

'Scum condensed of Irish bog!
Ruffian—coward—demagogue!
Boundless liar—base detractor!
Nurse of murders, treason's factor!

and much more to the same purport.

proposal, however, was rejected by the managers, and he in consequence withdrew his own name from the club. Stanley and Graham, and a considerable number of aristocratic Whigs, followed the example thus set them. The failure of the attempt, as was predicted, gave O'Connell another and an unmerited triumph.

Another incident which occurred at this time brought O'Connell unpleasantly before the public, and seemed at first to threaten very serious consequences. Messrs. Bruin and Kavanagh, two Conservatives who had been returned at the general election in 1834 for the county of Carlow, were unseated on petition, and on the 27th of May, 1835, the election was declared void. A Mr. Raphael, a London citizen, was invited by O'Connell to become a candidate for the county, and accepted the invitation on the assurance that the contest would not cost him more than £1000, which he paid to O'Connell at the outset. After a sharp contest Raphael was returned by a small majority, along with a gentleman named Vigors. The defeated Tory candidates, however, presented a petition against the return, and demanded a scrutiny. Raphael was obliged to pay a second £1000 to cover the expense of defending his return; but upwards of a hundred votes which had been given for him and Vigors were struck off the list by the Committee, and the rival candidates were seated in their room.

Raphael was enraged at the loss of his seat and his money, and gave publicity to the transaction. He admitted that £1800 of the £2000 which he had handed over to O'Connell had been properly spent; but he affirmed that no proper account could be given of the manner in which the remaining £200 had been expended. An accusation so serious naturally produced a great effect, published as it was in the midst of O'Connell's attacks upon the House of Lords. It was brought before the House of Commons, and a Committee, of which Lord Francis Egerton, the Tory member for South Lancashire, was chairman, was ap-

pointed to investigate the affair. Sanguine hopes were entertained by the Opposition that the inquiry would criminate O'Connell, but the reverse was the case. It terminated in his complete and unanimous acquittal by the Committee of any illegal or improper practices, and the House passed resolutions adopting this view of the transaction. 'It is very singular,' says Greville, 'that he does not seem to have known his own case, or he might have rebutted the accusations in the first instance; but it has turned out luckily for him, as it has afforded him a great triumph and his adversaries an equally great mortification. It is now time for the Tories to give up attacking him—that is, making him their grand political butt. They do not lower him; on the contrary, they raise his importance everywhere, and make his sway in Ireland more absolute.'

CHAPTER XI.

Appointment of Pepys as Chancellor and Bickersteth as Master of the Rolls—Dissatisfaction of Sir John Campbell—Disappointment of Lord Brougham—Settlement of the question of Orange Lodges—Scandalous state of the Irish Municipalities—Bill brought in for their Reform—Opposition of the Conservatives—The Mutilation of the Measure by the Peers—It is laid aside by the Government—The Irish Tithe Bill carried in the Commons—The Appropriation Clause struck out by the Lords—The amended Measure rejected by the Lower House—The English Tithe Commutation Bill becomes law—Acts passed regulating Dissenters' Marriages and the Registration of Births and Deaths—Ecclesiastical Commission—Episcopal Sees Bill—Cathedral Chapters—Sydney Smith's Opposition—Counsel allowed to Persons charged with Felony—Lord Lyndhurst's Speech—New Houses of Parliament—Proposal to admit Ladies to the Strangers' Gallery—The Budget—Reduction of the Tax on Newspapers and on Paper opposed by the Conservatives—Effect of the Reduction—Lyndhurst's Attack on the Ministry—Melbourne's Reply—Dissatisfaction of the Radicals—Their Proposals—Commercial Crisis—Difficulties of the Government.

THE session of 1836 was opened by the king in person on the 14th of February. No change of any consequence had taken place during the recess in the members of the Government who had seats in the Lower House, but their ranks in the House of Lords had been augmented by the accession of two eminent lawyers—Sir Charles Pepys, who had been appointed to the office of Lord Chancellor and created Lord Cottenham, and Mr. Bickersteth, who had succeeded him as Master of the Rolls, and had been elevated to the Peerage by the title of Lord Langdale. This change in the ministerial arrangements had been brought about somewhat suddenly by a pamphlet of Sir Edward Sugden, ex-Chancellor of Ireland, entitled, 'What has become of the Great Seal?' in which he called attention to the unsatisfactory working of the present arrangement, to the accumulation of arrears in the Court of Chancery, the delay in the decision of important cases, the enormous increase of costs, and the strong dissatisfaction felt, both by the legal profession and the public, at the denial of justice. Lord John Russell and a majority of the Cabinet urged that Pepys should be made Chancellor; and as it was well known that he was both a timid and an inefficient speaker, and 'could scarcely put two sentences together' in a debate, they proposed that Bickersteth should succeed him at the Rolls, and be created a peer, in the belief that he would be a match for

Brougham. Sir John Campbell was mainly to blame for the adoption of this notion. He assured the other members of the Cabinet that when Bickersteth was arguing a case before the Privy Council he had completely put Brougham down by a happy and pointed retort, and he had no doubt that he would be able to hold his own against the ex-Chancellor. Bickersteth was a kind of philosophic Radical, and a disciple of Bentham. He had never held office, and had, in fact, refused the Solicitor-Generalship in 1834, mainly, it was believed, from his reluctance to take part in Parliamentary debates. But he enjoyed a high reputation among the Benthamites as a law reformer. Melbourne had great misgivings as to his fitness for the task proposed for him, which were not removed by his declaring to the Premier, with a confident air, that *he* did not consider Brougham a very formidable antagonist. 'I do,' was Melbourne's brief and significant comment; and he thought less than ever of the Utilitarian's chances in the war of words.' It was resolved, however, to carry out what Lord Campbell calls 'the very hasty, rash, and foolish resolution that the Commission should be put an end to, that Brougham should be abandoned, that Pepys, the Solicitor-General, should be Chancellor, and Bickersteth Master of the Rolls.' The latter proved a complete failure as a Parliamentary debater. His first speech, delivered

in support of a Bill for dividing the political from the judicial functions of the Chancellor, was fatal to the measure, and, as Campbell says, 'all hope was gone of his ever looking an opponent in the face.'* According to his own confession, 'when he rose to speak he did not know whether his head or his heels were uppermost.' Pepys, however, fulfilled the expectations which had been formed of his judicial capacity, though he was of no use to the Government either as a debater or a Cabinet counsellor. Lord Plunket asked the Premier how he got on with the new Chancellor. 'Oh! capitally,' was the reply; 'I am like a man who has broken for good with a termagant mistress and married the best of cooks.'

These new arrangements naturally and not unjustifiably gave great dissatisfaction to Sir John Campbell, the Attorney-General. He was senior to both the new peers, was not only an accomplished lawyer but a ready debater, and had always been a consistent Whig. He was so indignant at being passed over by men junior to himself, and who had no special claims on the Government, that he sent in his resignation of his office, to the great regret, and indeed dismay, of the Premier and other members of the Cabinet.† He was ultimately induced to withdraw his resignation on the promise that the 'Great Seal should be bisected,' as he expressed it, and the political functions performed by the Chancellor conferred on him. Meanwhile he was mollified with a peerage conferred upon his wife.

To Brougham, who up to the last had confidently expected that the Great Seal would be restored to him, the disappointment was overwhelming. No pains was taken to break or soften the mortifying intelligence to him. He first learned from

the public newspapers that Pepys, a protégé of his own, whom he had made Solicitor-General and then Master of the Rolls, and whose only good speech he had written for him, was in his stead to occupy the wool-sack. Lord Campbell says, 'In my opinion, Brougham was atrociously ill-used on this occasion. Considering his distinguished reputation, considering what he had done for the Liberal cause, considering his relations with the Melbourne Government, I incline to think that at every risk they ought to have taken him back into the Cabinet, however difficult it might have been to make conditions or stipulations with him as to his future conduct and demeanour. But sure I am that, in the manner in which they threw him off, they showed disingenuousness, cowardice, and ingratitude. I have myself heard him say, with tears in his eyes, "If Melbourne had treated me openly and kindly he might have done what he liked with the Great Seal, and we might have ever remained friends."'" Brougham's health, both bodily and mental, was affected by his disappointment, and he remained at his country seat in Westmoreland during the whole of the session of 1836, greatly to the relief of his old colleagues.

A hope was expressed in the king's speech that Parliament would apply to the defects and evils which may have been shown to exist in the municipal corporations of Ireland, a remedy founded upon the same principles as those of the Acts which had already passed for England and Scotland. The Conservatives objected strongly to this paragraph, on the ground that it was not the province of the Crown to suggest the principles on which the Legislature should deal with the measures submitted to them, and that Parliament should not be required, in voting the address, to pledge itself to the principles of any measure before the measure itself had come regularly before it. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington moved as an amendment, that their lordships would only commit themselves 'to

* His *break-down* was partly ascribed to a practical joke in the shape of a rumour (ascribed to Lyndhurst) which circulated among the Peers that Brougham had arrived in London, and was hurrying to the House.

† One of H. B.'s cleverest sketches represents the consternation of the Cabinet on receiving Campbell's resignation.

such remedies as may obviate just causes of complaint, and insure the impartial administration of justice.' Melbourne made no opposition, and the amendment was adopted without a division. 'There was no need,' says Greville, with his usual good sense, 'to press an amendment on such a trifle. The other side felt this in the House of Lords and gave it up, though there were so many Ministerial peers in the House that the division would have been very near; but in the House of Commons Lord John Russell would not give way, and what is more, Peel never had any intention of moving any amendment, for there was a great meeting in the morning at his house, and there it was resolved that none should be moved, and certainly very few people expected any. At last he moved it because it had been moved in the House of Lords; but it seems to have been a foolish bungling business altogether.' The amendment was rejected in the Commons by a majority of forty-one (284 votes to 243), and this decisive victory tended not a little to strengthen the Ministry and to dishearten the Opposition.

The first question that was brought before the House of Commons this session was the existence of Orange Lodges in the army, which was finally and satisfactorily disposed of in the manner already described. It was followed by the introduction of a measure dealing with the Irish corporations. As the municipalities in Scotland and England had been reformed, it became necessary to extend the same policy to those of Ireland. The same preparatory measures had been adopted in order to pave the way for an Irish corporation bill. A Commission of inquiry had been issued by the Ministry of Earl Grey, and had brought to light abuses far more flagrant than had been found to exist in the sister countries. Jobbery and corruption of the most flagrant kind were prevalent in every municipality, all of which were self-elected; and the property

and the privileges alike of the boroughs were systematically employed to promote the interests of the Orange and High Tory party. A considerable number of the corporations which had been deprived at the Union of the right to send representatives to Parliament, had ceased to exist; but there were still sixty in full vigour, and eleven which were in a state of decay. The seventy-one boroughs which were under the management of those bodies contained a population of 900,000 persons, while the number of corporators was only 13,000. Of that number no less than 8000 belonged to four boroughs, leaving only 5000 corporators to regulate the municipal affairs of the remaining boroughs, containing a population of more than 500,000 inhabitants. Limerick had a population of 66,000 souls, and only 271 corporators; Maryborough had 5000 inhabitants, and only 9 corporators; Cashel had 7000 people, and 38 corporators. The smallness of their number was not redeemed by their character. The corporators in general were the mere tools of some powerful patron or political party, and their mismanagement and waste of the property of the corporation was scandalous in the extreme. A system of jobbery, peculation, and plunder was followed habitually in every one of these municipalities. The Corporation of Dublin had been authorized by an Act of the Irish Parliament to levy an assessment, called the pipe-water rate, for the purpose of supplying the city with water. It had also been authorized, by an Act passed in 1809, to levy another rate for laying pipes of metal instead of wood. Their first proceeding was to vote their own Treasurer £1500 a year out of the pipe-water rate; and notwithstanding the large sum raised by the rates, they had contracted a debt of nearly £100,000. The Corporation of Derry obtained in 1790 an Act for building a bridge, and levying certain harbour and tonnage dues to cover the expense. The erection of the bridge cost £1600, which they borrowed;

and although the dues drawn by them amounted in 1813 to £32,000, they had not paid a shilling of the debt. The bridge having been carried away in 1813, the Corporation obtained a new Act, and a loan of £16,000 from the Consolidated Fund to rebuild it. The dues drawn between 1813 and 1831 amounted to £70,000. Of this sum £17,000 had been expended in repairs, £53,000 was unaccounted for, and the debt remained undiminished. A case of jobbery and plunder even more scandalous had occurred in Cashel. The Corporation of that town possessed 1500 acres of land, which were held by a tenant under a lease for ninety-nine years, from 1732, at a rent of £86 7s. 6d., a fine having been paid. When the termination of the lease was approaching, the tenant offered first £10,000 and then £15,000 for a renewal; but both offers were refused as being too low. He then sold the remainder of his lease—about two years and a half—to the patron of the burgh for £2500, and the patron immediately got a renewal of the lease at the old rent for ninety-nine years without paying any fine at all, the real value of the lands being at least £1500 a year. The people of Cashel were suffering from a want of water. An adequate supply could have been readily obtained at a cost of from £2000 to £3000; but the Corporation could not waste their property on any such purpose as supplying the inhabitants with water.

The jobbery and dishonesty of these Corporations were aggravated by their exclusiveness and partisanship. The Municipalities had been nominally open to the Roman Catholics since 1792, yet not more than 200 members of that denomination had been admitted to their freedom in all Ireland. The Common Council of Dublin acted on the avowed principle of excluding from their body not only every Roman Catholic, but the Protestants also, even the most intelligent and wealthy, who did not belong to the dominant political party. A similar

principle of sectarian exclusion prevailed in almost every municipality in Ireland. The abuses were equally flagrant connected with the administration of justice, the election of sheriffs, and the empanneling of juries. In Dublin there were only about seventy Roman Catholics on the jury. In Fermanagh there had not been a Roman Catholic on a jury for thirty years. In Cork men who had been bankrupts were preferred to individuals who represented the wealth and respectability of the city, but who did not belong to the Corporation.

A Bill for the reform of these gross abuses was introduced by Perrin, the Attorney-General for Ireland, on the 31st of July, 1835, and was read a third time and passed on the 17th of August; but it was hopeless to carry it through the Lords so late in the session. It was again introduced on the 16th of February, 1836, and was read a second time on the 29th.

The measure which the Government introduced for the purpose of placing the Irish municipalities on a popular and equitable basis was framed on the lines of the Bills which had been passed for the reform of the Scottish and English Corporations. It made the Councils purely elective. In regard to the seven largest towns—Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Galway—the electors were to consist of the £10 householders; in the smaller boroughs, where there were very few houses valued at £10 a year, the municipal franchise was to be conferred on £5 householders, to whom indeed the right to elect Commissioners for the purposes of lighting, watching, and paving their several towns had already been intrusted. The qualification of Councillors in the seven largest boroughs was to be the possession of property worth £1000; in the other boroughs, of £500; one-half of the aldermen were to be elected by the voters, and were to go out of office triennially; and one-third of the Councillors were to retire annually.

The Bill was read a second time without

opposition. The Conservatives found it impossible to resist the abolition of a system so corrupt, expensive, and immoral; but they contended that the Irish people were not fit for self-government—that as the great majority of the people belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, they would of course elect Roman Catholic Councillors, and consequently the supremacy of the Protestants in the Corporations would now be transferred to the Papists. In other words, they were so illiberal and short-sighted as to seek the restoration of religious disabilities, and to deny to the great majority of the people of Ireland their just rights because they adhered to the Romish faith. This petty and factious policy was equally unwise and unworthy, and in the end brought fresh discomfiture and discredit on the Tory party. The proposal no doubt originated with Lyndhurst, and was like him and worthy of him; but it excites equal surprise and regret that Peel, against his better judgment, should have been induced to concur in it, in order to pacify the extreme and foolish members of his party.

When the Irish Corporation Bill was about to go into committee, Lord Francis Egerton was put forward to move, as an instruction to the Committee, that the Irish municipalities should be suppressed; that the boroughs should be placed under the control, not of elected Councils, but of sheriffs or magistrates appointed by the Crown; and that the property of the Corporations should be intrusted to commissioners nominated by the same authority. A keen debate ensued on these propositions, in which all the leading members of the House of Commons took part; but Lord Francis Egerton's motion was rejected by 307 votes to 243. This signal victory of the Government, which might have convinced the Tories that they had made a great mistake, facilitated the progress of the Bill through the Commons. An attempt to throw it out on the third reading was defeated by a majority of sixty-one (260 votes to 199). But

the result, as no doubt was anticipated, was very different when the measure was sent up to the House of Lords. The majority there did what the minority in the Lower House had vainly striven to accomplish. There was no division, indeed, on the second reading; but Lyndhurst, as the mouth-piece of the Opposition, stated explicitly the course they intended to pursue, and on the 26th of April Lord Fitzgerald and Vespi moved an instruction to the Committee 'to make provision for the abolition of 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.' This motion was carried by 203 votes to 119; and in accordance with the instruction thus given, the Bill was completely transformed by successive alterations into a measure not for the reform, but for the abolition of Municipal Corporations in Ireland. Out of 140 clauses, of which the Bill originally consisted, 100 were deleted, and eighteen new clauses were added. The Duke of Richmond made a strenuous, but ineffectual, effort to induce the Tory peers to allow seven of the largest towns to retain the management of their own affairs; and the Bill was returned to the Commons completely transformed both as to its leading principles and its details.

The Irish representatives were naturally very indignant at the refusal of the Tory peers to intrust them with the privilege of municipal self-government, which had been conferred on their English and Scottish fellow-subjects. Mr. Smith O'Brien, the member for the county of Limerick, declared that 'the alterations made by the Lords were a direct insult to his country.' And O'Connell, in a letter to the *Chronicle*, said 'we will have Lord Lyndhurst's Bill kicked out. No compromise, no submission; the Lords have commenced the collision; they have taken their choice to rest that collision upon the insulting iniquity of refusing corporate reform to Ireland. We

only follow in their track by throwing out the Bill, and join issue with them to the country.' The Government, however, were anxious to avoid the collision which O'Connell threatened, and expressed their willingness to compromise the question at issue between the two Houses. On the 9th of June Lord John Russell, on moving that the amendments of the Lords should be taken into consideration, after noticing the total change in the character of the Bill which had been effected by the Lords, and calling pointed attention to the fact that though they had resolved to abolish the Corporations, they had proposed to continue all the present officials, town-clerks, bailiffs, treasurers, clerks of the market, weigh-masters of all goods, and even tasters of butter, in office during their lives, expressed his willingness that the Corporations in the smaller boroughs should be abolished on condition that the householders in the twelve largest towns in Ireland should be allowed to elect their Town Councils. His lordship then moved that the fourth clause, which implied the continuance of corporations and had been struck out by the Peers, should be replaced in the Bill. After a debate, which lasted two nights, the motion was carried by a majority of eighty-six (324 votes against 238). But the Peers refused to give way. On the 27th of June they resolved to adhere to their amendments by a majority of 220 to 121, and the Bill was in consequence laid aside; but the protracted discussion, and the support given to the measure in the House of Commons, contributed not a little to strengthen the Ministry and to lower the House of Lords in the estimation of all moderate and right-thinking persons.

The other great party question respecting Ireland was the Tithe Bill. On the 25th of April Lord Morpeth moved, 'That it is expedient to commute the composition of tithes in Ireland into a rent charge payable by the owners of the estate, and to make further provision for the better regulation of ecclesiastical dues and revenues.' He

frankly admitted that, though not distinctly expressed in his resolution, the principle of appropriation would be involved in the measure to be founded on it. The second reading of the Bill was not moved till the 1st of June, and gave rise to a debate which lasted over three nights. Lord Stanley moved as an amendment that leave should be given to bring in a Bill for the conversion of tithe into a rent charge without reference to appropriation; but the second reading of the Government measure was carried by a majority of thirty-nine. The House of Lords, on the other hand, expunged by a large majority the provisions relating to appropriation, and returned the Bill to the Commons as a Tithe Commutation Bill, pure and simple. Lord John Russell at this stage raised a question of privilege, declaring that the Peers had infringed the constitutional principle, that the Commons possessed the exclusive principle of dealing with all bills relating to money, and moved that the amendments introduced by the Lords should be taken into consideration that day three months. After a lengthened discussion the motion of the Home Secretary was carried by a majority of twenty-nine, and the Bill was accordingly abandoned.

It was fortunate that the commutation of tithes in England was not hampered by any of the exciting questions connected with the Irish measure. It was the interest of both political parties that the question should be settled with all possible speed. Sir Robert Peel, during his short administration in 1835, had brought forward a plan for the voluntary commutation of tithes throughout all England, but it fell to the ground on the overthrow of his Ministry. At the commencement of the session of 1836 Lord John Russell introduced a bill which, in its most important provisions, closely resembled the measure proposed by Peel, though, unlike Peel, he proposed to make commutation compulsory. It provided three different modes of settlement. It encouraged voluntary arrange-

ments between tithe-payers and tithe-owners; it empowered the majority of these two classes to bind the remainder; and in certain cases it gave authority to the tithe commissioners to effect a settlement. Like Peel, Russell proposed to appoint a central commission of three persons to carry out the commutations. The amount of the tithe was to be regulated by the average price of wheat, barley, and oats during the seven preceding years, and the tithe-owner was to receive not less than sixty per cent. and not more than seventy-five per cent. of the nominal gross value of the tithe.

The proposals of the Government met with no opposition in either House of Parliament, as both tithe-payers and tithe-receivers were anxious that this troublesome question should be speedily and finally settled. The Bill passed through both Houses with only one amendment, introduced by the Lords, which, however, they did not insist on when it was objected to by the Commons, and the Bill in its original form became law. The measure proved a valuable boon to the country. It removed a great grievance, and a serious hinderance to agricultural improvement. It relieved the clergy from the unseemly contentions arising out of the existing system, and from the unpopularity and ill-will they had unavoidably incurred by the vexatious mode in which an impost, obnoxious to many of their parishioners, was collected, and gave them a certain stipend for an income which varied with the varying weather, and was frequently most scanty when it was most required.

Another much-needed measure of relief was also carried into effect during this session. The Dissenters had long complained of the restrictions to which they had been subjected by the Marriage Act of 1753, which had materially abridged the privileges they had previously enjoyed. From that time onward, except in the case of members of the Society of Friends and Jews, marriages could be legally celebrated

by a clergyman of the Church of England alone, and certain classes of Dissenters complained loudly that they were thus compelled to take part in a religious ceremony at variance with their conscientious convictions, and to give an apparent assent to doctrines which they did not believe. All marriages had to be registered by the clergyman, as well as performed in the church. The clergyman was the legal custodian of the parish register, and not only all marriages, but all baptisms, and burials also that took place in the churchyard, had to be registered by him. There was, however, no official registration of births, but only of baptisms; and in consequence the names of the children of members of the Society of Friends and of the Baptist body were not included in the record.

Repeated attempts had been made by the Dissenters to free themselves from their galling disabilities in connection with the performance of the marriage ceremony. In 1819, and again in 1822, Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, proposed to omit the declaration of belief in the Trinity which is contained in the marriage service, but his proposal was rejected on both occasions by a Parliament that had no sympathy with the grievances of Dissenters. In 1823 the Marquis of Lansdowne brought in a bill to permit Dissenters to celebrate their marriages in their own chapels, but requiring them to have their bans proclaimed in the parish church, and to pay the usual fees to the parish clergyman. The measure, however, was violently denounced by Lord Chancellor Eldon, and was rejected by the Lords. In 1827 Mr. Smith returned to the subject, and introduced a bill to authorize civil marriages; but though it passed the Commons it was thrown out by the Upper House. In the first Reformed Parliament Lord John Russell proposed to relieve Dissenters from the injustice of being compelled to use a religious service of which they conscientiously disapproved, and to allow them to perform the marriage ceremony in their

own chapels, which were to be licensed for the purpose. But his plan for their relief did not meet with the approbation of the Dissenters themselves, because it still required them to have their bans asked in the parish church, and their marriages registered by the parish clergyman. In Peel's Tamworth Manifesto he expressed his willingness to relieve Dissenters from the grievance of which they complained in connection with the celebration of their marriages; and he brought forward a bill which was an improvement on that of Russell. He proposed that marriage should in the eye of the law be regarded as a purely civil contract, and that a religious service might be superadded by those who thought this desirable or necessary. Dissenters were to have full liberty to marry in their own chapels, but the registry of the marriage was to be intrusted to the parish clergyman, who was to receive a fee of five shillings for his service.

Peel's Bill, along with the other measures which he had prepared, was of course laid aside on the overthrow of his administration, and the settlement of this 'vexed question' accordingly devolved on his successors in office. It had become evident that it could not be satisfactorily settled without the establishment of a proper system of registration, which should include indifferently and impartially all sects of the people. The Government, therefore, resolved to deal with the subject in two Bills—one for the registration of births and deaths, the other for the celebration and registration of marriages. The former proposed that a registrar should be appointed for each district, by whom all births and deaths were to be registered. He was to report to a central registry in each county, and the county registrars were in turn to transmit their records to London, where they were to be kept in a central office, and were to be open to inspection on the payment of a small fee. The whole system was to be placed under the superintendence

of a registrar-general. The other Bill, which amended the law relating to marriages, proposed that persons who desired to marry without bans should give notice of their intention to the registrar; that their names should be entered by him in a notice-book open for general inspection for twenty-one days before the celebration; and that the ceremony might be performed in the church or in any chapel registered for the purpose, or at the office of the superintendent-registrar.

The two Bills were brought in by Lord John Russell, and were read a second time on the 15th of April without opposition. Mr. Goulburn, who, as one of the members for the University of Cambridge, regarded himself as specially a representative of the clergy, objected to the Registration Bill that it separated the naming of the child from the rite of baptism; but the amendment which he proposed was rejected by a majority of twenty-four. Sir Robert Inglis, another firm supporter of the claims of the Church, said in the Committee on the Bill, 'With the single exception of the time of the Great Rebellion, there was no one instance in the history of the country of marriage having been considered otherwise than as a religious ceremony. This was a solitary attempt to give a civil character to a religious contract.' The great majority of the House, however, supported the provision which allowed every person to be married according to whatever form his conscience dictated.

In the House of Lords the Bishop of Exeter strenuously advocated the view propounded by Sir Robert Inglis, and inveighed against the measure, which 'degraded marriage into a mere civil contract, and held out an invitation to the members of the Church to contract that most solemn of all engagements without any religious ceremony whatever.' 'By this Bill,' he said, 'parties would be able to contract marriage without uttering a syllable as to the nature of the contract beyond that they desired to live together as man and wife.' They would

not even be obliged to say that it was a contract for life, notwithstanding that it was a contract of the most solemn and binding description. The only period in the history of this country at which a similar attempt was made was during the time of the usurpation; but although marriage might *then* be contracted before a magistrate a strictly solemn and religious *formula* was enjoined. Here, however, the contract was to be purely civil, and attended with no greater solemnities than would be required for a contract entered into between parties for mere service. He must insist that a contract so sacred and indissoluble should be accompanied with suitable solemnities, and unless this was done, no earthly inducement could prevail with him to allow the measure to progress another stage without opposing it.

The great majority of the peers, however, had no sympathy with the Bishop's objections, and the amendment which he moved was opposed not only by the Ministers and their adherents, but by the Duke of Wellington and Lords Ellenborough and Ripon. They enacted, however, that bans should still be proclaimed with regard to 'all marriages of members of the Established Church,' and made some other alterations of minor importance, which, when the Bill was returned to the Commons, were acquiesced in by the members for the sake of the great principle embodied in the measure and accepted by the Lords.

The relief given to the consciences of Dissenters is by no means the only benefit which has resulted from these judicious and much-needed measures. The statistical details collected by the registrars have furnished a mass of information respecting the condition of the people—their education, their sanitary state, the prevalence and causes of disease, and other important matters—which have been of invaluable service to the man of science as well as to the legislator.

Sir Robert Peel, during his brief administration, had appointed a Commission, com-

posed of the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, and some of the chief members of the Government, to consider the condition of the Church in England and Wales, and to suggest such changes as might remove anomalies and insure more effective clerical services. The Melbourne Ministry continued the Commission, merely substituting some of their own number for the official members placed on it by their predecessors. The appointment of the Commission was strongly objected to by the High Church party, headed by Dr. Pusey, on the ground that the Government had no right to meddle with the distribution of Church offices and funds. The Commissioners, however, went zealously to work, and produced a report which set forth in detail the extraordinary inequalities that existed between the incomes of the different bishoprics and deaneries, and the disproportion between the incomes of a large number of the parochial clergymen and the duties they had to perform. The Bishop of Durham had a revenue of £19,480 per annum, and the Bishop of London £13,890, while the Bishop of Oxford had only £1600, the Bishop of Rochester £1400, and the Bishop of Llandaff £1170. In order to supply an adequate income to the poorly endowed bishops it had been customary to allow them to hold *in commendam* deaneries, canonries, or rich livings. A similar inequality was found to exist in the parochial incumbencies. There were parishes in London and in the mining and manufacturing districts of the country, with a population of 20,000 or 30,000 persons under the spiritual charge of a single clergyman, receiving an income often less than £150 per annum derived from fees and pew rents; while, on the other hand, there were livings with only a few hundreds of parishioners, in which the incumbent was in the receipt of from £3000 to £7000 a year.

The first report of the Commissioners recommended that a different territorial

arrangement of dioceses should be made with the view of making them more equal in extent; that two sees should be suppressed, and two others erected in their place; and that the revenues of the bishops, with the exception of the two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, should not exceed £5500, nor fall below £4500. They also recommended that the income of Canterbury should be fixed at £15,000 instead of £19,000; of York and London, at £10,000 each; of Durham, at £8000; and of Winchester, at £7000. The sees which they proposed to suppress were those of Bristol and of Sodor and Man; the former to be united to Bath and Wells, and the latter to Carlisle. And the two new sees were to be established at Ripon and Manchester.

The Commissioners had been instructed to inquire also into the state of cathedral and collegiate revenues, and they proposed to make considerable changes both in the amount of the incomes of deans and in the number of the canons and minor canons. They recommended that the non-resident prebendaries should be suppressed, and their revenues added to a fund for the general benefit of the Church and the augmentation of poor livings. The dignitaries that were allowed to remain in the different cathedrals were to be more nearly equalized in regard to their incomes, though considerable inequalities were still to remain. The revenue of the Dean of Durham was to be fixed at £4594, and that of the Deans of Westminster and Oxford at £3000 each, while the Dean of Chester was to receive only £441. The salary of each canon of Durham was to be £2000 a year, but a canon of Chester was to have only £187. These differences were recommended on the ground of the inequality in the value of the estates belonging to the different cathedrals. It was proposed that Christchurch, Oxford, should have a dean and six canons; that the chapters of Bangor and St. Asaph should each consist of a dean and two canons; that of St. David's

of a precentor and two canons; and that of Llandaff of an archdeacon and two canons. But the chapters of the other cathedrals, of the Chapel-Royal at Windsor and the collegiate church at Westminster, were each to consist of a dean and four canons. In order to remedy the gross abuses of pluralities and non-residence, it was proposed that with the exception of a few special cases no incumbent should be allowed to be absent from his benefice more than three months without a license from the bishop. It was recommended that no clergyman should be permitted to hold two livings if the income of one of them exceeded £500, or if they were more than ten miles distant from each other, and in no case should any clergyman hold more than two; that no person should hold more than one benefice, with one cathedral preferment; and that no person, except an archdeacon, should hold preferment in more than one cathedral or collegiate church. It was also recommended that all benefices without cure of souls should be suppressed, except such as were in the gift of private patrons, or of a college in either of the universities. The large funds which it was expected would in this way be placed at the disposal of the Commissioners were to be applied to the augmentation of poor livings in populous places under public patronage.

A Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, for the purpose of carrying into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners regarding the new arrangement of the Episcopal Sees; and a second Bill was subsequently introduced providing for the suppression of sinecure benefices, and the alteration of cathedral and collegiate preferments. A board of ecclesiastical commissioners was to be incorporated, thirteen in number, composed of four prelates, along with certain members of the Government, and Lord Harrowby, the right hon. Henry Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner, with authority to frame and submit to the King in Council schemes for carry-

ing these recommendations into effect. A special clause was inserted enacting that in future no bishop should hold *in commendam* any ecclesiastical office, dignity, or benefice, all such grants being declared null and void; and provision was also made for preventing the appointment of clergymen not fully conversant with the Welsh language, to any benefice in Wales with the cure of souls.

A vigorous opposition was offered to these measures by the Dissenters and the Radical members of Parliament, headed by Charles Buller and Joseph Hume. They objected to the large salaries which were still to be paid to the bishops and other dignitaries, and to the inequality of their incomes. The scheme was merely, they said, a measure for making better provision for the aristocracy of the Church, and would do little or nothing for the lower grades of the clergy or the people. Mr. Fowell Buxton, and several other members of the Established Church, argued that any surplus revenues should be applied exclusively to increase the incomes of the poor working clergy with livings below or a little above £100 a year, and insisted that there was no reason for postponing relief to this needy class till a surplus should arise from the suppression of prebends and canonries, when assistance could be obtained at once from the superfluous revenues of the bishops. Mr. Charles Lushington urged that the existing system of the translation of bishops from one see to another ought to be abolished. Mr. Charles Buller moved that until due provision should have been made for the adequate payment of the parochial clergy, and for the supply of religious instruction to those districts where it was reported to be deficient, the Archbishop of Canterbury should receive an income of not more than £8000 (the salary of the Lord Chief Justice of England), the Archbishop of York £7000 (the income of the Chief Justice of Common Pleas), the Bishop of London £4500 (the salary of the Common Law Judges), and each of the

other bishops £4000. These salaries, he argued, would be amply sufficient considered in relation to the working clergy, of whom no fewer than 5230 had an average stipend of only £81 per annum. The Government, however, persisted in pressing through these measures, pleading that if they had attempted a greater reduction in the incomes of the bishops they should have lost all chance of carrying their bills. With the assistance of the Conservatives, and of O'Connell and his followers, the Ministry succeeded in defeating all the amendments proposed by their own supporters, as well as the motion for the rejection of the Bishops Bill, proposed by Mr. Hume, who contended that the church-rate question should at least be settled before a Liberal Government insisted on passing a measure calculated to strengthen the Church. The House of Lords was almost unanimous in favour of the Bill, and in due time it became law. But the bills for the reform of the chapters, and the regulation of pluralities and non-residence, were dropped for the session. A short Act, however, was passed to prevent the creation of new vested interests in connection with the cathedral offices referred to in the report of the Commissioners. Of the old sees Gloucester was united to Bristol, and St. Asaph to Bangor; while two new sees, those of Ripon and Manchester, were created in accordance with the recommendation of the Commissioners. The secular jurisdiction of the County Palatinate of Durham, with all the rights belonging to that authority, were transferred from the Bishop of the diocese to the Crown. The secular jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York, and of the Bishop of Ely, was also abolished; and restrictions were placed on the renewal of leases by ecclesiastical persons.

These alterations in the ecclesiastical arrangements were very unpopular among the clergy. Many of the bishops were strongly opposed to the changes in the cathedral chapters. So were the deans and

canons, who petitioned against them; and it is impossible to deny that the whole scheme for the rearrangement both of bishoprics and cathedrals was open to serious objections. Sydney Smith, in his inimitable letters to Archdeacon Singleton, has exposed the weak points of the Ministerial measures, and the sayings and doings of the Commissioners, with all his unrivalled powers of wit and argument—‘New bishops, new dioceses, confiscated prebends, clergymen changing bishops and bishops clergymen, mitres in Manchester and Ripon, Gloucester turned into Bristol: such a scene of revolution and commutation as has not been seen since the days of Ireton and Cromwell.’ The witty canon of St. Paul’s was particularly happy in his exposure of the nepotism of the bishops, their predominance in the Commission, the mode in which they used or rather abused its powers to promote their own views; and while sacrificing their own patronage for the good of the Church, taking care to recompense themselves by seizing the patronage of the deans and canons. It appears that they even attempted to appropriate the patronage which belongs to the Chancellor. On this occasion Lord John Russell, who was a member of the Commission, wrote on a slip of paper which he threw across the table to the Archbishop of York, ‘I don’t object to you robbing one another, but I can’t let you rob the Crown.’ Sydney Smith succeeded in compelling the bishops and the Ministry to make several important alterations in their scheme, and to lay aside some of its most unjust and offensive provisions; but the necessity of remedying some at least of the inequalities and glaring abuses of the Church was so urgent, that the Government had no difficulty in carrying their measures without any material alteration.

Several other measures were passed in the course of the session, in which the public took a deeper interest, and which were productive of a more beneficial effect.

Prominent among them was an Act for allowing prisoners on trial for felony the assistance of counsel. A bill to grant this boon had twice passed the Commons, but as usual with all law reforms, had been lost in the House of Lords. Now, however, the Criminal Law Commissioners unanimously recommended that prisoners on trial for felony should be allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury on their behalf, and their sanction seems to have had the effect of inducing some of the most obstinate opponents to withdraw their opposition to a proposal recommended at once by justice, common sense, and right feeling. In trials for a misdemeanour, and in trials for treason, prisoners had the benefit of counsel; but not in trials for felony, which stood midway between the two. Even yet there were some men so impervious to reason and equity as to affirm that the measure was altogether unnecessary, not beneficial to the prisoner, nor called for by the country. But Sir Frederick Pollock, O’Connell, and other eminent lawyers pointed out the hardship and injustice to which a poor unlettered man was subjected in being compelled to plead his own case against able and experienced lawyers, ridiculed the absurd allegation that the judge was the prisoner’s counsel, and declared that they knew cases where innocent men had been convicted for want of legal aid. The Bill was carried in the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority, and in the House of Lords it was taken charge of by Lord Lyndhurst, who had on former occasions violently opposed the measure. The ex-Chancellor exposed the futility and absurdity of the objections brought against it with irresistible force of argument.

‘Distinctions,’ he said, ‘are drawn even between different classes of crimes, which do not seem to rest on any rational foundation. Treason, the highest of all crimes, and misdemeanour, the lowest kind of offences, are placed on the same footing. In both of these the prisoner is allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury

on the facts of the case; and yet in the intermediate class—that of felonies—the same privilege does not exist. Thus, certain offences regarding the coin constitute only a misdemeanour when committed for the first time, but become a felony in case of a previous conviction. The consequence is, that a man may be tried for a first offence as a simple misdemeanour, and his counsel may address the jury; if he is found guilty, and immediately tried upon a second indictment for a similar offence, it is now felony; his counsel can no longer address the jury; they can only examine witnesses and speak to points of law. . . . England and Ireland are the only countries in Europe in which a prisoner is not allowed to defend himself by counsel. In Scotland that power is given to the counsel in every case. The same thing is done in our British possessions. If the system is bad, why should it be continued in any part of the country? If it is good, why should it not be extended to all? And what are the evils that are dreaded from the change? It may lead, it is said, to a great consumption of time—the duration of assizes and sessions would be greatly prolonged. But this could never be stated as an objection to the principle of the measure; for where life and liberty are at stake, no time could be grudged that may be necessary for going into the case in the fullest manner. Again, it is objected that if counsel are allowed to address the jury, instead of trials being conducted as they now are with temper and firmness, there would be warmth and zeal on both sides of the Court, which would detract from the gravity and decorum of its proceedings. But is it found in Scotland that trials are conducted with more zeal and warmth or with less decorum than in England? No one ever pretends that it is so, and the evidence proves the contrary. It may be true that, in nine cases out of ten, it is almost immaterial to the result whether there are counsel in the case or not, the facts are so clear and conclusive. Yet there are many cases where the aid of

counsel is of the utmost importance to the elucidation of truth, and of great service to the judges who try the case.'

Lord Lyndhurst, however, was not prepared to go the full length of the proposal made by the Commons. The Bill, as it was sent up by them to the House of Lords, gave the prisoner the last word. The ex-Chancellor, Lord Abinger, and other Law Lords, strongly objected to this provision; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, it was expunged. The Commons were very much dissatisfied with this alteration on the Bill, and refused to agree to the amendment. The Lords, however, adhered to it; and as, after a conference, they refused to give way, the Lower House, rather than lose the Bill altogether, consented to accept it as it stood—Mr. Ewart, who brought in the measure, declaring that he would not fail on a subsequent occasion to bring forward again the provision which he now gave up, rather than forfeit the good which the Bill still contained.

An attempt to abolish imprisonment for debt under certain circumstances, proved unsuccessful; but an Act was passed which repealed the statute requiring a murderer to be executed the next day but one after his conviction, unless it should happen to be Sunday, and that during the interval between the sentence and the execution he should be fed on bread and water, and no person allowed to have access to him except the jailer, the chaplain, and the surgeon. It enacted, at the instance of Mr. Wakley, that medical men summoned to give evidence on Coroner's inquests should receive proper remuneration for their trouble, and that the Coroner should be empowered to call for additional medical evidence when required by the jury.

After the destruction of the old Houses of Parliament, a Commission was appointed to receive plans, by open competition, for the erection of new and suitable buildings. More than ninety plans were sent in, out of which the Commissioners selected four for further examination. In the end, pre-

ference was given to the plan of Mr. Barry and the recommendation of the Commissioners was now submitted to the House of Commons for approval. Mr. Hume proposed that the site should be changed to some more open and elevated spot, such as that occupied by St. James' Palace or Marlborough House; but the proposal was rejected by a large majority, as was a petition from the unsuccessful competitors, praying that they should either be heard by counsel at the bar of the House against the preference given by the Commissioners to Mr. Barry's plans as having been awarded on insufficient and contradictory grounds, or that competent persons should be appointed to examine the grounds of the Committee's report before any of the plans were finally adopted.

The proposal to admit ladies to hear the debates in the House of Commons was renewed by Mr. Grantley Berkeley, and was carried by 132 votes against 90. The members of the Government took opposite sides on the question. Lord Palmerston supporting, while Poulett Thomson and Hobhouse opposed it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he had voted against the motion, proposed, in deference to the decision of the House, that the sum of £400 should be devoted to defray the expense of fitting up a portion of the Strangers' Gallery for the accommodation of the ladies. The Speaker was at last requested to deliver his opinion on the subject, and declared that he had 'come to a distinct and positive conviction that the measure was most undesirable.' In consequence of this emphatic statement, the proposal to make a part of the sum necessary to carry out the resolution of the House was rejected by a majority of forty-two votes against twenty-eight.

The flourishing state of the revenue enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring forward a most satisfactory budget. He had expected that the revenue would amount to £45,550,000, and it had yielded £46,380,000; and instead of an anticipated

surplus of £835,000, he had the sum of £1,386,000 at his disposal. The most conspicuous feature of Spring Rice's budget was his proposal to reduce the tax on newspapers from 4*d.* to 1*d.* He at the same time resolved to alter the excise duty on paper, which was exceedingly unequal and invidious, and pressed with peculiar severity on the cheaper kind of paper on which many of the newspapers were printed. He proposed to abolish the distinction which had hitherto been made between the two classes of paper, and to levy a uniform duty of 14*s.* per cwt. These judicious proposals, it was seen at once, would be a great boon, not only to journalists and paper manufacturers, but especially to the poorer classes of the community, greatly diminishing as they did the taxes which had seriously impeded the progress of literature and the diffusion of knowledge.

These changes were cordially welcomed by the Liberals, but they excited great alarm and vehement opposition on the part of the Conservatives. The heavy tax on newspapers was avowedly imposed for the purpose of limiting their circulation to the upper and middle classes; and it was evident that the reduction of the impost would have the effect of vastly increasing their circulation among the poorer classes of the community. Sir Charles Knightley, one of the members for Northamptonshire, a unique specimen of the old English country gentleman, was therefore put up to propose a reduction of the duty on soap instead of the stamp duty on newspapers. He was zealously supported by Mr. Goulbourn, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in Peel's Administration, and by Lord Sandon. They pleaded that the duty on soap not only pressed severely on the working classes, but pressed on them unequally in comparison with their more wealthy fellow-subjects—the soap of the poor man being taxed at seventy-five per cent., and that of the rich man at only thirty per cent. It was asserted that there were only 300,000 persons who took in news-

papers, while the soap duty was paid by the entire population of 15,000,000. The relief given to the public by reducing the tax on newspapers would be but one-twentieth part of a penny, while the relief afforded by abolishing the tax on soap would be $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, or $3d.$ at least. It was contended that in all reductions of taxation the imposts should be retained that are burdens on luxuries, rather than those which affect the necessities of life. The proposal to diminish the stamp duties instead of the soap duties was a violation of both these plain principles. It continued a tax on the necessities of life, in preference to a tax on its luxuries and superfluities. Neither the farmers nor the growers had complained of the want of cheap newspapers, but all complained of the want of cheap soap. The poor, it was asserted, were not debarred by the stamp duty from reading newspapers, for in a coffee-shop they could have a cup of coffee and a sight of any newspaper published in London for $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, being only half the price at which it would be possible to publish the newspapers even after the duty had been reduced. The poor man who paid for a newspaper would not be a gainer by the reduction; the publican would be a gainer and not his customers, the master of the family and not the servants and dependents to whom he lends the paper after he has read it himself.

The feeling which lay at the root of these objections was let out by Sir C. Knightley when he asserted that the reduction of the tax on soap would promote the health and comfort of the people, while the lowering of newspaper stamps would tend to introduce 'a cheap and profligate press, one of the greatest curses which could be inflicted on humanity.' Mr. Goulbourn was equally emphatic in his predictions as to the deteriorating influence which the reduction of the stamp duty was certain to exercise on the character of the press. 'The stamp duty,' he said, 'protects the editor of a London journal, who is com-

pelled to incur enormous expenses in procuring parliamentary reports, in obtaining foreign intelligence, in anticipating the arrival of the post by expresses, and in having correspondents in every quarter of the world where matters of interest are going on, in order to provide the earliest and most correct information to the public. But the man who, to raise the character of his paper and to supply the public with the best and earliest information, went to all this expense, must be content to lower the tone of the public press by not giving the same amount of accurate intelligence, or he must carry on the contest with those who went to no expense at all. The result would be not only the ruin of the property of the newspaper proprietors or the destruction of their profits, but it would be something much more fatal to the general interests of the country; for the editors of the present respectable papers would not be able to compete with these predatory publications, and they would be compelled to forego that extent of information which was now so accurately given.'

It is curious and instructive to contrast these confident predictions as to the deterioration of the newspapers, which was expected as the result of the reduction of the stamp duty, with the actual effect of the abolition of the taxes on knowledge, not only as regards the amount of capital employed in the production of the daily journals, and the efforts put forth to obtain early and accurate intelligence from every quarter of the world, but especially in the greatly improved tone of the articles which the greater part of the newspapers of all grades contain. The answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the arguments of the Opposition proved eminently satisfactory both to the majority of the House and to the country. 'One reason,' he said, 'for preferring a reduction of the stamp duties to a reduction of the soap duties is, that the former is a diminishing and the latter an increasing duty. The quantity of soap bought in charge in 1831

was 109,000,000 lbs., and in 1833 was 133,000,000 lbs. The consumption of soft soap in the first of these years was 9,600,000 lbs., and in 1833 it was 12,103,000 lbs. But the stamp duties on newspapers, which in 1831 had yielded £483,000, yielded in 1835 only £455,000. Now it is a principle of finance that in reducing public imposts the comparative productiveness of different taxes should be kept in view. Besides, the soap duty has already been reduced one-half, while the stamp duty has been kept at its maximum. The loss to the revenue by the reduction of the soap duty would be twice the amount of loss that is anticipated from the reduction of the newspaper duty. Besides, when the improvements in the manufacture of soap and the reduced price of the alkalis are taken into account, along with the present low rate of duty, I do not think that this is an article which calls most pressing for relief.

‘On the other hand, the condition and consequences of the newspaper stamp duty call loudly for alteration, unless the disregard of the law is to be encouraged, and those who obey it are to be left without protection. The diminution which has taken place in the produce of these duties does not arise from any falling off in the education of the people, or in their anxiety for political information. Accordingly, any man would have expected that the revenue yielded by the newspapers would have increased. It is the tax that prevents the increase. Here, as in every other case, a duty raised above the legitimate amount leads to successful smuggling, and supplies the public demands without contributing to the public revenue. I am far from thinking that all the knowledge that it is desirable to circulate among the people is to be found in newspapers; but they are the means of diffusing political knowledge of a very important character. I entertain no apprehension of the consequences of facilitating the spread of this knowledge; but even if it were desirable to confine it to the present high-priced papers it would be impossible.

In London and throughout England an active agency has been employed for the purpose of violating the law by circulating newspapers without a stamp. The total number of stamps taken in the United Kingdom is 36,000,000. On one occasion the officers of the stamp department seized an incomplete publication amounting to 40,000 sheets. This gave for a weekly paper 2,000,000 sheets per annum, being equal to one-eighteenth of the whole stamped press, and this was only a single instance. It is true that every sheet bears the printer's name, but it is often a false one. The law officers of the Crown have given their opinion that the existing law is wholly ineffectual to put down the evil. I believe that any attempt to cure the evil by increasing the severity of the law would be wholly ineffectual. I will not, however, as some desire, repeal the duty altogether, but bring it back from its present amount of fourpence to its original amount of one penny. This will equalize the whole of the press, raise its character, and enable parties who are anxious to give religious instruction to the people to combine it with knowledge of a political nature.’

The argument, founded on the failure of the efforts to suppress unstamped publications by the infliction of severe penalties, told powerfully on the House and on the country. The prosecutions of the law officers of the Crown were mainly directed, not against the printers or publishers of unstamped papers, but against the persons—frequently old men and children—who hawked them in the streets. During Earl Grey's administration alone between 400 and 500 individuals were imprisoned for this offence. These severities, while they utterly failed to suppress the evil complained of, excited a strong and general feeling against a law which was not competent to reach the principal offenders and inflicted its penalties only on the poor and ignorant.

Spring Rice carried his proposals in the Commons by a majority of 241 votes to

208. No opposition was made to the Bill by the Lords, but they struck out the clause which required all the proprietors of every newspaper to be registered. As the Commons regarded any amendment on a money bill as a violation of their privileges, the measure was dropped, and a new Bill, similar in all respects to the original measure, except that it did not contain the clause to which the peers had objected, was brought in and rapidly carried through both Houses without opposition. The reduction of the stamp duty had the effect of doubling the circulation of the newspapers in the course of four or five years, but it was not until the duty was entirely abrogated that the full benefit of the abolition of the 'taxes on knowledge' reached the lower classes of society, and diffused among them sound information on political questions.

A session in which such reforms had been carried out could not be justly regarded as barren of beneficial results, but these measures were to some extent lost sight of in consequence of the failure of the ministerial proposals for remedying the grievances of the people of Ireland, and removing several abuses existing in England. The Irish Tithe Bill and the Irish Corporation Bill had been so grievously mutilated by the Lords that they had been thrown aside by the Commons. A bill for making some technical amendments on the English Municipal Act had been thrown out by the Lords in the mere wantonness of power. A bill to place the estates of public charities under elected managers had also been rejected by the peers because it made Dissenters eligible as trustees of these endowments. And yet, at the close of the session, Lyndhurst had the effrontery to taunt the Ministry with the loss of measures which his party, under his own guidance, had thrown out. 'Was there ever,' he said, 'in the history of this country a body of men who would have condescended so low as to attempt to carry on the Government under such circumstances? In this House they are utterly

powerless, they can effect nothing. Yet thus disgraced and trampled upon, they still condescend to hold the reins of Government.'

Lord Melbourne was not disposed to allow such an attack to pass unanswered, and it roused him to make what has been called 'the happiest and ablest speech of his life,' in which the weak points of his adversary's character were assailed with merited severity.

'I cordially admit,' he said, 'the great power and eloquence of the noble and learned lord. His clearness in argument and dexterity in sarcasm no one can deny; and if he will be satisfied with a compliment confined strictly to ability, I am ready to render him that homage. But ability is not everything; propriety of conduct, the *verecundia* should be combined with the *ingenium*, to make a great man and a statesman. It is not enough to be *duræ frontis perditæ audacia*. The noble and learned lord has referred to several historical characters to whom he has been pleased to say that I have some resemblance. I beg in return to remind him of what once was said by Lord Bristol of a great statesman of former times (the Earl of Strafford), to whom, I think, the noble and learned lord might not inapplicably be compared. "The malignity of his practices was largely aggravated by his vast talents, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application." Lord Melbourne then went through the Bills which the peers at Lyndhurst's instigation had factiously defeated—the Registration of Voters Bill, the Post Office Bill, and the Catholic Marriages Bill—though they had been agreed to by their own party in the House of Commons, and then concluded thus:—'The noble and learned lord kindly advises me to resign, notwithstanding his own great horror of taking office after his ambition is already so fully satisfied. But I will tell the noble and learned lord that I will not be accessory to the sacrifice of himself which he would be ready to make if the burthen of the Great Seal were again forced

upon him. I conscientiously believe that the well-being of the country requires, in the judgment of the people, that I should hold my present office, and hold it I will, until I am constitutionally removed from it.'

The unscrupulous manner in which the Tory peers threw out bills which were admittedly good and necessary, was only one of the many difficulties with which Melbourne had to contend at the present moment. The nomination of Dr. Hampden to the office of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford was violently opposed by the High Church party, who accused him of holding heterodox opinions, which he had set forth in his Bampton Lectures; but Melbourne held that the charge was unfounded, and refused to cancel the appointment.* He greatly disliked patronage, and used to declare at this time, when it 'rained garters and crosiers,' and there seemed to be an epidemic among prelates, deans, and judges, that 'as for the bishops he positively believed they died to vex him.' Though he got no credit for it among the Tory clergy the Premier laboured most conscientiously to seek out useful and unobjectionable men for the Episcopate, and gave the preference to tolerant and enlightened clergymen, provided they were faithful and efficient churchmen, over those who in his opinion were less worthy of promotion though they were firmly attached to the Liberal party. 'I am continually subjected to the reproach,' he said, 'of having disposed of more ecclesiastical patronage than any other Minister within so short a period, and of having so managed as neither to secure one steady personal friend, nor one firm supporter of my own principles and opinions.' One of the bishops, whom he had shortly before appointed in opposition to the remonstrances of some of his supporters, on apologizing for having voted against the Church Rates Bill, says, 'I know and feel that you have been

reproached for what I may be permitted to call the generous and disinterested line of conduct which has led you to extend your patronage to those whose political opinions are not in entire accordance with your own, and that I am at this moment in the enjoyment of comparative ease and honour by reason of that disinterestedness.'

The Ministerial sky was at this time heavily overcast indeed; and the Established clergy were among the fiercest assailants of the Government. Exeter Hall rang with invectives against men who were kept in office by the votes of Roman Catholics; and the Protestant religion was alleged to be in imminent danger from a combination of godless Radicals and Popish emissaries, while at the same time those Radical members of Parliament were criticising the Ministry with unsparing severity on account of their refusal to adopt measures which, however good or desirable in themselves, they could not have carried even in the Lower House, much less in the Lords. 'At the opening of the session of 1837,' says Sydney Smith, 'this was the state of our intended changes:—The Law of Copyright was to be re-created by Sergeant Talfourd, church rates abolished by Lord John Russell, and imprisonment for debt by the Attorney-General; the Archbishop of Canterbury kindly undertook to destroy all the cathedrals, and Mr. Grote was to arrange our voting by ballot; the Septennial Act was to be repealed by Mr. Williams, Corn Laws abolished by Mr. Clay, and the House of Lords reformed by Mr. Ward; Mr. Hume remodelled county rates, Mr. Ewart put an end to primogeniture, and Mr. Tooke took away the exclusive privileges of Dublin, Oxford, and Cambridge; Thomas Duncombe was to put an end to the proxies of the Lords, and Sergeant Prime to turn the universities topsy-turvy. Well may it be said that "Man never continueth in one stay." A good many years had to elapse before any of these projected reforms were carried, and a

* Greville says the pamphlet written against Hampden 'contains no grave matter, and nothing to support an accusation of heterodoxy. If he had been a Tory instead of a Liberal, we should probably have heard nothing of the matter.'

number of them are still unaccomplished; but the Ministry were as violently assailed for their refusal to take them up at once, as if Lord Melbourne had only to say the word and they would straightway be adopted.

A great commercial crisis which occurred at this time added to the embarrassments of the Administration, and brought deep distress upon the country. About the beginning of April of this year Ministers were urged to impose some check on the continued outflow of gold from the Bank, owing to an apprehension that a panic might suddenly supervene upon the great expansion of trade and the unprecedented extent of joint-stock speculation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had great fears on the subject, which were shared by the Premier, who wrote his colleague, 'I think it hardly possible that the present rise of prices and consequent prosperity is all sound. If the Bank holds its hand now, there will probably be considerable revulsion and ruin, though less than at a future period; but we shall have to bear the whole blame of being the authors of the national distress, and many will say that we have brought it about quite wantonly and unnecessarily.' These apprehensions, however, were shared by few. A succession of abundant harvests, and a great expansion of trade, rendered food abundant and prices high, and filled the national treasury to overflowing. Joint-stock speculation, especially in banking, ran more and more wild. Warnings now began to be given respecting the drain of gold, which had set in from all parts of Europe; but they were unheeded. Till April the Bank rate of interest did not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and it was not until some months later, when the stock of bullion in the Bank of England had fallen to £5,000,000, that the rate of discount was advanced to 4 per cent.

A bad harvest, the bursting of the bubble companies, and numerous failures both in England and the United States, the result

of over-trading, too fatally realized the prescient misgivings of the Prime Minister in the beginning of the year, though many circumstances which could not have been anticipated contributed to extend and deepen the financial embarrassment and general distress that ensued. Spring Rice's warning to the Governor of the Bank of England to restrict the system of loans and advances was left unheeded too long; and when the anticipated commercial storm and panic came, the effect was disastrous in the extreme. Spring Rice, like Cassio, was 'a great arithmetician;' but the moneyed interest did not estimate highly his financial abilities. He had an unlimited command of figures to prove the accuracy of his estimates and the wisdom of his measures, but the London bankers regarded him as quite unequal to the important office which he held. Pattison, the Governor of the Bank of England, Grote, Glyn, and Roberts, the most eminent bankers in the city, were successively consulted by him in this emergency; and they had all expressed the same opinion and had given the same advice, that he should raise the interest on Exchequer bills. But he 'met these conclusions with a long chain of reasoning, founded upon the most fallacious premisses, columns of prices and stocks, and exchequer bills in former years, and calculations and conjectures upon these data, which the keen view and sagacious foresight of these men (whose wits are sharpened by the magnitude of their immediate interest in the results, and whose long habits make them so familiar with the details) detected and exposed, not without some feelings both of resentment and contempt for the Minister who clung to his own theories in preference to their practical conclusions.' The Chancellor was ultimately compelled to follow their advice, but his reluctance to do so was not inexcusable; for, as it was remarked at the time, like all expedients of the kind, it was open to the objection that it must work partially, and in many cases profitably, to those who stood in least

need of extraordinary aid from the State, while the aid must confessedly be furnished at the expense of the whole community. Melbourne himself said 'the throwing away £200,000 or £300,000 of the public money is often very little thought of; whilst, on the contrary, inconveniencing and discontenting the moneyed men, creates a clamour as shrill and as unappeasable as does the killing of a pig.' 'Nothing is so violent,' he added, 'as the moneyed interest in difficulties, nothing so loud; and it is often, in my opinion, politic to commit a little extravagance in order to relieve them.'

Thus surrounded with difficulties on all sides, gathering closer and closer around them, the days of the Melbourne Administration seemed to be numbered, and some even of its own members were of opinion that their resignation could not be much longer delayed. 'Even quiet and courageous Lord Melbourne,' says Hobhouse, 'began to give way.' 'He had long had doubts,' he said, 'whether it was right and becoming to

go on with the Government in our present condition. There was an immense majority against us in the Lords; and the English constituencies, so far as we knew, were against us—the Court decidedly hostile—and nothing but an insignificant majority in the Commons in our favour; and even there it was only on doubtful and unpopular questions that we outnumbered our opponents. Lord Melbourne said a man must have the patience of an ass to stand against such odds. . . . Lord Lansdowne said to me privately that if the Lords carried a vote of want of confidence, he for one would resign. He thought they would not propose that vote, because they were afraid of putting themselves in the wrong. Lord Holland also expressed his doubts as to the propriety of going on much longer against the House of Lords, especially if we lost any more elections in large communities.'

In these disheartening circumstances the session of 1836 ended.

CHAPTER XII.

State of the Country at the opening of the Session of 1837—'No Surrender' policy of the Tories—The Irish Municipal Bill vehemently opposed by them—Their defeat in the Commons—Shiel's attack on Lyndhurst—Church Rates Bill—Opposed by the Bishops and Clergy and withdrawn—The Irish Tithe Bill—Sir Francis Burdett and the Westminster Election—Attacks on the new Poor Law Bill by Mr. Walter of the *Times* and Mr. Harvey—Committee appointed to inquire into its operation—Favourable result—Critical State of the Melbourne Ministry—Illness and Death of King William—His Character—Great improvements made during his reign—Accession of the Princess Victoria—Her early history and training—Her first Council—Separation of the Kingdom of Hanover from Britain—Character of the Duke of Cumberland—His arbitrary conduct on ascending the Hanoverian Throne—Close of the Session of Parliament—The Queen's Speech.

THE year 1837 commenced with gloomy prospects, both for the country and the Ministry. The commercial crisis had produced wide-spread ruin among manufacturers and merchants, and want of employment and great suffering among the working classes. Agitation was renewed with redoubled energy by both political parties, and public meetings were held, at which the views held by each were advocated with marked ability and not a little violence. Ireland, as usual, was in a state of great excitement. On the one hand, a National Association was formed by the Repealers and Radicals, avowedly for the purpose of promoting the return of members favourable to their views—'the rousing of the millions of Ireland,' as Shiel said, 'and a development of the might which slumbers in her arm'—and with its skilful arrangements, its regular meetings, its local auxiliaries, and its 'justice-rent,' was a most formidable body, and excited great alarm. On the other hand, the Tories and Orangemen held a meeting in Dublin, attended by 3500 persons, including no less than thirty Irish peers and a considerable number of members of Parliament, who passed a series of violent resolutions denouncing the conduct of the Irish Government and the proceedings of the Association. Their watchword was 'No surrender,' and they adopted as their policy the advice of Sir Harcourt Lees, 'Put your trust in God, still revere your king, and keep your powder dry.' In these inauspicious circumstances

the session of 1837 was opened by commission on the 31st of January.

It was evident from the king's speech that Irish questions were once more mainly to occupy the attention of Parliament. The Bill for the reform of the Irish Corporations was again introduced on the 7th of February by the Home Secretary, who intimated that it was a vital question to the present Administration. It was read a second time on the 17th without opposition—almost without discussion; but on the motion for going into committee the Opposition repeated their most unwise and unreasonable tactics, and Lord Francis Egerton again proposed that the existing municipalities should be abolished, that arrangements should be made for the administration of justice by sheriffs and magistrates appointed by the Crown, and that the local affairs of the inhabitants should be managed by commissioners appointed by the Government. These proposals, which simply meant that the people of Ireland were to be deprived of the last relics of self-government, were essentially wrong in principle and most mischievous in the effect which they were fitted to produce on that miserable and misgoverned country. In vain was it pointed out that 'local assemblies of citizens constitute the strength of free nations; that town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science—they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men to use and enjoy it; that a nation may enjoy a system of free government, but

without the spirit of municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty.' Here, it was said, 'is the straight road to the redemption of Ireland. Every one knows that her natural resources are abundant for the wants of her inhabitants, if only her inhabitants knew how to use them. This is the way to teach them—this is the way to call out and increase such public virtue as exists. It is not by an "affectionate despotism," but a training to self-government, that the Irish must be redeemed. A people unaccustomed to freedom in local affairs can never learn to use it properly in national affairs. Political principle and knowledge can be obtained only through political training. The proposal to abolish the municipalities of Ireland was, therefore, virtually an attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of all training for their public duties. Free municipal institutions were in reality much more necessary in Ireland than in either England or Scotland, and without them it was impossible that Ireland could be identified with the sister kingdoms in her political privileges and fortunes.'

Such considerations as these, however, had no influence with the Tory party. It was clearly impossible to maintain longer the ascendancy of the Orange and Protestant minority in the Irish municipalities, and they were therefore determined to prevent the Roman Catholics from enjoying the rights which belong to a majority. The signal defeat which they met with on this question in the previous session might have convinced them of their mistake. They encountered a more serious reverse on this renewal of their attempt. In 1836 they were defeated on this question by 307 votes to 243. In 1837 the votes against them increased to 322, while they mustered only 242.

This victory contributed not a little to strengthen the Government. Greville says the debate was exceedingly feeble on the part of the Opposition, and they were prodigiously depressed at the defeat. 'Stanley, Graham, and Peel successively spoke, and

none of them well; the latter was unusually heavy.' The best speeches on the other side were Charles Buller's, Roebuck's, and Lord Howick's. It was on this occasion that Shiel delivered his famous reply to Lyndhurst's taunt, during the debate on the Corporation Bill, that the Irish were 'aliens in blood, in language, and in religion.' Lyndhurst was afterwards severely and deservedly punished for this most impolitic and offensive attack upon the Irish people. It was repeatedly referred to in the House of Lords, when he made a feeble, and not quite honest attempt to explain away the statement. It so happened that Lyndhurst was sitting under the gallery of the House of Commons during the debate on the Irish Corporation Bill, and Shiel availed himself of the opportunity to repay him for the insult he had offered to his countrymen. Shiel's first mention of the word 'aliens,' uttered with the strongest emphasis, elicited the most tremendous burst of cheering from the Ministerial side of the House. 'The obnoxious expression,' he said, 'had never been disavowed. He was only surprised that the Duke of Wellington had not started up and said, that these aliens had done their duty.' 'The Duke,' he went on to say, 'is not a man of sudden emotions; but he ought not to have forgotten Vimiera, and Badajos, and Salamanca, and Toulouse, and the last and glorious conflict which crowned all his former victories. On that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, when the batteries spread slaughter over the field, and the legions of France rushed again and again to the onset, did the *aliens* then flinch? On that day the blood of the men of England, and Ireland, and Scotland was poured forth together; they fought on the same field; they died the same death; they were stretched on the same spot; their dust was commingled; the same dew of heaven fell on the earth that covered them; the same grass sprung from the soil in which they reposed together; and is it to be endured that we should be called aliens and strangers

to that empire for whose salvation our best blood was shed?’

The orator, on uttering this fervid appeal turned and waved his hand to the spot where the author of the obnoxious phrase was sitting; the majority of the members stood up, and turning towards Lyndhurst raised such a tumultuous and enthusiastic cheering as had never before been heard within the walls of the House, and ten minutes elapsed before the Speaker succeeded in moderating the clamour. All this time Lyndhurst to all appearance sat totally unmoved, without changing a muscle of his countenance; but there can be no doubt that he felt keenly the grievous blunder of which he had been guilty, and the storm of indignation which it had brought down upon him.

The dejection of the Tories at their signal defeat on the Corporation Bill was somewhat relieved by the division on the measure for the abolition of church rates, which they regarded as equivalent to a victory. The Dissenters had long complained that they were assessed for the support of the buildings belonging to a church with which they had no connection. The Ministry of Earl Grey admitted the justice of their complaint; and Lord Althorp brought in a Bill which provided for the abolition of the obnoxious impost, and proposed to appropriate the sum of £250,000 out of the land tax for the support of the fabrics of the church throughout the kingdom. The measure met with the approval of Dr. Lushington and some of the moderate Dissenters; but the others would admit of no compromise, and insisted on their right to be entirely exempted from the payment of church rates. The Bill was in consequence laid aside. The Government now resolved to make another attempt to settle this troublesome question, and to put an end to the unseemly and angry disputes which in many places were caused by the proposal to levy an assessment for ecclesiastical purposes on persons of every variety of religious opinion. Their scheme, which

was brought on by Spring Rice on the 3rd of March, was to vest the management of the church lands in an Ecclesiastical Commission of eleven members, who it was expected, by means of a better system of leasing and by abolishing fines, would obtain a sufficient sum of money which, with the aid of pew rents, would render church rates unnecessary. A plan of a similar kind had been adopted in Ireland for the purpose of getting rid of church cess; and as the saving thus effected was to be appropriated exclusively to ecclesiastical purposes, the Ministers seem to have expected that it would be approved, or at least not opposed, by the church. They speedily found that their expectations were to be disappointed. The clergy could not see why the church should be deprived of a fund which yielded £250,000 a year; they were by no means sure that the church lands, after providing adequate salaries for the bishops, would realize a sum sufficient to provide for the repairs of all the churches in the kingdom; and they were especially hostile to any concessions to Dissenters in regard to ecclesiastical rights and privileges.

On the 12th of March, fifteen bishops held a meeting at Lambeth Palace, and resolved to protest against the measure. While the Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, the bishops, as Greville said, ‘had a grand *flare-up* in the House of Lords. The Archbishop of Canterbury [Howley], with as much venom as so mild a man can muster, attacked the Bill. Melbourne replied with some asperity; and the Bishop of London [Blomfield] returned fiercely upon him, denouncing the measure as “sacrilegious spoliation.”’ The Tories lauded and the Whigs abused the bishops, both vehemently. The old cry of the “church in danger” was once more raised, and with considerable effect. The supporters of the church’s claims mustered strong even in the House of Commons; and after a debate which lasted four nights, the resolutions proposed

by the Ministry were adopted by only 273 votes to 250. When the resolutions were reported the majority had dwindled down to five; they were carried by only 287 votes to 282. As it was evident that a measure supported by so small a majority could not be forced even through the Commons, the Government were compelled to abandon the Bill; but Lord John Russell covered their retreat by proposing and carrying a motion that a committee should be appointed 'to inquire into the present mode of holding and leasing the property belonging to bishops and chapters, with a view to ascertaining the probable amount of any increased value that might be obtained by an improved management, with a due consideration of the interests of the Established Church and of the present lessees of such property.*

The Irish Municipal Bill, however, was carried triumphantly through the House of Commons, and was read a third time on the 11th of April by a majority of 302 votes to 247. The Tory Peers could not venture summarily to reject a Bill which had been approved of by the public as well as by a decided majority of the House of Commons; but they adopted the unprecedented expedient of getting rid of it by successive postponements, under the plea that they

* The consternation which this proposal excited among the clergy is described by Sydney Smith with inimitable drollery in his 'Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton.' 'Frequently did Lord John meet the destroying bishops; much did he commend their daily heap of ruins; sweetly did they smile upon each other, and much charming talk was there of meteorology and catarrh and the particular cathedral they were pulling down; till one fine day the Home Secretary, with a voice more bland and a look more ardently affectionate than that which the masculine mouse bestows on his nibbling female, informed them that the Government meant to take all the church property into their own hands, to pay the rates out of it, and deliver the residue to the rightful possessors. Such an effect, they say, was never before produced by a *coup de theatre*. The Commission was separated in an instant; London clenched his fist; Canterbury was hurried out by his chaplains and put into a warm bed; a solemn vacancy spread itself over the face of Gloucester; Lincoln was taken out in strong hysterics. What a noble scene Sergeant Talfourd would have made of this! Why are such talents wasted on *Ion* and *The Athenian Captive*?'

wished to see what course the Government intended to take with regard to the Irish Tithe Bill and the Irish Poor Law Bill. This was a mere pretence, for the proposals of the Ministry with regard to both measures had been already fully explained to the Commons. Some of the Radical members of the Lower House urged the Ministers in these circumstances to withdraw the Tithe Bill, but they resolved to go on with their measures. 'It is better,' said Russell, 'that we should wait and see whether we have mistaken the intentions of our opponents, instead of taking that decided course which it would afterwards be shown we were not justified in pursuing.'

The new Tithe Bill contained the principle of the appropriation clause, but in a novel form. It proposed that a tax of ten per cent. should be levied on the incomes of all future bishops, dignitaries, and beneficed clergymen, and devoted to the purpose of general education in Ireland. An old Act of Parliament, passed in the reign of Henry VIII., required every incumbent in an Irish parish to keep, or cause to be kept, a school in which English should be taught. The archbishops and bishops were bound to require every incumbent at the time of his ordination to take oath that he would yield obedience to the Act, and heavy penalties were imposed both on bishops and clergymen who were guilty of a breach of this statute. The Act had been a dead letter, but it was now proposed to revive and bring it into active operation. The Tithe Bill containing this provision was read a second time on the 9th of June, but made no further progress. Various indications had already been given that the country had become indifferent to the fate of the Melbourne Ministry, and at this juncture an unexpected election contest in Westminster seemed to show that the electors even of that Radical borough were dissatisfied with the policy of the Government. Sir Francis Burdett, who had represented Westminster about thirty years, and was originally a Radical reformer of the most extreme type,

had, ever since the passing of the Reform Bill, been lukewarm in his attachment to Liberal principles, and in his support of the Ministry. He had absented himself from all the great party divisions which had recently taken place in the House of Commons, and was currently reported to have taken his seat in the 'Derby Dilly,' beside Stanley and Graham. Some of his constituents, who were dissatisfied with his conduct, called upon him to resign his seat on the 24th of April, and the same day the old Radical at once indignantly complied with their request, offering himself, however, for re-election as the opponent of 'an unnatural alliance, an odious yet ludicrous combination of Irish agitators, Popish priests, and paid patriots, operating upon a well-intentioned but weak and vacillating Administration.' Mr. Leader, member for Bridgewater, resigned his seat, in order that he might contest Westminster against Burdett. The Tories withdrew their own candidate, Sir George Murray, and employed all their efforts on behalf of the ex-Radical baronet. The struggle was very keen. The general impression at first was that Leader would win; but the show of hands was in Burdett's favour, and he was returned by a majority of 515. The result was regarded as a great triumph to the Conservative cause, and a great disappointment to the Whigs, and still more to the Radicals. Melbourne, however, said he was not very sorry that Burdett had got in; for the Radicals were already very difficult to manage, and had they carried this election there would be no doing anything with them. Earl Grey expressed the sentiments of moderate Liberals when he said 'he was glad at Leader's defeat and sorry for Burdett's success.' *

Various unsuccessful efforts were made

* Sir Francis gave occasion about this time to one of Lord John Russell's most felicitous retorts. With very questionable taste the ex-Radical in one of his speeches spoke of the cant of patriotism. Lord John, in his reply, quietly remarked that the *cant* of patriotism was bad, but the *recant* of patriotism was a great deal worse.

to effect important changes in the constitution—to shorten the duration of Parliament, to abolish the property qualification of members, to introduce vote by ballot, to exclude bishops from the House of Lords, and to make other organic alterations; but neither the Legislature nor the country were at this time favourably inclined towards further constitutional innovations. A strenuous attempt was even made to undo in part the reforms which had been effected by the new Poor Law. That measure, as we have seen, was imperatively required in order to arrest the progress of a system which was rapidly absorbing, not merely the resources of charity, but the fruits of productive industry; and while threatening the ruin of the landed proprietors and the farmers, was increasing the degradation and misery of the labouring classes themselves. The new law had already enormously diminished the amount of the rates and the number of able-bodied paupers, and had at least made a commencement in improving the habits and feelings of the agricultural labourers; but at the same time, like all great and sudden social changes, it had been productive, to those who had been brought up under the old system, of not a little individual suffering, which was a good deal aggravated by the distress caused by an unusually long and severe winter. A great clamour was in consequence raised against the new Act, and especially against the regulation which prohibited out-door relief. Numerous meetings were held in various parts of the country, at which violent speeches were delivered and corresponding resolutions adopted against the 'bastilles,' as the work-houses were termed, and the proceedings of the Poor Law Commissioners. Ultra Tories united with ultra Radicals in the agitation for a relaxation of the system; and Colonel Sibthorp, the extreme Tory member for Eye, and Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, the extreme Radical member for Southwark, combined in stigmatizing the new Poor Law as one of the most cruel,

heartless, relentless, and selfish Bills that was ever enacted. Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times*, took a prominent part in the agitation against the new system, and the incessant attacks of that influential journal contributed not a little to fan the flame of discontent.

Mr. Walter brought the question before the House of Commons by moving, '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.' Lord John Russell objected that such an inquiry, if it were not intended to propose a repeal of the Act, would be vague and desultory; and he moved as an amendment 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.' In supporting this amendment, Russell said 'his only difficulty was to compress within any moderate compass the voluminous mass of evidence with which he had been furnished from persons of all classes—from noblemen, landowners, clergymen, farmers, and labourers—all tending in the strongest manner to show the great advantages that had resulted from the measure. This had been especially the case with regard to the employment of the workhouse system as a test of destitution. In East Kent, formerly one of the most pauperized districts of the country, out of 160,000 inhabitants, fifty-five has been the maximum of able-bodied labourers in the workhouses at the same time. But it was said to be cruel to force the disabled and the infirm into the workhouse. The degree and manner in which this has been done is no doubt a very proper subject of inquiry with the committee. In the meanwhile, however, he could refer to returns which had been received from eighty-eight Unions, showing that the number of in-door paupers is 8850, while the number of out-door paupers is 54,417. In these eighty-nine Unions nine-tenths of the

disabled and infirm receive out-door relief. This then is the working of that "cruel system" which is represented as driving every disabled and poor person into prison. But while he made this statement, he did not dissemble his belief that when the new system has been brought into full operation out-door relief will be entirely abolished, except in cases of sickness; and he thought that it ought not to constitute a permanent part of the system.

'With regard to the kind of relief afforded in the workhouses. From the return of the Easting Union it appears, that whereas the amount of annual payments for bastardy was formerly £300, there is now no instance of a charge on that account. The amount of poor rates collected for the year ending March, 1835, was £16,900; the amount collected for the year ending December, 1836, was £8965. The diet of the inmates of the workhouses is ample, wholesome, and substantial; the medical attendance prompt and considerate; the clothing suitable; and the moral and religious improvement duly attended to. The children of both sexes are reared and duly trained in a manner far surpassing that enjoyed by the children of independent labourers.'

Lord John Russell's amendment was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Hume, and after a debate which was protracted over two nights, was adopted without a division, and the Committee entered upon the inquiry intrusted to them.

Mr. Walter, who was a member of the Committee, very soon saw that its inquiries and the evidence adduced were not likely to serve his purpose, and proposed that other six members of his nomination should be added to the Committee. On the refusal of this extraordinary request he intimated his intention to withdraw from it, as soon as the Union then under consideration should have been concluded. Mr. Harvey, who had also been placed on the Committee in the first instance, adopted

the highly improper course of publishing the evidence as it was taken day by day in a paper called the *True Sun*, of which he was proprietor. He, too, subsequently withdrew from the Committee, denouncing it as partial and one-sided. The remaining members continued their investigations, and made their report shortly before the close of the session. They expressed their conviction that the introduction of the new Poor Law had been attended with a considerable improvement in the character and condition of the poor—that more employment had been given to the agricultural labourers, that their morals and conduct had been improved, and that they had become more provident and more anxious to get and to keep their places. It was admitted that labourers, and widows with large families under age for work, felt severely the loss of the allowances they had before been accustomed to receive; but their sufferings had been generally alleviated by the considerate measures adopted by the guardians. Upon the whole, the Committee were decidedly of opinion that the operation of the law was satisfactory and ought to be maintained, and that the administration of the system, both by the Board of Guardians and by the Poor Law Commissioners, had been in the main judicious; but they recommended that the inquiry should be resumed next session, and indicated certain points to which they thought that attention should be directed.

The position of the Melbourne Administration had become more and more embarrassing as the session advanced. They were unable to carry those measures for the relief of Ireland, on which they had staked their existence. The whole machinery of legislation had been brought to a dead stop by the obstructive proceedings of the Tory Peers. Radicals and Tories concurred in the cry that the country was without a Government. It appeared certain, even in the eyes of their friends, that their resignation could

not be much longer postponed. But when their downfall appeared inevitable, an event occurred which had the effect of prolonging their existence for four years.

William IV. was now in the seventy-second year of his age, and his family had for some time observed that he was aging rapidly and his strength declining. In May his medical attendants alleged that he was suffering from hay-fever, a complaint to which he had frequently been subject; but it soon appeared that he laboured under some affection of the heart. His weakness continued to increase; he was obliged to be seated at the levee on the 17th, and on the 20th he had a fainting fit. He was able to hold a Council on the 27th, but had to be wheeled in a chair into the Council room, as he could no longer walk. On the 9th of June the first bulletin was issued, and the country was made aware that the king was in imminent danger. He continued to transact business, however, and though fully conscious of his situation he was calm and even cheerful. On the 15th it became generally known that his recovery was hopeless; and though the disease appeared next day to have taken a favourable turn, on the 18th the unfavourable symptoms returned in an aggravated form. He had prayers read very frequently during his illness, and on the 19th the sacrament was administered to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the morning of the 20th of June the tolling of the muffled bell of St. Paul's announced to the citizens of London that the king had died during the night.

The eulogies heaped upon the departed monarch by the leaders of both parties in Parliament were exaggerated and indiscriminate, and ultimately served rather to injure than to exalt his character. Lord Melbourne lamented that he and his colleagues had been deprived of a most gracious master, and that the world had lost a man of the best intentions, the most uncompromising honour, and the strictest integrity. He praised the late sovereign's

talents for business, his practical acquaintance with the principles and details of public affairs, and his assiduity and industry; and declared that he was 'as fair, just, and conscientious a man as ever existed, always willing to listen to any argument even though opposed to his own previous feeling—a sterling quality in any man, but peculiarly good, sterling, and valuable in a monarch.' The Duke of Wellington spoke of 'the firmness, candour, justice, and true spirit of conciliation' of the deceased sovereign. Earl Grey went even farther in his panegyric, and declared that 'a man more sincerely devoted to the interests of his country—that a man who had a better understanding of what was necessary to the furtherance of these interests, that a man who was more patient in considering all the circumstances connected with those interests, that a man who was more attentive to his duty on every occasion—never did exist. If ever a sovereign deserved the character, it might truly be affirmed of William IV. that he was a patriot king.' Lord Brougham, who was more moderate, though still cordial in his encomiums, dwelt largely on the glorious, beneficent, and auspicious attributes of the late king's reign. In the Lower House Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel echoed the sentiments of the leaders of the Ministry and the Opposition in the House of Lords.

It was not unnatural, in the circumstances of the case, that the eminent individuals who had held high office under the deceased monarch should speak of him in such exaggerated terms of commendation; but even those who, like Greville, have expressed a depreciatory opinion of his character, admit that William was 'a good-natured, kind-hearted, and well-meaning man,' and that he 'always acted an honourable and straightforward, if not always a sound and discreet part.' The late sovereign's natural abilities were good, but his education had been very imperfect. He became a midshipman in 1779, at the age

of fourteen, and in 1786 received a captain's commission. His insubordination to the rules and orders of the Admiralty made it necessary that he should be withdrawn from the active exercise of his profession, and after the year 1790 he was left without active employment. In 1791 he formed a connection with Mrs. Jordan, the celebrated actress, who lived with him virtually as his wife for twenty years, and bore him ten children—five sons and five daughters. From an early period he showed a partiality for the Whig party, and supported the Ministry of 'All the Talents' in 1806. After the death of the Princess Charlotte, in 1818, had opened up to him a probable succession to the throne, the Prince, who had been created in 1789 Duke of Clarence and St. Andrews, and Earl of Munster, married the eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen; but the two daughters whom she bore to him both died in infancy. In 1827 he was appointed Lord High Admiral under the Canning Administration; but shortly after the resignation of Lord Goderich, Canning's successor, his Royal Highness was compelled by the Duke of Wellington to resign his office. The death of George IV., in 1830, raised the Duke of Clarence to the throne at a most critical period in the history of the country; and there can be no doubt that his personal popularity and liberal opinions contributed not a little to carry the throne and the Government safely through that perilous epoch. His political principles, however, were not intelligent or stable; and in no long time, as we have seen, his own timidity and weakness, and the influence of his queen and family, induced him to give all his countenance and support to the Conservative party. His opposition to reforms which the great body of the people regarded as necessary, and his uncourteous and perverse behaviour towards the Ministers whom the people had compelled him to restore to office, greatly impaired his popularity and his influence. He was, however, a kind and faithful husband, and a warm and

generous friend, and was always ready to give liberal assistance to those who had any claims on his bounty; and though he was undignified in his demeanour and conversation, his harmless eccentricities did not detract from the kindly feeling with which the 'Sailor King,' as he was termed, was generally regarded by his subjects.

The reign of William IV., though not memorable from the personal qualities of the sovereign, stands out with special prominence in the history of our country on account of the important legislative measures which it witnessed. Though it lasted only seven years, more momentous changes were during its continuance carried out in the constitution of the country than had taken place since the Revolution of 1688. The Parliamentary representation of the people had been freed from the gross abuses which disfigured and degraded it, and placed upon a sound and natural basis. A reform scarcely less necessary and important had been effected in the municipal corporations of England and Scotland. Slavery, with all its attendant cruelties and abominations, had been abolished at the expense of the nation by which it had been so long tolerated. The system of pauperism, which was destructive to the industry, forethought, and honesty of the labourers, to the wealth and morality of the employers of labour and of the owners of property, had been at length reformed. Tithes had been commuted, to the inexpressible relief both of the tithe-owner and the tithe-payer. The grievances under which Dissenters laboured in regard to their marriages and the registration of their births and burials were redressed, and sectarian distinctions so far abolished. The physical and mental evils produced by the prolonged labour of children in factories had been remedied. The excessive severities of the penal code had been mitigated; prisoners under trial for felony were allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury on their behalf; needless cruelties inflicted on the criminal condemned to death were done

away with. The list of capital offences was step by step abridged, till it contained no more than seven. The annual number of sentences of death pronounced in the criminal courts was at the close of King William's reign less than one-fourth what it had been at its commencement; and the number sentenced to banishment for life was reduced in the same proportion. The heavy taxes which had restricted the circulation of newspapers and the diffusion of literature were greatly reduced, and the growing thirst for political and general information was thus vastly strengthened. The reform of the Court of Chancery, which, with its cumbrous and antiquated arrangements, its endless delays, and its enormous expense, had ruined the fortunes and broken the hearts of many thousands, was one of the most important boons conferred upon the country during William's reign. The vicious and wretched system had been often denounced in indignant terms by the sufferers; but, defended as it was by the whole official legal staff from Lord Chancellor Eldon downwards, it bade defiance to its assailants until Brougham was raised to the Woolsack and brought in a series of measures, which greatly facilitated the progress and reduced the expense of legal proceedings, though several of his most important proposals were rejected through the influence of the Tory peers. The suppression of various practices and sports, by which the most shocking cruelties were habitually inflicted on cattle, horses, and other dumb animals, was another gratifying reform, brought about at this time mainly by the efforts of Richard Martin, the member for the county of Galway. The bills which he brought in for the purpose of preventing bull-baiting, ox-driving, dog-fighting, and the cruel treatment of other animals, were time after time thrown out, and he was himself furiously assailed, nicknamed, and ridiculed by the press, Whig and Tory alike; but the kind-hearted old gentleman resolutely persevered in his advocacy of the cause of dumb animals.

In 1823 he induced the Legislature to pass a Bill to prevent the wanton and cruel treatment of horses and cattle. Ten years later an Act was passed which made it illegal to drive any ox or cattle, to bait any bull, bear, badger, ox, or other animal, or to fight cocks within five miles of Temple Bar; and in 1835 this law was extended to the whole country—a most gratifying proof of the progress which the people had made in humanity since the time when brutal sports were openly defended in Parliament, on the ground that they tended to make the people courageous and patriotic. The Anatomical Act, introduced and carried through by Mr. Warburton, must not be passed unnoticed. The difficulty of obtaining bodies for dissection by the teachers and students of surgery had for years led first to the desecration of churchyards and the rifling of graves by body-snatchers, and then, by an easy transition, to the shocking murders perpetrated by Burke and Hare, and Bishop, and others on homeless and defenceless persons for the sake of the price paid for their bodies to supply the dissecting-room. The sentence which the law empowered the criminal courts to pronounce upon a murderer, that his body should be publicly dissected, contributed greatly to strengthen the prejudice against anatomy. It was even penal for any person to be in possession of a human body for anatomical purposes, except it were that of an executed murderer. Anatomical skill was required by our public boards from those who appeared before them for examination, while the law prohibited them from obtaining this knowledge in our own country. The evils arising out of this state of the law at length attracted the notice of the Legislature, and in the third year of King William's reign an Act was passed abolishing dissection as any part of a criminal sentence, legalizing schools of anatomy, and affording facilities for anatomists, under proper regulations, to obtain possession of human bodies for the purpose of dissection. Under this Act an adequate supply of

bodies has been obtained for our anatomical schools, and obtained moreover without violating the sepulchres of the dead or outraging the feelings of the living. Other improvements were made or commenced during this reign, in locomotion (it saw the opening of the first public railway), in the postal system, the laws relating to workmen, to the public health, to education, and especially to the promotion of temperate habits among all classes of the community. These vast improvements, physical, intellectual, and moral, compressed into the short space of seven years, render the reign of William IV. one of the most memorable epochs in the history of the United Kingdom.

King William died at twenty minutes after two on the morning of the 20th of June, and the Primate, the Lord Chamberlain, and the late king's physician started without delay for Kensington, in order to communicate to the Princess Victoria the tidings of her accession to the throne. They did not reach the palace until five o'clock. 'They knocked, they rang, they thumped for a considerable time before they could rouse the porter at the gate; they were again kept waiting in the court-yard, then turned into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell, and 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 that she could not venture to disturb her. Then they said, "We are come on business of state to the Queen, and even her sleep must give way to that." It did, and to prove that she did not keep them waiting, she came into the room in a loose white night-gown and shawl, her night-cap thrown off, and her hair falling upon her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified.'

Melbourne was with the queen at nine, and the Privy Council assembled at eleven. The manner in which she maintained her dignity and self-possession in the trying circumstances in which she was placed amid the crowd of grey-haired statesmen, warriors, and ecclesiastical and legal dignitaries, was the subject of universal admiration. 'Never,' says Greville, who was present, 'was anything like the first impression she produced, or the chorus of praise and admiration which is raised about her manner and behaviour, and certainly not without justice. It was very extraordinary, and something far beyond what was looked for. Her extreme youth and inexperience, and the ignorance of the world concerning her, naturally excited intense curiosity to see how she would act on this trying occasion, and there was a considerable assemblage at the palace, notwithstanding the short notice that was given. Melbourne asked her if she would enter the room accompanied by the great officers of State, but she said she would come in alone. When the Lords were assembled the Lord-President informed them of the king's death, and suggested, as they were so numerous, that a few of them should repair to the presence of the queen, and inform her of the event, and that their Lordships were assembled in consequence; and accordingly the two Royal Dukes, the two Archbishops, the Chancellor, and Melbourne, went with him. The queen received them in the adjoining room alone. As soon as they had returned the proclamation was read and the usual order passed, when the doors were thrown open, and the queen entered, accompanied by her two uncles, who advanced to meet her. She bowed to the Lords, took her seat, and then read her speech in a clear, distinct, and audible voice, without any appearance of fear or embarrassment. She was quite plainly dressed, and in mourning. With becoming self-possession and graceful modesty, she spoke of the duty that had devolved upon her by the death of His Majesty, her beloved

uncle. "This awful responsibility," she said, "is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and to a long experience."

'After she had read her speech, and taken and signed the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, the Privy Councillors were sworn, the two Royal Dukes first by themselves; and as these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her, swearing allegiance, and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to the eyes, as if she felt the contrast between their civil and natural relations, and this was the only sign of emotion which she evinced. Her manner to them was very graceful and engaging; she kissed them both, and rose from her chair and moved towards the Duke of Sussex, who was farthest from her, and too infirm to reach her. She seemed rather bewildered at the multitude of men who were sworn, and who came one after another to kiss her hand; but she did not speak to anybody, nor did she make the slightest difference in her manner, or show any in her countenance, to any individual of any rank, station, or party. . . . She went through the whole ceremony, occasionally looking at Melbourne for instruction when she had any doubt what to do, which hardly ever occurred, and with perfect calmness and self-possession, but at the same time with a graceful modesty and propriety particularly interesting and ingratiating. . . . Peel said how amazed he was at the manner and behaviour of the queen, at her apparent deep sense of her situation, her modesty, and at the same time her firmness. She appeared, in fact, to be awed, but not daunted; and afterwards the Duke of Wellington told me the same thing, and

added that if she had been his own daughter he could not have desired to see her perform her part better. At twelve she held a Council, at which she presided with as much ease as if she had been doing nothing else all her life; and though Lord Lansdowne and his colleague had contrived between them to make some confusion with the Council papers, she was not put out by it. She looked very well, and though so small in stature, and without much pretension to beauty, the gracefulness of her manner, and the good expression of her countenance, gave her on the whole a very agreeable appearance, and with her youth, inspire an excessive interest in all who approach her, and which I can't help feeling myself.'

In accordance with official etiquette the Ministers placed in Her Majesty's hands the seals of their respective offices, which she at once returned to them, thus intimating her intention to retain them in office. The stamps in official use were ordered to be altered, and also the prayers of the Church which related to the Royal family. The proclamation was prepared and signed by the Privy Councillors present, and having been authenticated by the new Great Seal, was gazetted the same evening.

The next day, according to ancient custom, she was presented to the people at a window overlooking the courtyard of St. James' Palace. Attired in black silk, with a crape scarf over her white tippet, and small black chip bonnet, her bends of brown hair as plain as her dress, the youthful queen, with the simplicity of the honest heart of youth, shed tears as, with Melbourne at her side, she was presented to the spectators as their sovereign.

The Princess Victoria, who thus ascended the throne a few weeks after she attained her eighteenth year, was the only child of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., by Victoire Maria Louise, the youngest sister of the Duke of Coburg and the widow of Prince Leiningen. The untimely death of the Duke of Kent—who was certainly

the best of George III.'s sons—when his daughter was only eight months old, threw the care of her early training on his widow, whom he left in very straitened circumstances. She was constituted sole guardian of the future Queen of England, and fulfilled her charge with the most painstaking assiduity and fidelity. She taught her daughter from her earliest years to live simply, to practise self-denial, to cultivate her natural abilities by diligent study, and to put her trust in God. Years of quietness and study were passed by the Princess at Kensington Palace, where she was born, in the society of her mother, and under the care of the Duchess of Northumberland, grand-daughter of the celebrated Lord Clive, who was appointed to superintend her education. Numerous anecdotes were told of the manner in which she was trained to habits of self-denial, economy, punctuality, and the diligent discharge of her duties; and how deeply she was affected, and how thoughtfully she expressed her feelings, when at twelve years of age she was for the first time made aware of the place she occupied in the succession to the throne. As years advanced and her education expanded, she made a series of visits along with her mother to a number of the most interesting towns, cathedrals, and other remarkable places in England; and as she was naturally the centre of attraction wherever she went, she was thus accustomed unconsciously to the gaze of the multitudes who were hereafter to watch her every movement, and to the often wearisome as well as exciting details of public life. Her position at this period was both delicate and critical. King William had no great liking for his sister-in-law, and took deep offence at the wise restraint and 'rigorous seclusion' under which the Princess was brought up. On one occasion, with a flagrant violation of good manners and good feeling, he expressed at his own table, in no measured terms, his displeasure that she was so rarely brought to the Court. There can be no doubt, however, that the Duchess of Kent

acted wisely in keeping her daughter at a distance from the frivolous amusements and dissipations of fashionable society, and training her in her retirement for the duties of the responsible position she was afterwards to occupy.

One striking result of the accession of the young queen was the severing of the connection between Great Britain and Hanover, which had existed during 123 years. As the throne of the Hanoverian kingdom was restricted to males, the succession fell to the queen's uncle, Ernest Duke of Cumberland. The separation attracted little notice and was regarded with satisfaction, both because it relieved the kingdom from an annoying and troublesome connection with Continental politics, and especially because it delivered the country from the presence of the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness was possessed of more energy than any of the other sons of George III.; but his profligate character, rude and overbearing manners, brutal behaviour, and incessant intrigues and intermeddling with public affairs to promote extreme Tory interests, had made him universally detested. Mr. Greville says the Duke of Wellington told him that he once asked George IV. why the Duke of Cumberland was so unpopular. 'Because,' replied the king, 'there never was a father well with his son, or husband with his wife, or lover with his mistress, or friend with his friend, that he did not try to make mischief between them.' One husband, whose wife the Duke seduced, was driven by grief and shame to commit suicide; the Duke's valet was found killed in his apartments in St. James' Palace, not without strong suspicions that he had died by his master's hand. The Duke was believed to have at one time meditated treasonable designs on the throne; and as nothing but the life of a young girl stood between him and the object of his ambition, great apprehensions were entertained that the succession might devolve on him—an event which, if it had taken place, would inevitably have been

followed by a revolution. It was therefore with intense satisfaction that the public beheld his departure from England. His conduct, on taking possession of the throne of Hanover, was quite in keeping with his life-long character. He immediately abolished the Constitution, with its representative institutions, which King William had conferred upon his Hanoverian subjects in 1830, and subjected them once more to the absolute sway of an arbitrary sovereign. Seven of the most distinguished professors of the University of Göttingen were dismissed from their offices, because they signed a protest declaring that they would take no part in the ensuing election on account of the suspension of the constitution; and three of their number—Jacob Grimm, one of the greatest linguists of modern times, Gervinus, the celebrated historian and critic, and Dahlmann, Professor of Political Science—were not only deprived of their professorships, but banished the kingdom. So strong was the feeling which the Duke's imperious conduct excited in Great Britain, that a Bill was proposed to set aside his claim to the throne of Queen Victoria, and to vest the succession in Prince George of Cambridge. Fortunately the marriage of the queen and the birth of her children soon dispelled the apprehensions of the people, that the obnoxious petty potentate of Hanover would ever ascend the British throne.*

* The arbitrary conduct of King Ernest caused great uneasiness among the princes of the minor States in Germany; and Baden, Bavaria, and Saxony protested against the abrogation of the Hanoverian Constitution as a violation of the federal Act of the Germanic League. The English Tories of the extreme class were greatly annoyed by the conduct of the king, who had been their leader, as bringing discredit on themselves. 'For God's sake,' wrote Lord Londonderry to the Duke of Buckingham, 'don't send me any more of King Ernest's confidential secrets; I have them all, and such lots of his difficult writing, as if I were to be his *Charge d'Affaires* here. But this I will not be. . . . It is as well that our friend the King of Hanover is out of the country, for it diminishes the possibility of an ultra party. The precipitancy with which he has acted has been unfortunate.' The Duke, on succeeding to the throne of Hanover, very characteristically refused to give up either the £21,000 a year which had been granted to him by the British Parliament, or the apartments in St. James' Palace which had been granted to him by the Crown.

As a dissolution of Parliament could not be long delayed the Ministry wisely resolved to wind up the business of the session as rapidly as possible, and to postpone to another Parliament the Bills respecting tithes, poor laws, and municipal corporations in Ireland, the English clergy pluralities Bill, and the Bill for the promotion of religious instruction in Scotland. The members both of the Government and the Legislature were anxious that the session should be brought to a close, in order that they might be freed from the difficulties which had arisen through the conflicting policy adopted by the two Houses. The budget was therefore introduced and passed; and some other necessary business having been transacted, the Parliament was formally prorogued by the queen on the 17th of July. She was received with great enthusiasm, and her appearance on this occasion contributed not a little to deepen the favourable im-

pression which her behaviour had already produced. The wise and liberal words of the speech, which she pronounced in clear, unfaltering, and well-modulated tones, were indicative of the spirit that has distinguished her whole reign. 'I ascend the throne,' she said, 'with a deep sense of the responsibility which is imposed upon me; but I am supported by the consciousness of my own right intentions, and by my dependence on the protection of Almighty God. It will be my care to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement, wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord. Acting upon these principles, I shall upon all occasions look with confidence to the wisdom of Parliament and the affections of my people, which form the true support of the dignity of the Crown, and insure the stability of the constitution.'

CHAPTER XIII.

Condition of France at this period—Louis Philippe's system of Government—His successive Ministries—Insurrections among the workmen in the chief towns—Trial of the Insurgents—Punishments inflicted on them—Death of Lafayette—Prosecutions of the Press—Fieschi's Infernal Machine—The Laws of September—Renewed prosecutions of the Press—Attempts on Louis Philippe's life by Alebaud and Meunier—Champion's Infernal Machine—Death of Charles X.—Release of his Ministers—Louis Napoleon's early career—His abortive attempt on the Crown at Strasburg—Bryant's Plot—Misunderstandings of France with America and Switzerland—Algeria—Abd-el-Kader—Disasters of the French forces in Algeria—Unsuccessful Expedition against Constantine—Treaty with Abd-el-Kader—Renewed and Successful Expedition against Constantine—Louis Philippe's demands for grants of Money to his children—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans—Death of Talleyrand—Insincere Policy of Louis Philippe towards Spain—Shocking cruelties of the Christinos and the Carlists—The British Legion—Raid of Gomez—Investment of Bilbao—The Siege raised—Treatment of the British Legion by the Spanish Government—Opposition in Parliament to its continuance—Its Dissolution—Termination of the Civil War in Spain—Don Carlos' Renunciation of his Claims—State of Portugal—The Queen's second Husband—Resignation of the Ministry—Military Revolution—Bad Conduct of the new Government—Attempt at a counter Revolution—Birth of an Heir to the Throne.

THE affairs of France at this period were in a much more unsatisfactory state than those of Great Britain; but the contest there was not so much between rival parties as between the king and the people. As soon as he ascended the throne, Louis Philippe set himself to govern as well as to reign; and whenever any of his numerous Ministries attempted to exercise authority, as well as to hold office, the king contrived by cunning and courtly arts to sow dissension in their ranks and to dissolve the Administration. He had no fewer than six different Ministries in as many years. The Duke de Broglie, Thiers, Guizot, Soult, Molé, and other leading politicians, all in turn were displaced whenever they presumed to thwart the royal will, or to call in question the 'personal system,' on which Louis Philippe so much prided himself. Bills for suppressing political societies, restricting the liberty of the press, and forbidding under heavy penalties hawkers to cry and sell newspapers in the streets without a license from the police, were followed by insurrectionary riots, in 1834, among the workmen at Lyons, St. Etienne, Grenoble, Vienne, Marseilles, and other towns, which ultimately extended to Paris; but they were all suppressed, though not without considerable bloodshed. These sanguinary outbreaks afforded the Government an excuse for severe repressive

measures, which had the effect of still further alienating the middle classes from the monarchy. They had cordially supported the King and his Ministers while the public safety was in peril. When the crisis was over, however, they expected a more clement and liberal policy, but were disappointed. Louis Philippe was determined to bring to trial several hundreds of persons who were accused of participation in the riots at Lyons and elsewhere, or of holding republican opinions. The Ministry, under Marshal Gérard, were strongly opposed to this unwise and dangerous policy, and wished an amnesty to be granted; but the king was bent on carrying out his own views, and his Cabinet in consequence resigned. A new Ministry was formed under Maret, the Duke of Bassano, who had long been Napoleon's private secretary; but it lasted only three days, in consequence of the unwillingness of its members to carry out the king's wishes. For three weeks France was without a Government. In the end the king, as usual, carried his point; and the old Ministers consented to resume office under Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso.

As juries had shown an unwillingness to convict political offenders, it was resolved that the Chamber of Peers should be appointed to conduct the 'monster trial,' as it was termed at the time, which the king

had doggedly insisted should be carried into effect. After examining the cases of about 1000 prisoners, the ministers selected 164 for trial on the charge of participation in the insurrections at Lyons and Paris, or of being members of the Society of the Rights of Man. Every succeeding step of the proceedings involved the Government in fresh troubles; but they were compelled by their imperious master to go on against their own judgment, and in the midst of unequivocal indications of public disapprobation. First of all, a quarrel took place with the bar about the mode in which the prisoners should be defended. Then the prisoners themselves declined to accept the counsel appointed by the court to conduct their defence. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, or to hear the indictment, drowning by their shouts and screams the voice of the public prosecutor. One of the accused, in protesting against the trial, denounced Louis Philippe as a tyrant, and was on the spot condemned to five years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, with the loss of civil rights during that period. After a time they would not come to the bar, would not even leave their beds, would not rise from the floor of their cells, on which one of them lay without any clothing whatever, declaring that the municipal guards might take him in that state if they liked before the Court of Peers. Of the Lyons prisoners, fifty-eight in number, the case was abandoned against six, nine were acquitted, and the rest were condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from three years to imprisonment for life.

The Paris prisoners, forty-four in number, comprising the most active and dangerous members of the Republican party, broke a hole in the wall of a cellar, through which they obtained access to a neighbouring garden and made their escape. Only thirteen were stopped or retaken. Twenty-eight of the fugitives published a letter stating that, as the Peers had thought fit to defer their trial

for another year, they preferred spending the recess in the country or in Belgium; but they threatened to return in the following session, and compel the Peers to try them. The Opposition journals asserted, what many believed, that the escape of these prisoners was connived at in order to get rid of an investigation which had brought great scandal on the Government, and had involved the Peers in no end of trouble and perplexity.

The Republican party were at this time quite in the shade, and were further depressed by the death of Lafayette, on the 20th of May, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. The high reputation attained by the venerable patriot was due, not to any great intellectual powers, but to his sterling virtues. He was a thoroughly honest man, and courageously resisted both the tyranny of the monarch and the anarchy of the mob. He was an ardent supporter of the reforms for which all France was crying out before the Revolution; and when the sanguinary outbreak of the Parisian rabble imperiled the lives of the royal family, Lafayette stood forth their protector, mastered the mob, and saved the king and queen from their brutal fury. At a later period he had the courage to protest, at the risk of his life, against the wrong-doing of the Convention, to remonstrate with the National Assembly for permitting the violence of the Clubs, and to brave the denunciation of Robespierre at the Jacobin Club, and of Collet d'Herbois at the Assembly. On his escape from their vengeance he had to endure five years imprisonment in a loathsome dungeon at Olmutz, to the shame of the Austrian Government. At the second French Revolution he declined the presidentship of the Republic in France, in order to put the crown on the head of Louis Philippe. In reply to the cries of 'Vive la Republique,' he pointed to the Duke of Orleans and said, 'Behold the best of Republics.' The American Congress voted him, in 1824, an estate in Virginia, and a grant of 200,000

dollars for his services as the friend and fellow-soldier of Washington in the War of Independence. Charles X., widely as he differed from Lafayette's opinions, gave credit to the Republican general for his sterling integrity and consistency. 'I know but two men,' he said, 'who have always professed the same principles; they are myself and M. Lafayette.' The excesses of the Parisian mob, and the restrictive measures to which they led, embittered the last days of the simple-minded and honest old friend of liberty and order. His last speech in the Chamber was on behalf of political refugees; and the last lines he wrote related to the emancipation of the negroes. 'Lafayette,' it has been said, 'was too honest a man to leave the keys in the locks, even in politics.'

As might have been expected, the regal system of government was fiercely assailed by the Republican journalists, who pleaded that as Louis Philippe had merged the royal in the ministerial functions, they were quite as much entitled to criticise and comment upon his actions as upon those of his Ministers. But the king, naturally, could not be brought to view the matter in this light, and commenced a crusade against the press, which was carried on with unrelenting severity throughout the rest of his reign. During the first three years of his rule the number of prosecutions of the press undertaken by the Government amounted to 411; but in only 143 cases did the public prosecutor obtain a conviction.

The repressive proceedings of the King and his Ministers goaded the more violent and reckless partisans of the Republican party to further excesses. They persuaded themselves that Louis Philippe was the main obstacle to the establishment of a form of government in accordance with their own views, and they in consequence proceeded to frame incessant plots against his life. During the whole month of July, 1835, Paris was in a state of excitement in consequence of rumours as to murderous conspiracies against the king. A plot was

said to have been hatched against his life at Neuilly, by which he was to be shot on his way from the Tuileries to the country. The police received information of another plot to cause an explosion of an infernal machine from a subterraneous *fosse* on the Boulevards as Louis Philippe was passing, but though a number of persons were apprehended, no evidence was obtained to lead to a belief that any actual danger existed. On the 28th of July, however, in the midst of the celebration of the annual festival held in honour of 'the Three Days of July, 1830,' the king was riding along the Boulevard du Temple, accompanied by his sons, by several of his ministers and military officers, and a numerous and brilliant staff, when an explosion took place like a discharge of musketry from the window of an adjoining house. The street was thronged at the time, and a considerable number of the unsuspecting crowd were killed or wounded—among others the aged Marshal Mortier, General de Verigny, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Maison, Colonel Ruffe, Captain Vilatte, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the National Guard, and several men of the same force, were shot dead upon the spot. Fourteen in all were killed, among whom was a young girl, and between forty and fifty were severely wounded; but Louis Philippe himself, the object of this indiscriminate slaughter, though his horse was wounded, escaped unhurt, probably through the brief period required by the assassin for withdrawing the Persian window-blind which concealed his gun-barrels from view.

The house from which the shots had been fired was instantly surrounded, and entered by the police and an armed force. They seized one man, who proved to be the chief perpetrator of this horrid deed, as he was in the act of letting himself down by a rope from a back window of the apartment. The machine which had been fired with such fatal effect was found to consist of between twenty and thirty gun barrels, ranged horizontally side by side upon a

frame. Each barrel was loaded with several bullets and a heavy charge of powder, and the touch-holes were connected by a train of gunpowder so that they could be discharged simultaneously. Five of the barrels had burst and wounded the assassin in the head so severely that his escape was delayed till he was caught.

The perpetrator of this shocking deed was a Corsican named Fieschi, who appears to have led a varied and disreputable course of life. He had been at one time a vagabond soldier in the army of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, had stood in the pillory for fraud and forgery, had suffered two years' imprisonment for theft, had swindled his landlord, and had lastly been a police spy employed in watching the proceedings of political societies. Other three persons who had been complicated in the plot—Boireau, a worker in bronze; Morey, a harness-maker; and an individual of the name of Pepin—were arrested by the police, and brought to trial along with Fieschi before the Chamber of Peers, 30th January, 1836. They were all found guilty. Fieschi, Morey, and Pepin were condemned to death, and were executed on the 19th of February. Boireau was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. But the most careful investigation failed to discover the slightest connection between Fieschi's plot and any political party or conspiracy against the Government.

The atrocious attempt of Fieschi and his accomplices excited a universal expression of indignation and abhorrence throughout France; but the Ministry very unwisely took advantage of the alarm which the plot against the life of the king had excited, to ask for exceptional laws in order to strengthen their own authority. The notorious 'laws of September,' as they were termed, were the result of this demand. On the 4th of August three different bills were laid before the Chamber of Deputies by M. Persil, the Minister of Justice. By the first of these measures every offence against the person of the

king was declared to be an attempt against the safety of the State, and was in consequence to be tried before the Chamber of Peers instead of a jury. Every attempt to turn into ridicule the person and authority of the king, or to introduce the name of the king either directly or by allusion in a discussion of the acts of the Government, or to endeavour to effect a change in the principle and the form of the king's government, was to be punished with imprisonment and a heavy fine. The expression of Republican opinions rendered a person liable to imprisonment for a period varying from six months to five years, and to a fine varying from 500 to 10,000 francs. The expression of an opinion that the exiled royal family had a right to the throne of France rendered the Legitimist liable to perpetual exile; and the expression of a wish or hope for their restoration was to be punished with imprisonment and a large fine.

The full measure of royal and ministerial severity was reserved for the press, whose daily discussions, it was asserted, tended to destroy all respect for established institutions, for the kingly office, or the royal person. The existing laws for the regulation of the press were declared to be still in force. In the event of two condemnations in one year, the penalties might be augmented to four times the maximum. Should the responsible editor of a journal be found guilty of an offence against the law, its publication was to cease unless it appeared with the name of a new editor. The amount of the security or caution money was raised to 100,000 francs—upwards of £4000 of our money. It was forbidden to raise subscriptions in favour of journals condemned by the tribunals, and a strict censorship was instituted over drawings, engravings, and theatrical pieces. In trial by jury the number necessary to obtain a verdict of guilty was reduced from two-thirds to a bare majority, and the votes were to be given by ballot. The president was authorized to remove prisoners who disturbed the court, and to come to a

decision on documentary evidence in the absence of the accused. The French press was thus brought into a state of as complete servitude, as it would have been if Charles X. had been able to carry out his unconstitutional ordinances. The laws of September put an end to about thirty demagogue Legitimist journals; but they at the same time excited bitter animosity against the *Doctrinaire* ministers, especially against Thiers and Guizot, who, it was justly said, within a few years had lived, moved, and had their being in that press which they now treated with such Draconian severity.

These coercive measures, moreover, did not contribute to the comfort or security of the Citizen King himself, whose removal was regarded by the Red Republicans as the shortest and surest way of getting rid of their galling fetters. There seemed, in fact, to be no end to the attacks upon Louis Philippe's life. Hardly had one plot to assassinate him been defeated than another was brought to light. As a stanch old English Tory said, 'The King of the Barricades found himself under the painful necessity of proving that he was also King of the Prisons.'

The next attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe was made on the 25th of June, 1836, by a young man named Alibaud, a worthless profligate, who had served some time in the army as a *sous-officier*, and was in great distress. As His Majesty was leaving the Tuileries the assassin came up to the carriage door, and rested his weapon—a walking-stick gun—on the window while he fired. The king escaped in consequence of his happening to bow at the moment to some National Guards at the other window. His wife and sister, the Princess Adelaide, were in the carriage at the time, but neither of the two was hurt. Alibaud, who, it was found, had no accomplices, was tried before the Court of Peers on the 8th of July. On being asked by the President how long he had entertained his criminal project, he answered

—'From the time the king has placed Paris in a state of siege, and wished not to reign but to govern—since the time that His Majesty has caused citizens to be massacred on the streets of Lyons and the *Cloître St. Mery*.' He was condemned to die the death of a parricide, and was executed on the 11th of July.

Before the year closed (December 27th) the French king had another narrow escape. As he was proceeding in state from the Tuileries to open the session of the Chambers for the following year, and the royal carriage was making its way slowly through the snow, a shot was fired by a young man named Meunier, at the king's head, through one of the windows which was shut. His Majesty was untouched, but the Duke of Orleans, who sat beside him, was cut on the ear by the broken glass. 'I know not,' said the king, 'how I escaped, as at the moment I had my head very much advanced towards the door of the carriage. Nemours, who was also leaning forward, had his head against the glass.' The sentence of death pronounced upon Meunier was commuted by the king into transportation. Within two months, in February, 1837, the police discovered that a journeyman locksmith, named Champion, was engaged, with the assistance of some accomplices, in the construction of another infernal machine, which was to have been directed against the life of the king. He was arrested, but on the same day he strangled himself in prison. A few months after, a third infernal machine was discovered in the course of construction. It was to consist of 'sixteen gun-barrels in two rows of eight each,' and its success was confidently reckoned on. The principal conspirator was a person of the name of Hubert, who had for his accomplices a Swiss mechanic, named Steuble, and a certain Mademoiselle Grouville, who had been mixed up with previous conspiracies. Hubert was condemned to transportation; Mademoiselle Grouville and Stenble to five years' imprisonment. The former lost her

reason during her detention in prison, and Steuble committed suicide.

While the successor of the old dynasty was thus feeling how 'uneasy lies the head that wears a crown,' its representative, Charles X., passed away at Gortz in Illyria, on the 6th of November, a few weeks after completing the seventy-ninth year of his age. The aged monarch had borne his misfortunes with great dignity and equanimity, and died in the firm belief that he had fulfilled an important duty. He was perfectly honest and sincere in the conviction, that the arbitrary measures which lost him his throne were necessary for the safety of the State; but his notions of the royal prerogative and authority were suited to the sixteenth rather than the nineteenth century. A month before the death of Charles X., his ministers, who had spent six years in prison at Ham, were set at liberty. Three of them were directed to reside, on their parole, on their own estates; but the sentence pronounced upon Prince Polignac was commuted into banishment from France for twenty years. Sixty-two political offenders were also discharged, by a royal ordinance, from further punishment; but were still placed under the surveillance of the police. It was supposed that the king had at length become aware that his prosecutions of political offenders and of the press were alienating the affections of his subjects, and shaking the stability of his throne. But the steps taken at this time against a Parisian journal, called *La France*, showed that Louis Philippe's fear and hatred of the press were in no degree abated. The editor of that journal was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 300 francs, for the offence of styling the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême King and Queen of France and Navarre.

Military insurrections now alternated with attempts at assassination in disturbing the tranquillity of France and endangering Louis Philippe's throne. The

representative of the Bonaparte family at this time was Charles Louis Napoleon, younger son of Louis, king of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of Josephine, Napoleon's first wife. After the Revolution of 1830, the exiled Bonaparte family made application for permission to return to France; but Louis Philippe peremptorily refused his consent. The two sons of Louis on this joined the Italian insurgents in their attempt to free their country from the yoke of their petty tyrants; but while taking an active part in the insurrection Napoleon Louis, the elder of the two brothers, suddenly died at Forli. Austrian intervention, as we have seen, speedily crushed the Italian movement; and Louis Napoleon in the company of his mother fled from Italy, and though still under prescription the two made their way to Paris. Louis Philippe, however, persisted in his refusal to allow the exiles to settle in France; and they proceeded first to London, and afterwards to Switzerland, where Louis-Napoleon had at a previous period received a military training as an artillery officer in the Federal army.

The Emperor Napoleon had settled the succession to the throne of France, after his own son, on the sons of his brother Louis; and the death of the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II. as he was called), 22nd July, 1832, left Louis Napoleon the only surviving representative of the Bonapartist interest. He was personally little known in France; and he now began to call attention to his claims by the publication of several treatises, political and military. The object of his political disquisitions was not only to extend his own reputation, but at the same time to effect a coalition between the Bonapartists and the Republicans, who were deeply dissatisfied with Louis Philippe's policy. His treatise, entitled 'Political Reveries,' was warmly eulogized by the democratic press of Paris; and misled by their commendations, and by the support promised

him by some officers of the garrison of Strasbourg, he resolved to make an attempt to overthrow the reigning dynasty. He had gained over to his cause at Baden Colonel Vaudrey, who commanded the 4th Regiment of Artillery; and on the 28th of October, 1836, he arrived secretly at Strasbourg, where the commandant, Parquin, awaited him. At five o'clock, on the morning of the 30th, Colonel Vaudrey presented Louis Napoleon to his regiment, dressed in a uniform resembling that which his uncle used to wear, adorned with decorations and the *cordon rouge*, and informed them that a revolution had taken place at Paris, that Louis Philippe had been killed, and that Napoleon II., the descendant of the 'great man,' whom he now presented to them, had been proclaimed. The soldiers received the Prince with loud acclamations of 'Vive l'Empereur.' One body of them went in marching order to the residence of General Voirol, who, however, refused to join the movement, and was in consequence made prisoner. But he succeeded in convincing the mutineers that they had been imposed on, and they set him at liberty. In the meantime Louis Napoleon and Colonel Vaudrey had proceeded to the barrack of the 46th Regiment, and were haranguing the soldiers, when their colonel, who had received notice of what was going on, appeared upon the scene and ordered the gates to be closed. The whole party of conspirators were immediately arrested and thrown into prison. Louis Napoleon was transmitted to Paris on the 9th of November; but the Cabinet had previously resolved that he should not be tried, feeling that it would be hazardous to bring him before the Chamber of Peers, which contained among its members a great number of old servants of the Empire. He was allowed to remain only two hours in Paris; and on the 21st of November he was placed on board a French ship of war, and conveyed to the United States, which, however, he soon left.

Louis Napoleon without bringing him to trial, indicted his accomplices at the bar of the Court of Assize at Strasbourg. They were all acquitted, however, the jury considering that they could not with propriety bring in a verdict of guilty against the agents and instruments while the principal was allowed to go unpunished and untried. The result of the trial was felt as a severe blow, both by the king and his ministers. On the very same day on which the attempt was made at Strasbourg to establish an empire by the aid of the soldiers, a military conspiracy to set up a Republic was discovered at Vendôme. The leader was a sub-officer of a hussar regiment stationed there, of the name of Bruyant; but the number of his accomplices did not exceed nine or ten. The plot was suppressed without difficulty. Bruyant and one of his comrades were condemned to death, and other two to five years' imprisonment.

These internal disturbances were aggravated by the mode in which the French king and his ministers acted in their transactions with other countries. They narrowly escaped a war with America, in consequence of their delay in paying a sum of money, which they admitted to be due to that country, as compensation for the losses which American citizens had unjustly suffered at the hands of the Emperor Napoleon, and they had to retreat in a humiliating manner from the position which they had taken up after recalling the French ambassador from Washington. There was a misunderstanding with Switzerland, threatening a serious collision in connection with the alleged employment of a French spy of the name of Conseil. The king had virtually withdrawn, in a rather discreditable manner, from the engagement which he had made with the British Government to support the claims of Queen Isabella of Spain; and, to crown all, Algeria had been found to be a perpetual and a growing trouble, both expensive and unprofitable, incurring 'painful losses,' which had 'deeply

The Government, after expatriating

afflicted' the king's heart and irritated the French people.

Louis Philippe had found the Algerian conquest a source of embarrassment to him throughout. He was well aware that to hold it definitely might endanger the peace of Europe, while to relinquish it might peril his own throne, as public opinion in France was in favour of retaining and extending the Algerian conquest at all hazards. Hence the passive attitude enjoined for several years on the French commanders in Africa; hence, also, the subsequent change of measures and final conquest of Algeria. Marshal Clausel, notwithstanding his instructions to remain on the defensive, deemed it necessary to undertake active measures against the Bey of Tartary, whom he defeated and deposed. This change of policy on the part of the French invaders excited the determined hostility of the native tribes. An extensive confederation was formed, headed by the celebrated Abd-el-Kader, and a holy war was proclaimed against the infidels. Alternate successes and defeats were incurred by the French troops; and though the country was laid waste, and considerable losses suffered by the native tribes, the French had as yet made little progress in subduing them, and had received no adequate return from their lavish expenditure of blood and treasure. They at length considered it expedient to offer conditions of peace to the Emir, and a treaty was accordingly concluded with him by General Desmichelo, Governor of Oran. One of the conditions of the treaty was that Abd-el-Kader was to enjoy a monopoly of the trade with the French in corn; but the home Government were so dissatisfied with the arrangement that they removed the general from his post.

For some time after the conclusion of this treaty the colony continued in a state of great tranquillity, and was making considerable improvement. But the French became jealous of the power of the Emir, and on the pretence that he had been encroaching

on their territory, General Trizel, the new Governor of Oran, was sent out against him with a considerable force. The two armies encountered on the 25th of June, 1835, at the river Macta, and the French were routed with great slaughter. The news of this defeat created an immense sensation in Paris, and compelled the Government to send out Marshal Clausel to act with earnestness and vigour against the victorious Emir. Clausel reached Algeria in August, 1835, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, and on the 26th of November following he set out at the head of 11,000 men to attack Mascara, the capital of Abd-el-Kader. He reached that place on the 6th of December, but finding the town totally deserted, he destroyed it, and then returned to Algiers, apparently in the belief that he had completely subdued the troublesome Arab chief. Abd-el-Kader, however, soon showed that he was as formidable as ever, and attacked and routed at Tafna a detachment of 3000 men under General d'Arlanges. Having taken possession of Tlemecen, a town in the south-west of Oran, Marshal Clausel found it necessary to dislodge him from this position, which was in dangerous proximity to the French establishments in that quarter. After traversing a large extent of country, with a great loss both of men and horses and camels, the French general succeeded in reaching the town, which Abd-el-Kader, in accordance with his usual policy, evacuated on his approach. He was obliged speedily to retrace his steps without achieving any permanent result. The Emir hung on his rear throughout his retreat, harassing his troops in their march, and shortly afterwards inflicted a signal defeat on a large French convoy intended for Tlemecen.

To crown the disasters which wounded the vanity of the French people, and added to the dangers and perplexities of their sovereign, an expedition which Marshal Clausel at this time undertook against Constantine, the capital of Bona, proved a disastrous failure. Achmet Bey, the ruler

of that province, had long been a thorn in the side of the French commanders in Algeria, and though he had suffered repeated reverses in an encounter with their forces, he was as far as ever from being conquered and quieted. It was therefore resolved to undertake an expedition on an extensive scale against his capital, Constantine, the ancient Roman Cista. The most ample preparations were made in order to insure its success, and the Duke of Nemours, one of the king's sons, was sent to share in the certain dangers and expected glories of the campaign, as his elder brother had done in the expedition against Mascara.

There was a good deal of rugged country to be passed by the expedition, and a number of mountain torrents to be crossed, which run through deep and rocky channels. Their route lay through the celebrated Col de Raz el Akba, or the 'Cut Throat Pass,' which the Arabs thought it impossible for the French to pass with their cannon, ammunition, and stores, and probably for this reason did not attempt to defend it. The troops succeeded, however, in passing the Col without loss, but on reaching the elevated region, within two days' march of Constantine, rain, snow, and hail fell so heavily and incessantly that they were exposed, as Clausel himself said, to all the rigours of a St. Petersburg winter. In crossing the river Mezrouh, which had overflowed its banks, the infantry were up to the waist in water, and a number of draught horses were drowned in the passage. The cold had now become intense; no fuel was to be obtained; not a few of the men had their feet frozen during the night, and many perished. At length, after a most fatiguing march, the French troops, 9000 in number, reached, on the 21st of November, the high table-land on which the town stands. Constantine stands on an insulated eminence, protected on the one side by a wide and very deep ravine, at the bottom of which runs the river Rummel, presenting a scarp and counterscarp of per-

pendicular rock that can neither be mined nor bombarded. On the other side the river Hummel defends it like a fosse. As it was found utterly impracticable to bring forward the heavy artillery, which had stuck fast in the mud, the French general resolved to make an attempt to carry the town by storm, though only 3000 men remained fit for duty; but the repeated attacks of the besiegers were repulsed with heavy loss by the garrison. The marshal was therefore compelled to relinquish the enterprise, and to make the best of his way back to Bona. During their retreat the invaders were harassed night and day by their ever-active enemy. Horses were wanting to draw the artillery and ammunition and baggage waggons, and to convey the wounded and the sick, who had to be left behind, and, it is alleged, were massacred by the Arabs. Clausel ultimately succeeded in reaching his old headquarters with the mere skeleton of the numerous and well-equipped army with which he had started on his disastrous enterprise. His failure occasioned his recall from his Government, and he returned to France not only with tarnished reputation as a general, but labouring under heavy charges of extortion and plunder.

Meanwhile General Bugeaud, who had been sent out with instructions to bring about the submission of Abd-el-Kader either by force or by pacific measures, had gained a victory over him at the Pass of Sikak, on the 6th of July, 1836. But the French general neglected to follow up his advantage, and in a brief space the Emir recovered his losses, and was once more in the field at the head of a powerful force. In these circumstances the French Government deemed it expedient to conclude a treaty with their indefatigable enemy on terms very advantageous to the Arab chief. He was allowed to retain possession of the territory that was already under his authority, and was to have liberty to purchase from the French such military stores as he required.

On the other hand, he became bound to relinquish all authority over such Arabs as might live within the French boundary; to acknowledge the sovereignty of France; and to deliver for the use of the French troops a stipulated quantity of provisions. Criminals were reciprocally to be delivered up.

The disastrous failure of the attempt on Constantine was felt to be so humiliating and injurious to the French military reputation that the Ministry considered it necessary to fit out a new expedition in order to wipe off the reproach which Clausel's misadventure had brought upon their arms. General Damremont, who had been appointed Clausel's successor in the government of the colony, was accordingly instructed to make all requisite preparations for a new attack on Achmet Bey's capital. The force destined for the expedition consisted of 9500 infantry and 1100 cavalry, with artillerymen and sappers and miners, exclusive of irregular native troops. They were accompanied also by a powerful train of artillery, including heavy guns for the siege. The whole force amounted to 13,000 men. The invaders commenced their march on the 1st of October, 1837, and reached the vicinity of the town on the 6th, in the midst of a heavy and tempestuous rain. The difficulties they had to encounter in forming their batteries and bringing their guns to bear on the town, while the storm continued to rage with undiminished violence, were almost insurmountable; and at one time it appeared highly probable that they would be compelled to abandon the siege. But, though constantly harassed by the enemy, they at last succeeded in completing their breaching batteries. On the 12th, General Damremont was killed by a cannon-shot from the town while standing beside the Duke of Orleans; and almost at the same moment a musket ball struck General Perregeaux, the chief of the staff, between the eyes. The command then devolved upon General Vallée, an old soldier of the Empire. Next day the breach was declared

practicable, though very difficult. The storming party advanced in three columns, commanded by the Duke of Orleans; and after a prolonged and desperate struggle they succeeded at last in effecting a lodgment within the ramparts. The garrison contested every inch of the ground with indomitable courage, and yielded step by step. Every street, and almost every house, was obstinately defended. The carnage was dreadful, and the victors sullied their conquest by acts of shocking violence and cruelty. Leaving a garrison of 2500 men, with six months' provisions, to hold the town so dearly purchased, General Vallée returned without interruption to Bona, and was rewarded for his success with the dignity of a Marshal of France.

While the French people at home were loudly complaining of the mismanagement of affairs in Algeria, and of the large and unprofitable expenditure incurred by the settlement there, the unpopularity of the king was increased by the demands which he now made, during a period of grievous agricultural and commercial distress, for liberal grants from the Chambers to make a provision for several of his children. On the 18th of April M. Molé, the Prime Minister, announced that a marriage had been arranged between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and an addition was asked to the prince's income. The Chambers agreed to double the allowance of the prince, which had hitherto been £40,000 a year. They at the same time fixed the jointure of the bride at £12,000, and made her a present of £40,000 for the expense of her outfit. The king had besides asked Rambouillet as an appanage for the Duke de Nemours; but this request was so violently opposed that, much to the mortification of the Government, it had to be withdrawn. A million of francs was also demanded as a marriage portion for the king's eldest daughter, who was married to the King of the Belgians. It was granted, after a great deal of angry discussion as to the

impropriety of endowing from the public purse the daughter of a sovereign who, in addition to the property of the Crown, possessed the large estates of the house of Orleans, and one of whose sons had inherited the great wealth of the house of Condé. The marriage of the heir to the throne took place at Fontainebleau on the 30th of May, and the newly married couple entered Paris on the 4th of June. An immense concourse of people had assembled in the Champ de Mars, to witness a sham fight which took place in honour of the occasion. A sudden panic seized the crowd, who rushed pell-mell towards the outlets; great numbers were thrown down and trampled under foot. Thirty persons lost their lives, and many more were seriously wounded. This deplorable incident made a deep impression on the public mind; and the Parisians, calling to recollection that a fearful catastrophe had occurred also at the marriage of Louis XVI., when Dauphin, to Marie Antoinette, and of Napoleon to Marie Louise, regarded this accident as of evil omen to the prince and his bride, which in no long time was sadly fulfilled.

On the 17th of May, 1838, passed away Prince Talleyrand, the most celebrated diplomatist of his day, at the age of eighty-four. Though unpromising at the outset, his long career was singularly varied, influential, and successful. He was noble by birth; but on account of his lameness, the result of an accident, he was deprived of his birthright and forced into the church, much against his own inclination. He renounced both his profession and his religious faith, became a disciple of Voltaire and a Republican, a politician, a Minister of State, and an ambassador; was excommunicated by the Pope; denounced as a Royalist during the Reign of Terror, and regarded as a Jacobin by the British Ministry, who ordered him at once to leave England, in which he had taken refuge. He was the chief minister of Napoleon, whom he

served with diligence and fidelity, and had even the courage to tell him unpalatable truths, and to warn him of the dangers in which his insatiable ambition and unscrupulous conduct were involving him. Talleyrand's denunciation of the Spanish expedition lost him the favour of the Emperor; and as early as 1812 he predicted the downfall of the Empire. The restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France was mainly owing to his advice and influence. 'There is no other alternative,' he said, 'but Napoleon or Louis XVIII.' And it was he who recommended that the crown should be tendered to Louis Philippe on the expulsion of the elder dynasty in 1830. He was appointed the representative of the new king at the British court, and strove earnestly to preserve friendly relations between France and Great Britain. It was chiefly due to his exertions that the intrigues both of the King and his Ministers for the annexation of Belgium were defeated, and the independence of that country was secured. Talleyrand, with all his great ability, was not a person of any fixed principle, either sacred or secular; but he had the courage to follow steadily the policy which he considered best fitted to promote the interests of his country. His remarkable sagacity, exquisite tact, adroitness, dexterity, insinuating manners, knowledge of the world, and ready wit were freely acknowledged by all parties—friends or foes. Carlyle terms him 'a man living in falsehood, yet not what you can call a false man: there is the specialty. It will be an enigma for future ages, one may hope.' Lord Jeffrey, who met him at Holland House in 1832, thus wrote of him:—'He is more natural, plain, and reasonable than I had expected; a great deal of the repose of high breeding and old age, with a mild and benevolent manner, and great calmness of language, rather than the sharp, caustic, cutting speech of a practical utterer of *bon-mots*.' Talleyrand died as he had lived; and almost at his last

hour exhibited his adroitness in flatttery. At eight o'clock, on the 17th of May, the king came in person to visit him. The skilful diplomatist wished to receive his royal visitor standing; but had only strength to say, 'Sire, this is the greatest honour which my house has ever received.' An hour afterwards he was no more.

While Louis Philippe, by his arbitrary and avaricious policy, was shaking the foundations of his throne, he was gradually withdrawing from the Quadruple Alliance, and showing an increasing inclination to favour the pretensions of Don Carlos. In vain Lord Palmerston warned the French Cabinet that France was putting herself into a false position respecting Spain, and at no distant time would find her mistake; and that by her persisting in backing out of the Alliance her Government would become identified, in the opinion of the nation, with the arbitrary party in Europe and with the enemies of free institutions. The French contingent which had been stationed on the Spanish frontier was withdrawn; and no attempt was made by the Government to fulfil their engagement to prevent succours of arms, men, and stores from being sent to the insurgents. The contest between the rival claimants of the Spanish crown in consequence continued undecided. The Royalists were unable to eject Don Carlos from the northern provinces; and the Carlists had not succeeded in penetrating to the capital, and expelling the young queen from the throne. The war was carried on by both parties in the brutal and sanguinary manner which had brought the deepest infamy on the combatants, and had shocked the whole civilized world. The mother of Cabrera, one of the most active of the Carlist partizans, a venerable lady seventy years of age, was at this time ordered to be put to death by the Christino general, Nogueras, in retaliation for the cruel deeds of her son. The governor of Tortosa refused to carry into effect this monstrous command. Nogueras appealed to Mina, captain-general

of Catalonia, who to his eternal disgrace enforced the order, and the old woman was actually shot in the public square of Tortosa. Mina alleged, in his defence, that she had taken part in a plot to deliver up the castle of Tortosa to the Carlists. Cabrera, in revenge, ordered all the Royalists who might fall into the hands of his troops to be put to death; and he began his reprisals by ordering the wives of four officers to be shot, declaring at the same time that at least thirty women must be executed to expiate the murder of his mother.

Though the French king had thus, in violation of his engagements, failed to co-operate with the British Government in suppressing the Carlist insurrection in Spain, Lord Palmerston persisted in carrying out the policy which he had adopted in support of the Spanish Constitutionalists. A British squadron, under Lord John Hay, was stationed on the Spanish coast, with instructions to co-operate with the Royalists in their efforts to clear the country of the Carlists; and it was mainly by its aid that the British Legion, under General Evans, defeated the Carlist army engaged in the siege of St. Sebastian, and destroyed their works (May 5th, 1836). A few weeks later the Royalists were enabled to regain possession of the small town of Passages, on the opposite side of the Urumia from St. Sebastian. But owing to the indolence and inactivity of the Spanish generals these successes led to no important result. On the other hand, the Carlists sent out expeditions into various parts of the country, and extorted large contributions from the inhabitants.

The most formidable of these raids was undertaken by Gomez, at the head of 7000 men. Starting from the neighbourhood of Orduna, on the 26th of June, he marched through Asturias into Galicia, and returned loaded with plunder. This success emboldened Gomez to undertake a still more hazardous expedition, to levy men and collect contributions in the southern provinces. In the middle of August he entered

Castile, and moved towards Aragon, spreading alarm to the gates of Madrid. Increasing his force as he proceeded, by drawing to his standard the bands of Cabrera and other partizans, he penetrated from province to province through Valencia and Murcia into the centre of Andalusia, levying heavy contributions and carrying off a mass of booty from every place he visited. The audacity of the enterprise spread consternation over the whole country from Madrid to Gibraltar, and seems for a time to have completely paralysed the Government. Several bodies of troops sent against Gomez were outmarched and outmanœuvred by him, and in several instances completely defeated. At length three separate armies were despatched to surround and cut off the daring Carlist general; but all their efforts to arrest his progress or bring him to bay proved unsuccessful. He was repeatedly placed in imminent danger, when escape seemed impossible; but partly owing to the dilatory movements and mismanagment of the Royalist generals, partly to his own activity and resolution, he always contrived to baffle their attempts, and dragged them helplessly after him. On the 21st of November he reached St. Roque, almost under the cannon of Gibraltar, where he seemed at last hopelessly shut up, with the sea in front and the three Royalist armies hastening to hem him in on the other sides. But, by a daring and masterly movement, he succeeded in breaking through the line that encompassed him, and made good his retreat to the Carlist strongholds in the north. In this most hazardous but successful expedition Gomez marched twice through the kingdom; and though encumbered with prisoners and plunder, and pursued and repeatedly surrounded by three armies, each more numerous than his own, by his vigilance and activity he completely foiled their attempts to entrap him; and though again and again placed in apparently desperate circumstances, he brought back with him nearly the whole of his troops, and by far the

greater part of the immense booty which he had collected.

Towards the close of 1836 the important town of Bilbao was again invested by the Carlists, who were eager to obtain possession of it, both because it would give dignity and an appearance of permanence to the court of Don Carlos, and because, as the capital of the Basque province, it was connected in the eyes of the Biscayans with their peculiar privileges and their local parliament. The siege was pressed with remarkable energy and ardour for sixty days. But the garrison, though weakened by sickness and want of proper food, made a vigorous defence. An attempt at storm, on the 26th of October, was repulsed, after a keen struggle, with the loss of 200 men on the part of the assailants. Subsequent assaults on several of the outworks were more successful; but, though hard pressed, the town still held out, and a second attempt at a storm proved a complete failure. At length General Espartero, having collected an army of 12,000 men well provided with artillery and ammunition, advanced to the relief of the place. With the proverbial dilatoriness of Spanish generals, his movements were so slow that it almost seemed as if Bilbao would be left to its fate. But he was at length induced, by the remonstrances of the English naval officers who had come to his assistance, to make a combined and vigorous assault (December 24th) on the lines of the besiegers, in the midst of a violent snow-storm which concealed their operations. It was attended with complete success. After a fierce struggle the Carlists gave way on all sides, and fled in the direction of Durango, leaving behind them their artillery and a considerable number of prisoners.

Great doubts had been expressed from the first by many Liberals respecting the propriety of the step taken with the approval of the Government in raising an auxiliary legion to assist the Spanish Queen in her contest for the throne. Not a few even of those who do not regard all war as unlaw-

ful, contended with great force that whoever engages in it, unless either compelled by the lawful authority of his own rulers, or induced by the claims of his country for defence against a hostile invasion, incurs the guilt of blood. But after the Spanish generals and Ministers had sanctioned putting to death their prisoners in cold blood, and the most shocking massacres had taken place at Madrid and Barcelona, which the Government had failed to prevent or to punish, while insurrection and anarchy were spreading over the whole country, although the British auxiliaries had no participation in these shocking deeds, they were bound to withdraw their aid from a contest carried on in utter violation of the rules of civilized warfare. A continuance of their co-operation with persons of this stamp would have been highly criminal. The treatment received by the officers and soldiers alike of the British Legion was, of itself, sufficient to disgust them with the service in which they had so unwisely engaged. At the outset Don Carlos formally intimated that the British auxiliaries were not entitled to the benefit of Lord Eliot's convention, and those of their number who fell into the hands of the Carlists were put to death in cold blood. They were distrusted, deceived, neglected, and starved by the Spanish Government. Want of proper food, ill-treatment, and disease carried off great numbers of the soldiers. They lost 1000 men in this way at Vittoria in the course of a few weeks, and altogether, out of a force of 9600 men who composed the Legion, upwards of 2000 perished in Spain. Ill-fed, ill-treated, and deceived as they were, they fought resolutely for the cause which they had thoughtlessly espoused. The defeat of the Christinos at Hernani would have been much more disastrous but for the steady valour of a small body of British marines, who checked the advance of the victorious Carlists, and retired to St. Sebastian in good order. A subsequent attack made by General Evans on Irun and Fontarabia was completely successful; but, as usual, he was not cordially

supported by the Spanish commanders, and it led to no beneficial or permanent result.

Shortly after the reduction of these places, the time expired for which the British Legion had volunteered its services. The Spanish Government were anxious to renew the engagement, but the General and his men had learned by bitter experience the bankrupt state of the Spanish treasury, and the worthlessness of Spanish promises. Instead of the payment of the large arrears due to them, they were put off with empty promises never intended to be fulfilled. Evans returned to England in June, 1837. A portion of his officers and soldiers remained a little longer. But a strong feeling had arisen in England against permitting British soldiers to risk their lives and shed their blood in a contest with which they had nothing to do, and this feeling was greatly strengthened by the ill success of the Legion. In the month of April, 1837, Sir Henry Hardinge brought the subject before the House of Commons, and, seconded by Sir Stratford Canning, moved an address to the king, praying His Majesty not to renew the Order in Council granting permission to British subjects to enlist in the service of the Queen of Spain. After a debate which lasted three nights, and called forth a number of able speeches on both sides of the question, the motion was rejected by 278 votes to 232. There can be little doubt, however, that the opinions expressed during the discussion by persons of great weight in the House made an impression on the minds of the Ministers, and had considerable influence in inducing them to withdraw in 1838 the Order in Council which had sanctioned the formation of the Legion; and the dissolution of that body accordingly took place.

Although the British auxiliaries withdrew from the contest, the civil war in Spain was carried on as fiercely as ever, and was conducted by both parties with the same brutality and cruelty. Lord Palmerston appealed to Austria, Russia, and Prussia to use their influence with the

Carlists to stop the massacres of their prisoners; but Don Carlos and his partisans were deaf to all appeals on the ground of humanity. Repeated inroads were made by them into the central districts of the kingdom; but these predatory expeditions produced no other effect than that of harassing and plundering the inhabitants. The Royalist generals, concentrating their forces, expelled the Carlists from the provinces into which they had penetrated. Disunion also and strife broke out among the Carlist generals, though Don Carlos himself was present in the camp, and they were compelled to retreat with their booty to their old fastness in the north. But although the main body of the insurgents was thus driven back, guerilla bands roamed over the country, and committed terrible outrages on the defenceless inhabitants in the small towns and villages, plundering and murdering them without restraint.

This shocking system of warfare gradually ceased, from the exhaustion of the Carlist forces. The cause of their chief was now visibly declining. The ablest and most successful of his generals had either fallen in battle or had incurred his displeasure, and were in disgrace, exile, or prison. On the other hand, public feeling on behalf of the young queen was steadily gathering strength. The Royalist generals, Espartero and Leon, after a succession of hard struggles, drove the Carlists out of the plains, and compelled them to take refuge among the mountains. Important towns and fortresses, one after another, submitted to the royal arms in the course of 1839, till almost the only parts of the Basque provinces which acknowledged the authority of Don Carlos were the rugged and almost inaccessible hilly regions, into which no regular army could follow his partisans. At length an armistice was agreed to between the Carlist general Maroto and Espartero, and twenty battalions of the insurgents laid down their arms. Don Carlos himself, reduced to the last extremity, fled for refuge into France, where

he formally renounced his pretensions to the Spanish crown. He was for some time detained by the French Government at Bourges, but ultimately retired into Italy with the title of Count de Molina. He died at Trieste in 1855.

The civil war in Portugal was now at an end, and the queen's title to the throne was no longer disputed; but the country was by no means in a state of tranquillity. The queen's second husband was Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg, a nephew of the king of the Belgians, and a member of a family of whom Napoleon said, that if a crown were to fall into the street one of them would be sure to be at hand to pick it up. The Ministry in office at this time were weak, inefficient, especially in finance, and unpopular; and the arrival of the prince at Lisbon produced a new element of political discord. He found the Chamber of Deputies in the act of discussing a Bill for preventing the office of commander-in-chief being held either by the prince himself or any other foreigner. It appears that the queen had excited the jealousy of the Cortes by appointing her first husband to that important position; and in order to prevent the repetition of this unpopular step, a Bill had been brought in and passed by a great majority just before the arrival of Prince Ferdinand; but as it had not received the sanction of the other branch of the Legislature, it was not yet law. At this critical juncture the Ministry resigned, and a new Administration was formed under the Duke of Terceira as Prime Minister. But they had scarcely accepted office when they were seriously embarrassed by riots which broke out in Oporto on account of the high price of bread, and still more by the question regarding the appointment of Prince Ferdinand to the command of the army. It turned out that this was one of the special conditions of the marriage treaty agreed to by the previous Administration. The prince very injudiciously insisted on the fulfilment of this stipulation, and his de-

mand was strenuously supported by the queen. The Ministers yielded, under the impression that they were bound to fulfil the obligation undertaken by their predecessors, and the prince was accordingly declared Commander-in-chief of the army and Colonel of the 5th Regiment of Caçadores. The proceeding, as might have been foreseen, proved very unpopular, and materially hastened a revolution by which the Constitution as well as the Ministry was overthrown. The appointment was keenly discussed in the Chamber of Deputies; and their former resolution condemning it as unconstitutional was reaffirmed. The Ministers, indignant at this defeat, dissolved the Chamber in less than a week after it had met, and issued writs for a new election. The returns were not favourable to the Government, and they postponed the meeting of the Cortes to the 11th of September, evidently under the impression that the irritation which their conduct had excited was only temporary and would speedily pass away.

There appeared no reason, indeed, to apprehend that any deep-seated or dangerous popular discontent existed at that time. The charter which Don Pedro had granted had been cordially welcomed by the great body of the people, and no complaints had been made against its operation; and there appeared no ground for a hostile movement against either the form of government or the crown. But a revolutionary plot must have been in existence for some time before this among the National Guards and the soldiers, for it turned out that the troops of the line had already been seduced from their allegiance. The successful military revolution which a few weeks previously had taken place in Spain was probably the immediate cause of the outbreak that took place in Lisbon. On the night of the 9th September the National Guards of Lisbon rose in arms, and were joined by the garrison, foremost among whom was the 5th Regiment of Caçadores, of which Prince Ferdinand had been newly appointed Colonel. The insurgents insisted

that the queen should forthwith dismiss her Ministers, annul the charter, and proclaim the Constitution of September 23rd, 1823. As Her Majesty was completely at the mercy of the armed band who surrounded the palace, and declared that they would remain in arms till they had received a favourable answer, she had no resource but to comply with their demands. A new Ministry was immediately formed, chiefly composed of the leaders of the mutineers; and Prince Ferdinand was deprived of his command. The great body of the people, as well as the influential classes, held aloof from the outbreak, which they regarded with indignation and alarm; and nearly all the nobility, the higher orders of the clergy, and most of the persons holding official situations, peremptorily refused to take the oath to the new Constitution. The Peers, whose existence as a separate Legislature was abolished, protested to the queen against these revolutionary measures, but of course without effect.

An ill-concerted attempt at a counter revolution, which proved unsuccessful, served only to subject the queen to further humiliation, and to strengthen the hands of the new Ministers. In order to gain popularity they suppressed some of the public offices, and reduced the number of persons employed, and the salaries of those that were retained. They imposed a tax on each parish for the support of the local clergy, and introduced a preposterous and most unfair tariff of custom-house duties on vessels sailing from Portuguese harbours. They cherished no good-will towards the British nation and Government, and gave intimation that the commercial treaty between the two countries would not be renewed on such favourable conditions. The privileges which British residents in Portugal had long enjoyed under treaties repeatedly confirmed were systematically violated. The claims of the British volunteer troops, who had contributed so largely to bring the civil war to a successful termination, were still

unsettled; but though payment had been formally guaranteed by the Government, they were put off from time to time, after the Portuguese fashion, with empty promises. The earnest exertions of Lord Howard de Walden, the British ambassador, to obtain justice for these officers and soldiers, many of whom were in great distress, proved utterly unavailing.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to narrate all the changes of Ministry and all the outbreaks of the people which followed the overthrow of the charter and the restoration of the Constitution of 1822. The 'Triumvir' Government, as it was termed, speedily broke down, partly in consequence of the incapacity of its members, partly through its financial difficulties. The Ministry of Oliveira, which followed, was not of much longer continuance, and was replaced by an Administration in which the Viscount Sadebandeira was reappointed to the Presidency of the Council. Amid all these shiftings of office the state of the public finances became every day more hopeless. The treasury was empty; all public servants of every grade were unpaid; taxes and duties, old and new alike, were unproductive; the little they yielded became still less before it reached the exchequer; and the Government found it impossible to raise loans even on the most liberal terms. To add to the perplexities of the sovereign and the sufferings of the people, guerillas

swarmed in almost every district; and in the south the country was ravaged by a formidable band of rebel banditti, commanded by a noted chief named Remechido, whose ostensible object was to excite a rising in favour of Don Miguel. He kept the southern provinces in constant terror, till he was at length captured and shot. A military rising in favour of the charter took place in the northern provinces about the middle of July, 1837, and speedily acquired considerable strength. The insurgents were joined by the Baron de Leiria, the Marquis de Saldanha, and the Duke of Terceira, and it was alleged that the Court was privy to their plans. Desertions on the part both of the National Guards and the troops of the line took place to an alarming extent, and it appeared highly probable that the insurrection would be crowned with complete success. But the Viscount Das Antas, who commanded a Portuguese auxiliary division in Spain, marched against the insurgent forces under Saldanha and Terceira, and came up with them on the 18th of September, at a place near Chaves. After a sharp but brief contest they gave way, and dispersed in all directions. Their leaders abandoned the contest on favourable terms granted them by the victorious general, and the civil war came to an end. This event was followed by the birth, on the 31st of October, of an heir to the crown, who received the title of Duke of Oporto, and is now the reigning king.

CHAPTER XIV.

Result of the General Election of 1837—Opening of the new Parliament—The Civil List—Committee appointed on the Pension List—State of affairs in Canada—Constitution of the two Provinces—Jobbery and mismanagement in Upper Canada—The Family Compact—Position of the French Canadians—Antagonism between them and the British settlers—Conduct of the Assembly in Lower Canada—Their refusal to vote the Supplies—Appointment of a Commission to investigate affairs—Major Head nominated Governor of Upper Canada—His mode of procedure—Demands of the Assembly in Lower Canada—Resolutions adopted by the British Parliament—M. Papineau and the French Canadians—Policy of the Local Government in Upper Canada—Rebellion in the Lower Province—Defeat of the Rebels—Outbreak in the Upper Province—Its suppression—American Sympathizers—Recall of Major Head—Character and severe policy of his successor—American Filibusterers—Lord Durham's disapproval of Sir George Arthur's proceedings—Suspension of the Constitution of Lower Canada—Lord Durham appointed High Commissioner—His illegal proceedings—Attacks upon him by Lord Brougham and the Conservative Peers—His Ordinance disallowed—His resignation and return—His defence of his policy and its results—Renewal of the Rebellion in Canada—Its suppression—Lord Durham's Report—Its influence on the subsequent Government of the Canadas.

THE general election, which took place in 1837, made no material alteration in the relative strength of the two political parties. The Conservatives gained a number of seats in the English counties, but their gains were counterbalanced by their losses in the boroughs, and especially in Ireland. Sir James Graham was rejected by the electors of East Cumberland, and on the other hand Mr. Joseph Hume lost his seat for Middlesex. Sir William Molesworth, whose Radical opinions had displeased an influential portion of his constituents, retired from East Cornwall, and was returned for Leeds. Mr. Ward, the originator of the Appropriation Clause, was elected one of the members for Sheffield. Mr. Grote, who, at the first election after the Reform Bill, stood at the head of the poll for the city of London, was now at the foot, with a majority of only six above the Conservative candidate—a significant indication of the change in public opinion. Sir Francis Burdett, satisfied with his recent victory, and with good reason doubtful whether it would be repeated,

retired from the representation of Westminster,* leaving the seat to be filled by his late opponent, Mr. Leader, who defeated by a large majority the Conservative candidate, Sir George Murray. The old Radical baronet was returned for North Wilts, a constituency more in sympathy with his new political opinions. On the whole, the Government kept their ground as to numbers, and had still a small majority in the House of Commons; but their real strength was immensely increased by the substitution of a young, popular, friendly female sovereign for an old and hostile king. There was a deep sympathy felt throughout the country for the interesting and youthful queen so suddenly elevated to the throne, and a strong feeling that it would be disloyal and unkind to force upon her an unacceptable Ministry at the very commencement of her reign. Some 'lewd fellows of the baser sort' connected with the Conservative party cherished, however, a very different feeling, and were so bitterly mortified at the favour which the Queen

* Sir Francis retired from Westminster on the plea of old age and infirm health. The Conservatives took advantage of the position in which Mr. Paul Methuen, the Whig representative of North Wilts, was placed in consequence of the death of his eldest son, to present a requisition to the old Radical leader, inviting him to become a candidate for the division. The invitation was promptly and most cordially accepted; and the requisitionists were informed by Sir Francis that his health was now completely restored. H. B. hit off the incident in one of his happiest sketches,

representing Sir Francis hobbling up on crutches to a huge machine, labelled, 'A mill for grinding old men young,' and emerging from the other end the spruce and alert, spick and span new candidate for North Wilts. Sir Walter Scott, who thoroughly appreciated the real character of Burdett's Radicalism, wrote of him so early as 1809, 'No lover was ever so jealous of his mistress as Sir Francis is of his mob popularity—witness the fate of Paul, Tierney, even Wardle: in short, of whomsoever presumed to rival the brazen image which the mob of Westminster have set up.'

showed to the Liberal party that, in gross violation both of the dictates of loyalty and of respect for her sex, they had the baseness, in their after-dinner speeches, to throw out slanderous insinuations and abuse against the character and conduct of their young sovereign.

The new Parliament met on the 30th of November, and was opened by the Queen in person. The address in reply to Her Majesty's speech was, at his own request, with great propriety moved by the Duke of Sussex, who had been throughout life more constant than any of his brothers in fidelity to the principles of civil and religious liberty. It was unanimously adopted by the House of Lords; but in the House of Commons three amendments were proposed, recommending an extension of the suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments. The first was negatived by a majority of 509 to 20, and the other two were withdrawn, as was also an amendment of D. Whittle Harvey, proposing to bring the hereditary revenues of the crown more directly under the control of Parliament, and to procure a revision of the pension list.

The most urgent business brought at this time before Parliament was the settlement of the civil list. Like her predecessor, the Queen placed the whole of her hereditary revenues at the disposal of the Legislature, and left it to the Parliament to make adequate provision for the support of the crown. Lord Spencer had written to the Premier, recommending that the royal establishment should ungrudgingly be formed on a liberal scale. Fortified by this high authority, Lord Melbourne made up his mind to propose to Parliament that the provision for Her Majesty should be fixed at £385,000, which was £10,000 more than had been enjoyed by her immediate predecessor. An attempt was made by Mr. Hume and some other members of the economical school to reduce the grant by £50,000, on the ground of the prevalent distress; but the proposal obtained only 19

votes against 199. Another motion in favour of a reduction of £10,000 procured the support of 41 members against a majority of 173. Some members maintained that the provision was too liberal, and that a young and unmarried sovereign had no need of such a large income; but even they changed their opinion when they learned that Her Majesty had paid off the whole of her father's debts, as well as the much smaller amount contracted by her mother in educating and training the Princess for her future position and duties; and that in addition she had granted to the members of the Fitz-Clarence family, out of the privy purse, the same allowance which they had enjoyed during the lifetime of their father.

The pension list was not so easily settled. During the reigns of George III. and his immediate successor pensions had been lavished in the most extravagant and scandalous manner on the favourites and supporters of the Ministry; and, as we have seen, the relatives and friends of the members of the Government, and of great noblemen possessed of large estates, were quartered in hundreds on the national revenues. At the death of George III. the pension list amounted to £203,000. In 1830 the amount had been diminished to £180,000. On the accession of King William pensions to the amount of £75,000 a year were placed on the civil list; the remainder were charged to the consolidated fund. In 1834 a resolution was adopted by the House of Commons, recommending that pensions should be granted to such persons only as by their services to the crown or the public, or by useful discoveries in science or art, had a just claim on the benevolence of the crown or the gratitude of the nation. It was asserted, and not denied, that the pensions bestowed on the recommendation of Earl Grey and Lord Melbourne had been awarded in strict conformity with this resolution. A section of the Liberal party were, however, still dissatisfied with the arrangement proposed for

the regulation of the pension list, and Mr. Whittle Harvey renewed his former motion for the appointment of a committee who should make full inquiry into the circumstances under which each pension had been granted. The Ministry refused to support Harvey's proposal, but agreed to appoint a committee to inquire how far the pensions charged on the civil list and the consolidated fund ought to be continued, 'having due regard to the just claims of the parties, and to economy in the public expenditure.' The proposed inquiry was vehemently opposed by the Conservative party, no doubt because the greater proportion of the pensions complained of had been granted under the advice of Conservative ministers; and Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, and other leading members of the party, delivered powerful speeches in opposition to the motion, which they denounced as both unjust and impolitic, and as an unwarrantable interference with the rights of the individuals on whom these pensions had been conferred. The proposal of the Ministry was, however, adopted by a majority of 295 votes to 283, and a committee was accordingly appointed; but Mr. Harvey himself was excluded from it, because he refused to promise that he would not publish a report of the proceedings, as he did in the case of the Poor Law Committee. The saving effected by the investigations of the committee amounted after all only to £3400; but the ultimate result was highly beneficial, both as regards the satisfaction of the public and the bestowal of future pensions. It was resolved that the right of the Crown to grant pensions should henceforth be limited to £1200 annually; and on the suggestion of Peel, it was agreed that if the amount specified should not be given in any one year, the savings might be granted in a succeeding year. Loud complaints were made at the time, and have since been frequently repeated, that this limited sum is totally inadequate to reward eminent services rendered to the Crown, and at the same time to recompense or support

men of science, authors, and artists, who are eminent benefactors of society, but whose pursuits seldom meet with an adequate pecuniary return.

The Government had intended to adjourn the Parliament to the 1st of February, 1838, as soon as the arrangements respecting the civil list, the grant to the Duchess of Kent, the mother of the Queen, and other pecuniary matters had been settled; but the news which at this time arrived respecting the troubles that had broken out in Canada induced them to propose that Parliament should re-assemble on the 16th of January.

When Canada became a British possession in 1763, on the victory of General Wolfe at Quebec, its population was only 70,000. It was governed under the old French arbitrary system, which was abolished in France at the Revolution; and when the colony became an appanage of Britain the inhabitants, who were nearly all of French origin, were guaranteed the enjoyment of their rights and customs. After the conclusion of the American war, great numbers from England and Scotland emigrated to Canada, and speedily expressed their dissatisfaction with institutions so different from those of their native country. They obtained a legislature more in accordance with the constitution of the mother country, consisting of a House of Representatives elected by the 40s. freeholders and a Council appointed by the Crown. The French inhabitants, however, took the alarm, and apprehended that their hereditary institutions, and especially their religion, would be endangered under a British system of government. They declared themselves averse to constitutional changes, and wished to retain their old habits and customs. Lower Canada was almost entirely in the hands of the French, while the British settlers had taken possession of the extensive unoccupied territory in the west. In order to meet the views of both parties, separate constitutions were injudiciously granted in 1791 to the two provinces.

Lower Canada was allowed to retain the old system of government which the original settlers had brought with them from France; and though it was justly designated as a 'central, ill-organized, unimproving, and repressive despotism,' it satisfied the people, and they were contented to remain 'an old and stationary society in a new and progressive world.' Both provinces, indeed, obtained a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown and a House of Assembly chosen by the people, but they differed widely in their composition.

In Upper Canada the House of Assembly, as well as the Legislative Council, was composed of British settlers, and the two usually worked together harmoniously. This harmony was all the greater that they were both extremely dissatisfied with the Executive Council, composed of permanent officials with the Governor at their head, who were responsible to the British Crown and Parliament, and not to the people of Canada. As might have been expected, the Executive department frequently acted in opposition to public opinion, as well as to the expressed wishes of the popular branch of the legislature. The administration of public affairs had long been in the hands of a few wealthy families, who, as Lord Durham's Report affirmed, filled 'the bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession,' and by grant or purchase had obtained possession of nearly all the unoccupied lands of the province. It was undeniable that numerous abuses had crept into the administration; and it was confidently affirmed, and generally believed, that these were fostered by the high functionaries holding irresponsible offices, and who, it was alleged, guided the councils of successive Governors more to their own advantage than to the interests of the province. In consequence of the lax and corrupt administration of the Executive, the country had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy, a debt of £1,000,000 having been accumulated, while the public

revenue amounted to only £60,000 a year. In order to redress these grievances, the inhabitants of Upper Canada were strongly of opinion that the Executive Council should be made responsible to the Provincial Legislature.

The position of Lower Canada was quite different. For a good many years after 1791 the inhabitants of this province led a quiet, easy, contented life, not troubling themselves about political affairs. But after the conclusion of the protracted continental war, many thousands of Englishmen and Scotsmen emigrated to Canada, carrying with them the active, energetic, pushing habits of their race. They purchased and improved extensive tracts of land. They instituted mercantile establishments, and soon absorbed a large portion of the trade of the province. The original French inhabitants, differing in language, religion, education, and manners and customs from the recent immigrants, naturally became jealous of the new and enterprising settlers and alarmed at their superiority; and their apprehensions increased when the new comers succeeded in obtaining the Canada Trade Act and the Canada Tenures Act, which placed the newly settled land of the colony under English law. As the French Canadians were greatly superior in numbers, they had no difficulty in obtaining a decided majority in the House of Assembly. On the other hand, the Legislative Council appointed by the Crown was mainly composed of the representatives of the English and Scottish settlers. Of course these two branches of the Legislature did not work in harmony. The measures carried by the Assembly were systematically thrown out by the Council, and the reforms which were demanded by the representatives of the French Canadians were doggedly refused by the representatives of the British settlers. There could be no doubt that the former had good reason to complain of the abuses which had accumulated under the old system of corruption and jobbery.

The whole of the minerals of Cape Breton had, by a shameful act of the Government, been granted to the impecunious Duke of York, and assigned by him to his creditors. One-seventh of all the land in Canada had been bestowed on the Church, and another seventh had been retained by the Crown in its own hands. The South American Land Company had obtained an immense tract of unoccupied land in Lower Canada for the sum of £120,000, and numerous jobs of the same kind had been perpetrated by the Executive. The British Government had assigned for educational purposes the estates originally held by the Jesuits; but successive Governors, in gross violation both of law and justice, had diverted these estates from their proper purpose to form a kind of secret service fund.

The revenues of the colony had been placed under the control of the Provincial Legislature by an Act of the British Parliament passed in 1778; but the Canadians insisted that the Act should have a retrospective effect, and that they should obtain authority over the entire property and revenues of the colony, including those which existed before the date of that Act. It was not, however, until 1831 that their request was granted by the Home Government and Legislature. But the House of Assembly was still dissatisfied. They had previously complained of the mode in which the judges were nominated, the public money disposed of, and defaulters prosecuted. They now demanded that the hereditary revenues of the Crown should be placed under their charge, that the Tenure Act should be repealed, that the South American Land Company should be deprived of their privileges without any respect to the rights which they held under an Act of the British Parliament, and that the Legislative Council should be made elective. It has been confidently asserted that, if the British Government had in the first instance conceded the claims of the Canadians, these demands would never have been raised; but

this is by no means certain, for the leaders of the French party in Lower Canada had before this time formed the resolution to employ every means to sever the connection of the colony with Great Britain, and to erect the province into a new state. They could not have expected that the Home Government would comply with demands which would have placed the British settlers at the mercy of the French inhabitants; but they made their refusal a pretext for stopping the supplies, and declining to make any provision either for the administration of justice, or for the civil government of the colony. The salaries of the public officers of every grade, and even of the judges, were left unpaid for four years and a half, until the arrears amounted to £142,160.

The government of the colony was thus brought to a deadlock, and neither party would give way. The House of Assembly, in 1834, passed a series of ninety-two resolutions enumerating the grievances of which they demanded the redress; but the attention of Parliament was so absorbed in the struggle between the two political parties for place and power, that they had no time to spare for the consideration of colonial grievances and demands. After the restoration of the Whig Ministry to office, however, in 1835, they resolved to send out a Commission to investigate the state of affairs in Canada. The commissioners appointed to discharge this difficult duty were Lord Gosford, who was appointed Governor of Lower Canada; Sir George Gipps, a military officer; and Sir Charles Grey, who had been Chief-Justice of Bengal—the former, according to Roebuck, a snarling Whig, the latter an arrogant Tory. Major Head, who had done good service as a Poor Law Commissioner, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Province. The difficulties the commissioners had to encounter were considerably aggravated by the reckless and foolish conduct of the king, who told Sir George Grey, in the presence of his ministers, that

he was to bear in mind that Lower Canada had not, like other British colonies, been peopled from the mother country, but had been obtained by the sword; and that he was strenuously to assert the prerogatives of the Crown, of which 'persons who ought to have known better had dared, even in his presenee, to deny the existenee.' A few days later he said to Lord Gosford with an oath, 'I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective.' When Lord Glenelg read to him the draft of the instructions to the commissioners, the king insisted that the words 'conciliatory' and 'liberal' should be struck out; and while the instructions declared that His Majesty 'would not absolutely close the avenue to inquiry, they explicitly stated that he was 'most unwilling to admit as open to debate the question whether one of the vital principles of the provincial Government should undergo alteration.'

Lord Gosford, on his arrival in Canada, did not publish the instructions he had received, but contented himself with describing them as liberal. They soon became known, however, through the indiscretion of Major Head; and the majority of the House of Assembly indignantly reiterated their demands in an address to the king, and refused to grant supplies for more than six months. A conciliatory despatch was sent by Lord Glenelg in reply to their remonstrance; but the dissatisfied party persisted in their demands, and sent another address drawn up, as the Colonial Secretary said, 'in a tone of menace and defiance, which left no doubt as to the feeling and determination of the body from which it emanated.' Glenelg was perfectly justified in describing the address in these terms, for it is quite certain that the leaders of the French party were bent on dissolving the connection of Lower Canada and erecting the province into an independent state. The demands of the House of Assembly were brought before Parliament, on the 6th of March, 1837, by Lord John Russell, who moved a series of ten resolutions

declining to comply with the wishes of the colonists in regard to the Legislative Council, the Land Company, and the appropriation of the public money to pay the arrears of salaries and other expenses, but agreeing to repeal the Tenures Act, to exclude the judges from the Legislative Council, and to make several concessions on other minor points. These resolutions were strenuously opposed by Leader, Roebuck, O'Connell, Sir William Molesworth, and other leaders of the Radical party, who insisted that the Legislative Council ought to be made an elective body. But the original resolution on this point was carried, with the assistance of the Conservative party, by a majority of 318 against 56. The resolution that 'it is unadvisable to subject the Executive Council in Lower Canada to the responsibility demanded by the House of Assembly in that province,' was adopted by 269 votes against 46. Only six votes were given against the declaration that the rights of the Land Company, conferred by Act of Parliament, should be preserved inviolate, while 166 were given in its favour.

In the Upper House Lord Brougham was the only peer who expressed his dissatisfaction with the Ministerial policy, especially with regard to the resolution authorizing the Receiver-General of the Colony to apply the money in his hands, arising from the hereditary, territorial, and casual revenues, to the payment of the arrears due for the support of the civil government of the colony. The resolutions thus adopted by both Houses of Parliament were formally communicated to Lord Gosford, who at once summoned a meeting of the House of Assembly, and laid before it the decisions of the British Legislature. He had called it together, he said, mainly to afford the members an opportunity of granting the requisite supplies; and he was commanded to express his anxious hope that he would not be compelled to exercise the powers with which the Imperial Parliament had invested him, in order to discharge

the arrears due to the servants of the colony for the payment of which the faith of the Crown had been repeatedly pledged.

The House of Assembly, however, were resolved to make no concessions, and not to abate one jot of their demands. They protested against the arbitrary conduct of the Home Government; and declared it to be their duty to tell the mother country that 'if she carries the spirit of these resolutions into effect, her supremacy will no longer depend on the feelings of affection, of duty, and of material interest which would best secure it, but on physical force.' The Governor, on this, dissolved the Assembly; but this step only served to increase the agitation existing in the colony. The newspapers were filled with seditious articles exciting the people to armed resistance; and meetings were held at which violent speeches were made, and equally violent resolutions passed. Everything betokened an imminent outbreak. The use of British goods was denounced, and smuggling across the American frontier was openly recommended. The 'Patriots,' as they were called, began to assemble in arms; and, on the other hand, the 'Loyalists' formed themselves into regiments of Volunteers, armed and disciplined, in support of the British Government, and prepared to repel force by force.

The leader of the French-Canadian party at this time was M. Papineau, a person of considerable ability and energy, but not of much judgment, who had represented Montreal in the House of Assembly, and afterwards became its Speaker. He held a series of meetings throughout the province, at which very violent speeches were made by him and his coadjutors, containing significant appeals to the successful revolt of the United States. He convened a great assembly at St. Charles, which he termed the 'meeting of the five counties,' attended by delegates from various places, apparently ripe for rebellion. Riots naturally occurred. Conflicts took place in the streets of Montreal between the 'Loyalists' and the

'Patriots,' in which the latter were worsted. A party of volunteer cavalry, who were escorting some prisoners, were attacked by an overwhelming body of the insurgents, and the prisoners rescued. It was evident that civil war was impending, and the Governor took prompt measures to maintain the authority of the Crown.

Apprehensions were entertained that the discontented section of the people in Upper Canada would unite with the insurgents in the Lower Province. But though well-founded complaints were made against the Executive, and the mode in which power and patronage were monopolized by the 'Family Compact,' the inhabitants as a body had no sympathy with the French Canadians in Lower Canada. They could not obtain access to the sea-board except through that province, and they were subjected to serious hindrances and troubles in carrying on their trade and commerce. This and other grievances, together with their differences in religion and in manners and customs, prevented them from making common cause with the people of the Lower Province in their contest with the British Government. They were, however, not unwilling to avail themselves of the opportunity to obtain redress of their own grievances, and both the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly were bent on making the Executive Council responsible to the Provincial Legislature.

The Governor quarrelled with them, and also with the Executive Council, who had remonstrated against his conduct; and exercising his prerogative, he dissolved the Assembly. A keen contest took place in the election of the new Provincial Parliament. But Major Head dexterously contrived to represent the question at issue as that of 'Connection with the mother country' or 'Separation.' He spared no exertions to secure the election of candidates favourable to his policy. He rode all over the province, harangued the farmers, appealed to their patriotism and loyalty, and excited them to a perfect fervour of devotion to the connection with Great

Britain. By such energetic electioneering tactics, together with the exercise of his official power and patronage, the Governor succeeded in procuring the return of an Assembly in which his supporters were more than double the number of his opponents. Laying aside the agitation for organic changes, they set themselves at once to the discharge of their ordinary duties, and directed their attention to the promotion of the material interests of the colony. They voted the sum of £500,000 to be applied to the improvement of the roads—a very necessary step. They took into consideration the question of the clergy reserves, which had excited a protracted and violent agitation in the colony; and a resolution, moved by the Solicitor-General, declaring it to be the opinion of the House, 'that the proceeds arising from the sales of "Clergy Reserves" should be applied to the purposes of moral and religious education,' was carried by a considerable majority. Attempts were also made to abolish the laws of primogeniture and imprisonment for debt; and numerous Bills were passed relating to railways, harbours, and markets, to navigation, to the establishment of boundaries, and to the regulation of banks. The Assembly also made more ample provision for the administration of justice, for the support and advancement of education, for protection and security of trade and shipping, and for the introduction of a new and improved system in the land-granting department.

While the Provincial Legislature of Upper Canada was thus carrying on the work of internal improvement, the dispute between the Executive and the French inhabitants of Lower Canada had come to a crisis. Information having reached the Governor, Lord Gosford, that a number of the malcontents had appeared in arms at the villages of St. Denis and St. Charles, on the right bank of the river Richelieu, it was resolved to arrest Papineau and three other leaders. Strong detachments of troops were accordingly sent against these villages in

aid of the civil authorities. The attack upon St. Denis by Colonel Gore, on the 22nd of November, was repulsed with a loss of six men killed and ten wounded; but Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherell carried St. Charles after a stout resistance, in which the insurgents met with considerable loss. Only three of the royal troops were killed and eighteen wounded. On this the rebels posted at St. Denis abandoned that position, and all the armed bands on the banks of the Richelieu dispersed. Their leaders fled for refuge to the United States.

The revolt on the south bank of the St. Lawrence having been thus speedily and easily suppressed, the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Colborne, moved his whole disposable force (December 14th) upon the county of the Two Mountains, where the spirit of disaffection first made its appearance, and displayed itself with the greatest violence. The troops under his charge amounted to only 1300 men. The insurgents had intrenched themselves in the village of St. Eustache. On Sir John's approach a number of them took to flight; the remainder made a determined resistance, but were driven out with the loss of at least 100 killed and 120 made prisoners. On the following day, Colborne advanced upon St. Benoit, the headquarters of the insurgents; but on his march thither he met a deputation of their number, who announced the flight of their leaders, and offered to make an unconditional surrender. The insurgents accordingly laid down their arms, and were allowed to depart unpunished. 'Thus,' said Lord Gosford in his despatch, 'have the measures adopted for putting down this reckless revolt been crowned with success. Wherever an armed body has shown itself, it has been completely dispersed. The principal leaders and instigators have been killed, taken, or forced into exile. There is no longer a head, concert, or organization amongst the deluded and betrayed inhabitants. Papineau himself retired into the United States, and other eight of the ringleaders also made

their escape, four were killed, and eight were captured. Within the course of a month the rebellion was completely suppressed.'

When the revolt broke out in the Lower Province, the malcontents in Upper Canada also threatened to rise in arms against the Government, and to sever the connection with the mother country. The Governor, however, resolved to send the whole troops at his disposal to assist Sir John Colborne against the rebels in Lower Canada, and to trust to the militia and the volunteers of the Upper Province to defend it against any insurrection that might take place there. He did not, he said, want a single soldier to remain with him; and he reposed such confidence in the general loyalty of the colonists, that he was ready to spare a large portion even of the militia for the service of Lower Canada. The merit of this peculiar but bold and judicious policy has usually been ascribed entirely to the Governor, who in so doing 'acted,' it is said, 'with the true genius of a ruler.' But Sir Francis Head himself has explicitly declared that the credit of this procedure belongs, not to him, but to Sir John Colborne. 'Many people,' he says, 'have blamed, and I believe still blame me, for having, as they say, sent the troops out of the province. I, however, did no such thing. Sir John Colborne, the commander of the forces in Canada, felt that he required the whole of them to defend the Lower Province; and deeming the moral powers, which he saw I possessed, sufficient, he offered me a couple of companies only; and then, without consulting me, recalled the whole of the remainder of the troops.' Sir Francis, however, saw that the two companies left him were quite insufficient to guard the province; and he was of opinion that, since the defence of it was to be in reality left to the colonists, it was better that they should feel the entire responsibility. He therefore sent the two companies after the main body, to join the forces under Sir John Colborne. The result

fully justified his confidence. The militia and the volunteers, who hastened with enthusiastic unanimity to the assistance of the Governor, proved amply sufficient to defend the Upper Province against the disloyal insurgents.

Major Head, however, carried his confidence to a dangerous extent when he asserted that 'there exists no body of men in this province who would dare to attack Government property under the protection of the civil authorities of Toronto;' and he informed Lord Glenelg that he had not the slightest apprehension that any disturbance of importance would be made in the province during the coming winter. So confident was he that no rising would take place, that he left 4000 stand of arms in the City Hall of Toronto, in charge of two constables. But at this very time a plot had been formed to raise the standard of rebellion and to make an attack upon Toronto, which was on the very eve of being carried into effect. The ringleader of the conspirators was an individual of the name of William Lyon Mackenzie, who had emigrated from Scotland about eighteen years before. He was originally a pedlar, but by his talents and industry had risen to a position of considerable influence. He was the editor of a newspaper, and one of the principal leaders of the Reformers in the province, and was elected a member of the House of Assembly, from which, however, he had been twice expelled on the ground that he had 'published fabricated and reiterated libels of the grossest description.' He visited England in 1832, as the delegate of his party, and appears to have been received at the Colonial Office with every mark of respect. His mission and representations were, however, indignantly disclaimed by the Provincial Parliament; but he succeeded, in 1833, in regaining a seat in the House of Assembly, where his party had now obtained a large majority.

Major Head came out with a decided leaning in favour of the 'Reformers;' but he speedily changed his views, and

became their most strenuous opponent. As the great majority of the new House of Assembly were decidedly hostile to their views, Mackenzie and his associates resolved to make an attempt to gain the supremacy by force of arms, and made secret preparations for raising the standard of rebellion. The Governor and his official advisers persistently shut their eyes to the dangers that menaced the peace and security of the province; but fortunately Colonel Fitzgibbon, a veteran military officer who acted as Adjutant-General of the militia, on his own authority organized a volunteer corps for the protection of Toronto against the meditated attack. A body of insurgents, about 500 in number, commanded by Mackenzie; Van Egmont, an officer who had served under Napoleon; Gibson, a land surveyor; and Lount, a blacksmith— assembled at Montgomery's Tavern, about four miles from Toronto, on the night of the 4th December, 1837, and prepared to make a sudden inroad upon the city, which they expected to find quite unprepared to resist them. They arrested every person on the road, in order to prevent information of their approach reaching the town; and Colonel Montgomery, a distinguished veteran officer who resided in the neighbourhood, on passing the tavern, was fired at and mortally wounded. But Colonel Fitzgibbon had fortunately collected the volunteers in the City Hall, and set the alarm bells ringing. The insurgents, on hearing their sound, concluded that the city was prepared to resist them, and postponed their attack till the next day (Tuesday). On that day volunteers poured in so rapidly that Colonel Fitzgibbon found himself at the head of 500 men, somewhat disciplined and all well armed. An advanced picket, commanded by Mr. Sheriff Jervis, was attacked in the suburbs of the city by the rebels, who, however, were driven back, one of their party being killed and several wounded. In the evening another picket, sent out by Colonel Fitzgibbon to guard the entrance of the town, came upon a

body of the rebels, and drove them back with some loss. On Wednesday, disheartened by Mackenzie's pusillanimity, his followers began to disperse. He had been guilty of several gross outrages, had robbed the mail, seized a number of horses, set fire to the houses of the loyalists in the district, and had made prisoners and plundered a good many respectable individuals who were on their journey; but he had not the courage to follow the advice of one of his chief supporters, who had urged him at once to attack the city. While the strength of the rebels was hourly diminishing, the militia were pouring in from all quarters, many of them having marched, in that inclement season, a hundred miles from their own homes. On Thursday morning Colonel Fitzgibbon at length obtained permission from the Governor to march out against the rebels; and after a brief combat, the militia, without the loss of a single man, drove them out of their position at Montgomery's Tavern, and put them to flight. Mackenzie, who seems to have been a poor creature, ran away in a state of the greatest agitation, and in female disguise, to Buffalo in the State of New York; a number of his deluded followers were taken prisoners, but were immediately released and dismissed to their homes. In the course of a week this contemptible rising was completely suppressed, and perfect tranquillity restored throughout the province.

Some American 'Sympathizers,' however, on the frontier thought this a favourable opportunity to invade the province. Several hundreds of them enrolled themselves as soldiers for this avowed object. Public meetings were held to encourage the enterprise, and arms, ammunition, and provisions openly contributed. The State arsenals were broken open in the most public manner, and artillery and munitions of war belonging to the American Government abstracted and distributed, in defiance of the authorities, to the persons who were about to invade the territory of a friendly

power. These buccaneers, under the command of a Mr. Van Rensselear, took possession of a small wooded island on the Niagara river, belonging to Canada, threw up intrenchments, which they fortified with artillery, and opened fire upon the Canadian shore, which in that quarter is thickly peopled. They might have been expelled at once without difficulty; but the Governor thought fit, for reasons which are quite inexplicable, to allow them to retain possession of the island for several weeks, firing on the Canadian villages, and picking off men by chance shots. These piratical adventurers drew their supplies from a place called Fort Schlosser—a solitary tavern with a wharf attached—on the American shore; and Colonel M'Nab, who commanded a body of militia on the Canadian side, having received intelligence that a small steamer, called the *Caroline*, had been hired by them to keep up communication with the mainland, and had conveyed not only their stores but a piece of artillery, resolved to destroy her. He accordingly despatched a party of militia for that purpose (28th of December). They found the vessel moored to the wharf opposite the tavern, with a strong body of men on board, and another party on shore ready to assist in repelling an attack. The militia immediately boarded, and carried the vessel, after a short but fierce contest, in which five or six of the enemy were killed and a considerable number of the militia severely wounded, and then setting her on fire, suffered her to drift down the Falls of Niagara.

This incident caused a good deal of excitement in the States, and most exaggerated stories were circulated regarding it; but the true character of the pirate vessel speedily became known, and the authorities of the United States judiciously abstained from raising any formal question respecting the violation of their territory by the detachment that destroyed the *Caroline*. A sufficient force had been collected in the course of a few days to dis-

lodge the freebooters who had intrenched themselves on Navy Island; but when the Governor at length gave permission to attack them, they decamped without waiting an assault on the night of January 14. On reaching the territory of the United States, their leader, Van Rensselear, was arrested by the American authorities, who at the same time regained possession of the arms and stores which had been abstracted from their arsenals. Demonstrations were made in other quarters by these so-called 'patriots,' most of whom were American filibusters. One party showed themselves at Detroit, in Michigan, another at Kingston, near the north-eastern end of Lake Ontario; but they took to flight as soon as a body of British troops made their appearance. Another band of these brigands took up a position on Point Pelès Island, on Lake Erie. A detachment of troops under the command of Colonel Maitland marched from the mainland twenty miles over the frozen lake to dislodge them. A sharp encounter ensued, in which a considerable number of the party were killed or taken prisoners. The British lost only two men, but thirty were severely wounded. The President and the Governors of some of the States issued proclamations against these piratical expeditions; but the inhabitants of Upper Canada complained that no effectual measures were taken to restrain or punish the depredators, and apprehensions were at one time entertained, which were happily unfounded, that the exasperated yeomen of the province might retaliate on their lawless neighbours these violations of neutral rights.

The Home Government were by no means satisfied with the somewhat impulsive and erratic behaviour of Major Head before and during the rebellion in Upper Canada. Several misunderstandings arose between him and his superiors, and they at last culminated in his positive refusal to carry out the injunctions of the Colonial Secretary. On the 15th of January, 1838, he informed the Provincial Parliament

that 'having had the misfortune to differ from Her Majesty's Government on one or two points of colonial policy, he felt it his duty, on the 10th of September last, to tender his resignation of the office of Lieutenant-Governor.' On his return home his services were rewarded with a baronetcy. He was succeeded by Colonel Sir George Arthur, whose harsh behaviour, both to the troops under his command and to the convicts during the twelve years he held the office of Governor of Van Diemen's Land, proved him to be utterly unfit to rule a province in the critical circumstances in which Upper Canada was placed. His nomination to this responsible and difficult post was vehemently denounced by Sir William Molesworth and other members of the Radical party, and the severity with which he treated such of the insurgents as fell into his hands, showed that their condemnation of Colonel Arthur's appointment was not made without good reason.

Lord Glenelg seems to have had some misgivings that the new Governor-General would carry out in Upper Canada the same Draconian policy which he had employed in Van Diemen's Land, for he immediately sent after him despatches warning him, that 'unless under circumstances of peculiar and pressing urgency,' it would be advisable not to have recourse to the extreme penalty of the law against political offenders. Sir George Arthur, however, was not the man to be so easily turned aside from his favourite policy, and he lost no time in bringing to trial the leaders in the recent insurrection. Two of the most prominent among the prisoners were Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews. The former was a native of the United States, but had for many years been settled in the district of Toronto, where he had acquired a considerable estate and had represented his county in the provincial Parliament. Matthews was a native of Upper Canada and a yeoman, but in affluent circumstances. They had both taken an active part in Mackenzie's outbreak, and at their trial pleaded guilty

to the charge. They were condemned to death, and though the utmost efforts were made to obtain a mitigation of their sentence, they were both executed.

Lord Glenelg expressed his extreme regret that it had been deemed requisite to carry these capital sentences into effect, and his earnest hope that no similar severities should take place. The cases of the other prisoners were disposed of by a board of Commissioners, presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of the province. A number were discharged on bail; others were bound over to keep the peace; some were unconditionally set at liberty; part were banished from the province; while the remainder, consisting of men of property and influence, were sentenced to transportation to the penal colonies.

While the Government of Upper Canada was engaged in disposing of the persons implicated in the recent outbreak, the marauders on the American side of the frontier were making active preparations for a renewal of their inroad into the Upper Province. On the 30th of May a band of these filibusters, headed by a person named Johnson, boarded a British steamer, the *Sir Robert Peel*, lying alongside a wharf at Well's Island in the St. Lawrence, robbed the passengers of their money and more valuable effects, and then having driven them on shore, set the vessel on fire. A reward of £1000 was offered by Lord Durham for the discovery and conviction of the offenders. They found refuge, however, among the clusters of isles in the St. Lawrence known as 'the Thousand Islands,' whose narrow and intricate passages afforded them great facilities for concealment and for baffling pursuit. Issuing from their river fastnesses in their light and swift boats, Johnson and his band of outlaws carried out their schemes of plunder and violence with impunity and success, and returned to their lurking places before any adequate force could be assembled to resist them.

A daring assault on a little party of pro-

vincial cavalry, whom they surrounded and captured in their quarters at a solitary inn in the Niagara district, at length roused the country against them; and detachments of militia and volunteers, despatched in pursuit of the banditti, succeeded in capturing James Moreau, the leader of this enterprise, along with several of his followers. They were speedily brought to trial, and all found guilty and condemned to death. With two exceptions, their sentences were commuted for transportation. Moreau, who was a native of Pennsylvania, was executed, and it was intended to inflict capital punishment on another of the band; but his life was ultimately spared on the interposition of Lord Durham, greatly to the dissatisfaction of Sir George Arthur. He warmly resisted the proposal to grant the reprieve as an unwarrantable encroachment on his authority, and submitted to it only under protest and with great reluctance 'as unconstitutional, and likely to lead to very painful results.'

The remarks which Lord Durham felt constrained to make on the conduct of the Governor and his Council, aided and abetted by the 'Family Compact,' were not more severe than just. 'The exasperation caused by the conflict itself,' he said, 'the suspicions and terrors of that trying period, and the use made by the triumphant party of the power thrown into their hands, have heightened the passions which existed before. It certainly appeared too much as if the rebellion had been purposely invited by the Government, and the unfortunate men who took part in it deliberately drawn into a trap by those who subsequently inflicted so severe a punishment on them for their error. It seemed, too, as if the dominant party made use of the occasion afforded by the real guilt of a few desperate and imprudent men, in order to persecute or disable the whole body of their political opponents. A great number of perfectly innocent individuals were thrown into prison, and suffered in person, property, and character. The whole body

of reformers were subjected to suspicious and harassing proceedings, instituted by magistrates whose political leanings were notoriously adverse to them. Severe laws were passed, under colour of which individuals very generally esteemed were punished without any form of trial.

'The two persons who suffered the extreme penalty of the law, Lount and Matthews,' his lordship continued, 'unfortunately engaged a great share of the public sympathy; their pardon had been solicited in petitions—it is generally asserted, by no less than 30,000 of their countrymen. The rest of the prisoners were detained in confinement for a considerable time. A large number of the subordinate actors in the insurrection were severely punished, and public anxiety was raised to the highest pitch by the uncertainty respecting the fate of the others, who were from time to time released. It was not until the month of October last that the whole of the prisoners were disposed of, and a partial amnesty proclaimed, which enabled the large numbers who had fled the country, and so long and at such imminent hazards hung on its frontier, to return in security to their homes.'

When the British Parliament reassembled on the 16th of January, 1838, Lord John Russell brought the state of affairs in Canada before the House of Commons, and stated that he had resolved to bring in a Bill to suspend for three years the constitution of Lower Canada; to send out a Governor-General and High Commissioner, with full powers, in concert with any five members of his Council, to pass laws, and to convene three members of the Legislative Council and two members of the House of Assembly of each of the Canadian provinces to deliberate on their affairs. The scheme was vehemently opposed by Hume, Leader, and Molesworth in Parliament, and by Roebuck, who, as agent for the Canadians, was heard at the bar of both Houses, and pleaded that the insurrection had been caused by the arbitrary and oppressive policy of the

Government; but it was supported by the Conservatives as well as by the Ministerialists, and the House of Commons adopted the resolutions proposed by the Ministry, and went into Committee on the Bill by a majority of 262 to 16 votes. Various important modifications were, however, made on the measure in Committee, restricting the powers to be granted to the High Commissioner. But these amendments did not conciliate Lords Brougham and Ellenborough, who attacked the Bill when it reached the Upper House with unsparing severity and great power of argument and eloquence. They stood almost alone, however, in their opposition. The Bill was read a third time on the 8th of February, and became law.

The Earl of Durham was the person selected for the important office of High Commissioner, and in various respects the selection commended itself to the approbation of the public. In describing the person whom the Government had resolved to send out in the double capacity of Governor-General of the five British Colonies in North America and of Lord High Commissioner to inquire into and settle the controverted questions pending in the two Canadian provinces, Lord John Russell, on the 16th of January, said—‘I think it most important that the person to be sent from this country should be one whose conduct and character should be beyond exception; a person conversant not solely with matters of administration, but with the most important affairs which are from time to time brought before the Parliament of this country. I think he should be conversant also with the affairs of the various States of Europe; and, moreover, that it should be implied by his nomination that he was not at all adverse to opinions the most liberal, and that he was favourable to popular feelings and popular rights.’ Lord John Russell then announced that ‘Her Majesty had been pleased to intrust the conduct of this affair, and these high powers, to one whom her advisers think

in every respect fitted for the charge—namely, the Earl of Durham.’

Lord Durham certainly merited all the commendation Russell bestowed upon him. He was the head of one of the oldest families in England, which had long held an influential position in the north of England, and some members of which had represented the city of Durham in the House of Commons continuously for seventy years. He had married a daughter of Earl Grey, and had for some years represented his native county of Durham in Parliament, where he was noted for his zeal in the cause of Reform. He was raised to the peerage in 1828, and held the office of Lord Privy Seal in Earl Grey’s Ministry. He was a member of the committee by whom the Reform Bill was prepared, and wished to introduce vote by ballot into that measure. During the time he held office he was considered one of the most liberal members of the Cabinet, and was regarded by the Radical party as the statesman in whom they placed the greatest confidence. Lord Durham was undoubtedly both an able and an honest man; but his deficiencies in tact, temper, and judgment unfitted him for the difficult and delicate mission intrusted to him. Lord Brougham, who did not like him, nevertheless says, ‘Durham had many good and some great qualities, but all were much obscured and even perverted by his temper, which was greatly affected by the painful liver disease under which he laboured all his life. He was, in the best sense of the word, high-spirited. He was generous, open, and incapable of falsehood or meanness of any kind. His abilities were great, though not cultivated by instruction, for his education had been much neglected. He was very modest respecting his own merits, and favourable towards those of others, with even an enthusiasm that was exceedingly touching and amiable.’ Having been always a keen party man, Durham had strong likings and dislikings; and as he did not hesitate to express freely the opinions which

he entertained both of men and affairs, he had made a good many personal enemies, who 'watched for his halting,' and were ready at once to take advantage of his mistakes.

He accepted the office intrusted to him, he said, 'with inexpressible reluctance,' being fully alive to its difficulties and dangers. 'I feel,' he said, on announcing to the Peers his acceptance of the mission, '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.'

The new Governor-General had certainly a right to expect that he would be treated with forbearance: for if ever there were an occasion on which it behoved statesmen to lay aside the tactics of political party warfare, it was in the appointment of a person sent out to mediate between the French and British Canadians at such a time, when the last possessions of Britain in the New World were torn by civil commotion, law suspended, trade paralysed, a rebellion just suppressed, the inhabitants divided into two bitterly hostile parties, who obstinately refused to unite for the attainment of any common object, and, as Lord Durham said, who never publicly met except in the jury-box, and then only for the obstruction of justice; while on the frontiers of the colony, a numerous body of desperate adventurers, feebly restrained by the weak Executive of a Republic, were eagerly watching for another opportunity to take part in the civil contest. But Lord Durham's mission was treated throughout as a purely party question. Even before he sailed, the factious opponents of the Ministry strove to annoy him by petty insults; and though he declined to accept any salary, the Marquis of Chandos had nearly succeeded in putting a stop to the mission by moving, in the most factious and paltry spirit, an

objection to the expense, which after all amounted to only £3500. From the very commencement of his work the minutest details of his administration were exposed to incessant criticism, every step of his authority was watched by jealous and malignant eyes, and the most unfavourable construction put on every action.

Lord Durham reached Quebec on the 29th of May. The Act under which he was appointed prescribed that he should be advised by a Council, and that every ordinance issued by him should be countersigned by at least five of its members. There was already a Council of twenty in existence, nominated by his predecessor Sir John Colborne, who had succeeded Lord Gosford, composed of representatives of the various parties in the colony. This Council Lord Durham at once dismissed, and appointed a new Council composed of his four secretaries and the Commissary-General. His next step was to issue a liberal amnesty; but twenty-three persons were excepted from its benefits. Papineau and fourteen other leaders in the rebellion had made their escape from the colony, and it was proclaimed that if they returned they should be deemed guilty of high treason and suffer death. There were in custody eight other Canadians who had taken part in the rebellion. They were induced to plead guilty, and were sentenced to be transported to Bermuda, and their return prohibited under the penalty of death. The ordinance for their banishment was countersigned by the five members of the new Council.

These high-handed proceedings were undoubtedly illegal, though in themselves they appear to have been not injudicious or inexpedient. The Act gave Lord Durham and his Council power to legislate consistently with the law of Great Britain and Canada, but not to override or set aside any Act of the United Parliament or of the Colonial Legislature; and he must have been well aware it was quite beyond his powers to sentence untried and

unconvicted persons to transportation, or to condemn banished persons to death if they ventured to return without permission. He had no jurisdiction over Bermuda, and consequently no authority to send prisoners there. The Governor of that colony, indeed, wrote to Lord Durham requesting him to remove the rebels whom he had transported thither, as he had no power to detain them. Lord Durham admitted that when he drew up the ordinance in question he was aware of its illegality; but in the difficult and critical circumstances in which he was placed he considered it indispensably necessary for the safety of the colony, and he trusted to the Ministry and the Parliament to condone this stretch of power. It would have served no good purpose to have brought the rebels to trial before a Canadian jury, as it was quite certain that, no matter how flagrant or undeniable their guilt, they would have been acquitted. Shortly before this a French Canadian, named Chartrand, who had been decidedly opposed to the policy and proceedings of the insurgents, was murdered by them in cold blood under circumstances of great atrocity. The persons charged with this crime were arraigned before a jury composed exclusively of French Canadians, for all others had been set aside upon the challenge of the accused. The guilt of the prisoners was proved by the clearest and most indisputable testimony, and was hardly denied by themselves; but the jury, as everybody had predicted, brought in a verdict of not guilty. The French press, before the trial came on, had assiduously inculcated the duty of giving this dishonest and scandalous verdict; zealous partizans had striven to impress this on the minds of the jurors; an array of the leaders of the party had mustered at the trial for the same purpose; and the acquittal of the assassins was celebrated at public entertainments, to which the jury were invited that they might be applauded and thanked for their verdict. Lord Durham argued that, after this acquittal of men who were beyond all

question the perpetrators of an unprovoked and premeditated murder, it would have been worse than useless to expect that convictions for treason or political offences of any kind could be obtained from a Lower Canadian jury. No alternative therefore remained but to keep the prisons overcrowded with those who were implicated in the rebellion, or to get rid of the offenders in some such way as he had felt constrained to adopt.

As might have been foreseen, the illegal procedure of the Governor-General was eagerly laid hold of by the Opposition, for the purpose of assailing the Government as well as annoying Lord Durham. Sir Edward Sugden, the ex-Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, complained in the House of Commons that Lord Durham had violated the spirit if not the letter of the Act by appointing a Council consisting of only five members, and these selected from his own staff and household. But the most formidable attack was made by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords. He had furiously opposed the Act under which the Governor-General was appointed; and now that he had Durham 'on the hip,' he poured out upon him the vials of his wrath, which he had accumulated against his former colleague and antagonist ever since the Grey festival in Edinburgh. He denounced the stretch of jurisdiction, on the part of the Governor-General, in the most unmeasured terms, and magnified his slip regarding banishment to Bermuda as if it had been a great crime. He even went so far as to declare that all Lord Durham's ordinances were unlawful, and laid down various propositions, both with respect to common law and the construction of Acts of Parliament, which the most eminent lawyers in the House declared to be wholly untenable. The Ministers pleaded that the Governor-General had been placed in a situation of extreme difficulty between two parties, the one clamouring for the severest punishment, the other demanding a complete amnesty.

He had adopted a middle course, which had given general satisfaction throughout the colony. Brougham's animosity, however, was not to be appeased. He brought the question twice before the House of Lords; and neither the Lord-Chancellor nor the Master of the Rolls, from whom so much was expected, ventured to oppose him. Lyndhurst, as Lord Campbell remarks, 'cunningly observed that, concurring in the illegality of the banishment to Bermuda, he thought it more prudent to abstain from giving any opinion upon the other legal points mooted by his noble and learned friend.' The Duke of Wellington, however, expressed his disapproval of the reiterated attacks upon Lord Durham, but thought that 'steps should be taken to set the Government of Canada right on proceedings which appeared to be totally illegal.'

The next step taken by the ex-Chancellor was to introduce a Bill for 'declaring the true intent and meaning' of the Canada Act, and 'for indemnifying those who have issued or acted under a certain ordinance made under colour of said Act.' The Bill was read a second time on the 9th of August, after a sharp debate, by a majority of fifty-four to thirty-six. On the following day Lord Melbourne announced to the Lords that the Ministry had resolved to disallow the whole ordinance; in all probability because they felt it difficult, if not impossible, to annul a part of it without repealing the whole. 'I cannot but say,' Melbourne added, 'that it is with the deepest regret and alarm that I have taken this course. I cannot but say that it is not without great apprehensions of the consequences that I have taken this course, and it is not without feeling the greatest pain and regret that I have come to the determination.'

Brougham's Indemnity Bill was severely handled during the debate, and his own inconsistencies and spiteful feeling towards Lord Durham and the Ministry did not escape animadversion. It was pointed out

that his Bill declared that the ordinances in question 'are so much for the service of the public that they ought to be justified by Act of Parliament,' while at the same time he had denounced them as fraught with gross and intolerable injustice. It was also shown that Sir John Colborne had passed an ordinance of attainder more stringent and severe even than Lord Durham's, and quite as illegal; and yet it had lain uncondemned and even unnoticed on the table of the House for six weeks. Ministers only claimed for Lord Durham the power which had been conceded to his predecessor. Lord Brougham was compelled to admit that Lord Durham's powers were co-extensive with those exercised by Sir John Colborne, but he prudently declined to say whether or not that officer had exceeded the limits of his authority. In the end the Bill, so strangely and gratuitously forced upon the Ministry, was denuded of its declaratory and explanatory clause, and passed by the Lords as a mere measure of indemnity.

When the Bill was sent down to the Lower House it excited a keen, almost acrimonious discussion, during which the most conflicting opinions were expressed regarding the legality of the ordinance in general; and Sir George Grey even contended, with Lord Chief-Justice Denman in the Lords, that the provision for the transportation of a portion of the insurgents to Bermuda was perfectly legal. Dr. Lushington remarked with great force and propriety that Lord Durham would have gone still further astray had he had more legal advice, since the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Justice, ex-Chancellor Sugden, Sir William Follett, and Sir George Grey all differed from one another as to the legality of his proceedings. Although not a few influential members on both sides of the House expressed their strong dislike to the Bill, it was ultimately read a third time, without a division, and passed.

Before Lord Durham received the despatch which the Colonial Secretary for-

warded to him, announcing the disannulling of his ordinance, his Lordship had made up his mind to resign, and had notified his resolution to Lord Glenelg. The incessant attacks made upon him in the House of Lords, the feeble defence put forth in his behalf by the Government, and the injurious effect which these circumstances were exercising on his authority and administration, had made him resolve 'on quitting a post which had been rendered untenable by those from whom he expected every possible assistance in maintaining it.' Not contented, however, with vindicating his policy in an elaborate and able despatch which he transmitted to Lord Glenelg, the Governor-General took the unjustifiable step of appealing to the Canadians against the treatment which he had received from the Government and the Legislature at home. In a proclamation which accompanied the promulgation of the Act of Indemnity, and Her Majesty's disallowance of the ordinance, he stated his case in a manner which was calculated to increase the disaffection already existing in Canada, and to place serious obstacles in the way of the restoration of peace and order, and obedience to law. Making every allowance for the provocation which Lord Durham had received, and the factious spirit with which every act of his administration had been criticised, to say nothing of his constitutional irritability of temperament, in issuing this proclamation he forgot alike what was due to his country and to himself; and it is impossible not to feel that however blameworthy the Colonial Secretary was in other respects, he was warranted to say that 'Her Majesty's confidential advisers regard this proclamation not merely as a deviation from the course which has hitherto been invariably pursued by the Governors of British possessions abroad, but as a dangerous departure from the practice and principles of the constitution, and that the terms in which the appeal has been made appear to Her Majesty's Ministers calculated to impair the reverence due to the Royal authority, to derogate from the

character of the Imperial Legislature, to excite amongst the disaffected hopes of impunity, and to enhance the difficulties with which Lord Durham's successor will have to contend.'

'I trusted,' said the Governor-General, 'that I should enjoy throughout the course of my administration all the strength which the cordial and steadfast support of the authorities at home can alone give to their distant officers; and that even party feelings would refrain from molesting me whilst occupied in maintaining the integrity of the British empire. In these just expectations I have been painfully disappointed. From the very commencement of my task the minutest details of my administration have been exposed to incessant criticism in a spirit which has evinced an entire ignorance of the state of this country, and of the only mode in which the supremacy of the British crown can here be upheld and exercised. Those who have in the British Legislature systematically depreciated my powers, and the Ministers of the Crown by their tacit acquiescence therein, have produced the effect of making it too clear that my authority is inadequate for the emergency which called it into existence. At length an Act of my Government, the first and most important which was brought under the notice of the authorities at home, has been annulled, and the entire policy, of which that Act was a small though essential part, has thus been defeated.

'The disposal of the political prisoners was from the first a matter foreign to my mission. With a view to the most easy attainment of the great objects contemplated, that question ought to have been settled before my arrival. But as it was essential to my plans for the future tranquillity and improvement of the colony that I should commence by allaying actual irritation, I had, in the first place, to determine the fate of those who were under prosecution, and to provide for the present security of the province by removing the most dangerous disturbers of its

peace. For these ends the ordinary tribunals, as a recent trial has clearly shown, afforded me no means. Judicial proceedings would only have agitated the public mind afresh, would have put in evidence the sympathy of a large portion of the people with rebellion, and would have given to the disaffected generally a fresh assurance of impunity for political guilt. An acquittal in the face of the clearest evidence, which I am justified in having anticipated as inevitable, would have set the immediate leaders of the insurrection at liberty, absolved from crime and exalted in the eyes of their deluded countrymen as the innocent victims of an unjust imprisonment and vindictive charge. I looked on these as mischiefs which I was bound to avert by the utmost exercise of the powers intrusted to me. I could not, without trial and conviction, take any measures of a purely penal character, but I thought myself justified in availing myself of an acknowledgment of guilt, and adopting the measures of precaution against a small number of the most culpable or most dangerous of the accused. To all the rest I extended a complete amnesty. How am I to provide against the immediate effects of the disallowance of the ordinance? That ordinance was intimately connected with other measures which remain in unrestricted operation. It was coupled with Her Majesty's proclamation of amnesty; and as I judged it becoming that the extraordinary Legislature of Lower Canada should take upon itself all measures of rigorous precaution, and leave to Her Majesty the congenial office of using her royal prerogative for the sole purpose of pardon and mercy, the proclamation contained an entire amnesty, qualified only by the exceptions specified in the ordinance. The ordinance has been disallowed, and the proclamation is confirmed. Her Majesty having been advised to refuse her assent to the exceptions, the amnesty exists without qualification. No impediment therefore exists to the return of the persons who had

made the most distinct admission of guilt, or who had been excluded by me from the province on account of the danger to which its tranquillity would be exposed by their presence; and none can now be enacted without the adoption of measures alike repugnant to my sense of justice and policy.'

Even after they had agreed to annul Lord Durham's ordinance, the Ministry seem to have imagined that he might be induced to retain his office; and when he announced his intention to resign his post, Lord Glenelg entreated him, on public grounds, to reconsider his decision. But after the proclamation of the 9th of October had been issued, the Colonial Secretary intimated that 'the Government were prepared to admit that his continuance in the Government of British North America could be attended with no beneficial results.' They, however, showed their resentment in a rather petty manner, when they issued orders that on Lord Durham's arrival in England the usual honours should not be paid to him.

Public opinion in Canada, however, was decidedly in his Lordship's favour. Meetings were held, and addresses poured in from every quarter, expressing in strong and indignant terms the general feeling of regret at his untimely resignation. The language employed at a farewell dinner given by the officers of the Guards at Quebec, was especially complimentary to his Lordship, and condemnatory of the course adopted by the House of Lords and the Home Government. 'As he went down to the harbour, crowds stretched as far as the eye could see; every head uncovered, and not a sound, but of the carriages.' He left Quebec on the 1st of November, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of that month. In reply to the complimentary addresses that were presented to him at Devonport and Plymouth, he showed that the long sea voyage had not abated his resentment; and he complained in strong terms that he had been suddenly arrested in his efforts to promote the security

and prosperity of our North American possessions. 'I had seen commerce and enterprise reviving,' he said, 'public confidence restored, and the field at length laid open for me where I could raise a constitutional edifice worthy of the British name, and resting on such broad and comprehensive foundations as would insure the good government of the colonies, and the perpetuation of their connection with the British Crown.'

Now that party and factious contests regarding the settlement of our North American colonies are happily at an end, no one will deny that Lord Durham was fully entitled to the credit which he claimed. He induced the harsh and severe Governor of Upper Canada to desist from putting the rebels in his power to death, and to publish a general amnesty. He appointed a land commission, which dealt fairly with the allocation of the unoccupied lands. He instituted a Court of Appeal, composed of the judges, with two additional members; a registry of land titles; an arrangement for the commutation of the feudal tenures of Montreal; and an education commission, which laid the foundation of an excellent system of education for all classes and both races in the colony. Provision was also made for paving and lighting, and furnishing an efficient police to Quebec and Montreal. Above all, he devised a scheme for a federal union of the British North American provinces; so that while their local affairs were managed by the provincial legislature of each colony, they could unite in legislating for matters of common interest to them all in peace, and providing for their mutual defence in case of war. But the completion of this noble scheme had to be intrusted to other hands.

Lord Durham had scarcely reached England, when news arrived that the rebellion had again broken out. Two days after his departure from Canada, a body of 400 men appeared in arms at Beauharnois and carried off Mr. Edward Ellice, M.P. for St. Andrews, who had been private secretary

to Lord Durham, and conveyed him along with three other gentlemen to Chateaugui. On the same day another body of insurgents appeared in the neighbourhood of the Indian village of Caughnawaga; but they were immediately attacked and defeated by the natives, who took seventy of them prisoners, and conveyed them in boats to Montreal. A day or two later, about 4000 insurgents were concentrated at Napierville under the command of Dr. Robert Nelson, and other two of the refugees who had been included in Lord Durham's ordinance; but on the approach of General Sir James Macdonnell at the head of a body of British troops, they hastily dispersed. The captors of Mr. Ellice and his three companions, who were conveying them to Napierville, on hearing of the evacuation of that place, abandoned their charge, and fled. A detachment which had been sent to open communication with the United States, fell in on the way with a party of loyal volunteers, and were entirely defeated, with the loss of eleven killed, and seven made prisoners. The victorious loyalists were attacked on their march by a superior force of the insurgents who had abandoned Napierville; but after a sharp contest, they drove them off with the loss of fifty men killed, and as many wounded.

Meanwhile an organized invasion of the province took place on the part of a body of 500 American 'Sympathizers,' who effected a landing at a place called Prescott, on the St. Lawrence, in Upper Canada. A combined attack was made upon them by Captain Sandom, who commanded a naval force on the St. Lawrence; and Colonel Young at the head of a small body of militia, supported by a party of regulars and marines. After a brief but sharp conflict, the filibusters gave way. A portion of them threw themselves into a large stone building, and some others took up a position in a circular windmill. The British force was at first unable to dislodge them; but on being joined by Colonel Dundas, with four companies of the 83rd Regiment and two 18-pounders and a howitzer, the

attack was renewed, and the invaders speedily surrendered. The British lost forty-five killed and wounded in this affair, but 159 of the enemy were taken and conveyed to Kingston. Another band of these lawless banditti, 400 strong, landed near Sandwich, at the western extremity of Upper Canada. They burned a steamboat which was lying there, set fire to the barracks, in which two of the militia perished, shot the sentry and a man who refused to join them, and murdered in a most barbarous manner Dr. Hume, a military surgeon who fell into their hands. As soon as the news of these shocking outrages reached Sandwich, the militia, under the command of Colonel Prince, marched at once to attack the 'Sympathizers.' On their approach the brigands took to flight without much resistance. Twenty-six of their number, however, were slain, and twenty-five taken prisoners. The loyalists had only two men killed, and the same number wounded.

Sir John Colborne, who was appointed to succeed Lord Durham, resolved to bring the prisoners to trial by a general court-martial. Of twelve who were arraigned before it, two were acquitted, and ten were found guilty and condemned to death. Six of these were recommended to mercy, and only two were executed—a notary, named Cardinal, who had been a member of the House of Assembly, and Duquette, a tavern keeper, who had held a command among the rebels in both insurrections. The jail at Montreal was at this time crowded with prisoners charged with political offences. Out of 753 Sir John Colborne caused 164 to be discharged at once, as having been unjustly arrested. He, indeed, admitted that, in the confusion and alarm on the first outbreak, almost every individual who had been concerned in the last revolt was suspected to have promoted the conspiracy which had been so secretly conducted.

As might have been expected, from the character of the Governor, now that Lord Durham was not at hand to restrain him,

capital punishment was inflicted on a much more extensive scale in the Upper Provinces. The prisoners were tried in the end of November by a court-martial at Kingston. Von Schoultz, a Pole and a soldier of fortune, who commanded the filibusters in their attack on Prescott, and three of his associates who had taken a prominent part in the invasion, were hanged. Shortly after other five shared the same fate, three of whom had been engaged in the affair near Sandwich. Sir George Arthur justified these executions, by alleging that the feelings of the loyal portion of the inhabitants of the province were in the highest degree exasperated against the insurgents, and that they were of opinion that the second outbreak would have been prevented had more severe punishment been inflicted on the traitors at the first.

The celebrated Report which Lord Durham published shortly after his return to England, was highly and justly eulogized even by those who blamed his administration of Canadian affairs. It reflects, indeed, the highest credit on his Lordship's sagacity and foresight, and has ever since guided the policy of his successors. It points out, in clear and trenchant style, the impossibility of harmonizing the working of representative institutions with irresponsible government in the Canadian provinces, restricting the popular branch of the legislature, as had been done, in the enjoyment of the necessary privileges of a representative body, giving the provincial parliament power over the supplies, liberty of speech, and political influence, and then, under the plea of colonial dependence, nullifying the powers thus bestowed. A representative government of this kind was simply a mockery and a source of confusion. The jobbery that prevailed in the North American provinces was of the most flagrant kind. There was a constant scramble, among the members of the Assembly, to get as much as possible of the public money for their respective constituents. General politics were made

to bear on private business, and private business on general politics; and the payment of public services was cut down as low as possible in order that larger sums might be divided among the constituent bodies. The system of making large grants of land to individuals who had no intention to settle upon them, prevailed to a ruinous extent. Nearly the whole of Prince Edward's Island, amounting to about 1,400,000 acres, was alienated in one day by enormous grants, chiefly to absentees, upon conditions which were totally disregarded by them, and never enforced by the Government. The absent proprietors neither improved the land themselves nor allowed others to do so. Of this magnificent territory, enjoying a genial climate and great natural advantages, only 100,000 acres were under cultivation. The rest remained a wilderness, though most advantageously situated for the supply of the surrounding colonies and fisheries, and possessing a soil peculiarly adapted to the production of grain.

Lord Durham's opinion of the judicial system of the provinces was equally unfavourable, and with good reason. 'Beyond the walls of Quebec,' he said, 'all regular administration of the country appeared to cease; and there literally was hardly a single public officer of the civil government, except in Montreal and Three Rivers, to whom any order could be directed. The Solicitor-General commonly resides at Montreal, and in each of the districts there is a sheriff. In the rest of the provinces there is no sheriff, no mayor, no constable, no superior administrative officer of any kind. There are no county, no municipal, no parochial officers, either named by the Crown or elected by the people.' Even the cities of Quebec and Montreal were without any municipal government. The arrangements for the trial of civil suits in the districts were quite insufficient; and in the Court of Appeal, the highest tribunal in Lower Canada, the judges sat in turn on appeals from each other's district.

With regard to the form of government, while there were arrangements peculiar to each province, there were general characteristics and serious defects common to both. In both Lower and Upper Canada 'we find,' said Lord Durham, 'representative government coupled with an irresponsible executive; we find the same constant collision between the branches of the government; the same abuse of the powers of the representative bodies, owing to the anomaly of their position, aided by the want of good municipal institutions; and the same constant interference of the imperial administration in matters which should be left wholly to the provincial governments.'

The main source, however, of all the evils in Lower Canada, for which the British Government and Legislature were not responsible, was the mutual animosity between the French and the English inhabitants, who regarded each other with intense and long-breathed enmity. The difference of language, of laws, and of manners and customs, had arrayed against each other in violent hostility, not only the citizens of the same state, but even the inhabitants of the same village. The distinctions between the two races, in language, religion, and education, were not softened by any social intercourse. They never combined for any public or beneficial object, and they seldom or never met in society. They had their own distinct schools, newspapers, banks, steamboats, and hotels. The French farmers, Lord Durham says, would not compete, even on the neutral ground of the Agricultural Association, with the English. Distinct prizes were given to the two races; and the national ploughing matches were carried on in separate and even distant fields. This fundamental dissimilarity and dislike lay at the root of every dispute which divided the community; and dissensions that at first sight appeared to have had another origin, were but varied forms of this essential difference of race.

It was necessary, therefore, in order to promote the gradual union of the two races, that the Act of 1791, which granted separate constitutions to Upper and Lower Canada, should be repealed, and a form of government instituted which should bring the French and the English settlers to combine in managing their common affairs and promoting their common interests.

When Lord Durham went out to Canada he was in favour of a plan for uniting all the provinces of British North America into one Federal Union; and in order to secure the adoption and arrange the details of this plan, he requested that, first, the Governors of the Lower Province, and secondly, delegates from them, with various leading individuals and public bodies in both provinces, should assemble at Quebec to discuss the subject with his Council. He was of opinion that, while each colony should be left to manage its own local affairs, their representatives might meet in a common central parliament to legislate upon such subjects of common interest as their commercial duties, their railroads, canals, and internal communications, including the navigation of the St. Lawrence. In this way provision would be made for the protection of British interests in the meantime, and for the gradual amalgamation of the provinces in one united and homogeneous community. In a short time, however, he came to the conclusion that the existing state of the two provinces, and especially of Lower Canada, would admit of no delay; that tranquillity could only be restored by subjecting the province to the vigorous rule of a British majority; and that the only efficacious government would be that formed by a legislative union.

Lord Durham therefore recommended that a Bill should be brought in for the immediate repeal of the Act of 1791, which divided the Canadas into two provinces, and for the restoration of their union into one Legislature, and their reconstitution as one province. He suggested that the united Legislature should consist of two

Houses—a House of Assembly, with members chosen by each province in proportions to be settled by an independent commission; and a Legislative Council. The Legislature thus constituted was to have complete control over the whole of the revenues of the Crown, excepting those derived from the sale of lands; and every official in the two provinces, except the Governor and his secretary, was to be responsible to it alone. He also recommended that the Bill should contain provisions ‘by which any or all of the other North American colonies may, on the application of the Legislature, be, with the consent of the two Canadas or their united Legislature, admitted into the union on such terms as may be agreed on between them.’ Lord Durham’s prescient sagacity was shown by his recommending a union not only of the two Canadas, but of all the other North American colonies, which no other statesman of that day seems to have thought either practicable or desirable. ‘But while I convince myself,’ he said, ‘that such desirable ends would be secured by the legislative union of the two provinces, I am inclined to go further, and inquire whether all these objects would not more surely be attained by extending this legislative union over all the British provinces in North America; and whether the advantages which I anticipate for two of them might not, and should not, in justice be extended over all. Such a union would at once decisively settle the question of races; it would enable all the provinces to co-operate for all common purposes; and, above all, it would form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and responsible government for itself, and which, under the protection of the British empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent.’

A quarter of a century had to elapse before the British Legislature and the people and provincial parliaments of the North American colonies could be induced to con-

cur in these sentiments, and to adopt this general legislative union. In the meantime, however, the Government resolved to make an effort to effect a legislative union between the two Canadas; but it speedily appeared that the provinces were not prepared to forget their petty differences, and to carry out this moderate and judicious policy. The House of Assembly in Upper Canada warmly protested against Lord Durham's report and recommendation, and the great majority of the Legislative Council were likewise as decidedly hostile to the project. The Lieutenant-Governor also earnestly recommended, that all Parliamentary discussions on the subject of the union should be postponed while the excitement produced by the rebellion was still fresh in Canada. The scheme for the settlement of the Canadian provinces was in consequence withdrawn, and a Bill for continuing the special powers conferred by the Canada Act on the Governor-General and his Council was passed. Sir John Colborne was rewarded with a peerage and a pension for his services in suppressing the rebellion, and the Government appointed to the important office which he had temporarily held Mr. Poulett Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), who preferred it to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which was at the same time offered him. He

carefully studied and resolved to carry out the policy which Lord Durham had devised; and before entering upon the duties of his office he spent several hours every day in consultation with his mentor, and in preparation with him of the measures he was to adopt. On reaching Canada (19th October, 1839), the new Governor-General proceeded at once to carry out the policy recommended in the report of his predecessor, and he persisted in following his counsels in spite of the opposition of the extreme section of the Liberal party. He succeeded in inducing the Canadians to concur in the union of the provinces, and the British Government on their part agreed to hand over to the Provincial Assembly the complete control of the finances of the colony. The dissensions between the French and English colonists gradually diminished, and ultimately ceased. So did their common quarrels with the British Government, and their agitation for independence; and from that time onward the prosperity of the North American colonies has steadily and rapidly increased. It is matter of regret that Lord Durham did not live to witness the results of the sagacious policy which he had sketched in his invaluable Report. He passed away in the midst of his days, on the 28th of July, 1840, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER XV.

Coronation of the Queen—The Procession—The Spottiswoode Gang—Unsatisfactory conduct of Election Committees—O'Connell's attack upon them—He is reprimanded by the Speaker—Mr. Poulter's complaint against an Election Committee—Condition of the Poor in Ireland—An Irish Poor Law Bill passed—The Irish Tithe Bill—The Appropriation Clause abandoned—The Bill becomes law—Irish Corporation Bill again introduced—It is altered by the Lords, and in consequence abandoned by the Commons—The Riot caused by Thom, an insane brewer, at Canterbury, and its fatal results—Condition of Ireland—Murder of Lord Norbury—Attacks on Lord Normandy's Administration—Renewal of the Slave Trade by Spain and Portugal—Shocking treatment of the Slaves—Failure of the Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies—Infamous conduct of the Jamaica planters—Disgraceful state of the Prisons—The Apprenticeship System abandoned—Conduct of the Jamaica Assembly—They abdicate their functions—The Ministry propose to suspend the Jamaica Constitution—Their Bill opposed by a combination of Tories and Radicals—Their Resignation of Office—Sir Robert Peel sent for by the Queen—The Bedchamber Question—Peel abandons the attempt to form a Government—Recall of the Melbourne Ministry—Their new Jamaica Bill—Attacks on the Irish system of Education—Privy Council scheme of Education for England assailed by the Tories—Carried out by the Government—Unsatisfactory state of the Postal System—Rowland Hill's scheme of cheap Postage adopted by the Ministers—Its beneficial results—Its adoption by the Continental and American Governments—Changes in Lord Melbourne's Administration.

THE Government had gained nothing by the dissolution of Parliament and the new election. The number of their supporters in the House of Commons was not increased, and their influence was lessened by the substitution of O'Connell's nominees for the representatives of great English counties. But the enthusiasm of the people for their youthful sovereign for a season considerably strengthened the hands of her Ministers. The coronation of the Queen took place on the 28th of June, 1838. The ceremony excited very different feelings from those with which the coronation of her uncles, or indeed of any of her predecessors on the throne, had been regarded. As it cost £173,000 less than that of George IV., though £20,000 more than the coronation of William IV., and the banquet in Westminster Hall was omitted, loud complaints were made by some of the Tory peers that the ceremony had been shorn of its splendour and proportions. But the Ministry wisely resolved, instead of a costly banquet which would be enjoyed only by a small number of the upper classes, to increase the splendour of the ceremonial, which could be witnessed by the general public; and they arranged that for the first time there should be an outdoor procession from the palace to Westminster Abbey for the gratification of the vast

multitudes who thronged the streets. The satisfaction which it afforded fully justified this deviation from ancient usage. It was calculated that at least 400,000 persons flocked to the metropolis from all parts of the United Kingdom, and even from foreign countries, to witness the procession; and that, including its own inhabitants, 2,000,000 of sightseers, composed of all ages, sexes, conditions, trades, and professions, were collected in the metropolis on this occasion. 'The earth,' said an onlooker, 'was alive with men, and the habitations in the line of march cast forth their occupants to the balconies and the house-tops; and at every convenient spot in the line of the procession galleries had been erected, which were thronged with spectators. The behaviour of the immense multitude that lined the streets, all eager to obtain a passing glance at their sovereign, was deserving of the highest commendation, and not a single accident occurred to mar the harmony and the enjoyment of the scene.'

The contention between the rival parties in Parliament, however, continued as sharp and persistent as ever. The ministerial gains at the recent election had been mainly in Ireland, and the Conservatives alleged that in not a few instances the return of O'Connell's supporters had been due to priestly or popular intimidation, or to the

improper and illegal manner in which votes were registered in Ireland. It was resolved, therefore, to present petitions against a large number of these returns, and to make a public subscription in order to raise the funds required for this purpose. The chairman of the committee formed in London to collect subscriptions, was Mr. Spottiswoode, one of the Queen's printers, and from him they obtained the designation of the 'Spottiswoode Gang.' This powerful combination placed the members whose seats were attacked at a great disadvantage, and was indignantly denounced by the Liberal party as an unconstitutional interference with the privileges of the House of Commons. The attack on the Irish returns was rendered the more formidable by the scandalous behaviour of the committees to whom election petitions were referred. It was quite notorious that the decisions on these petitions depended almost entirely upon the political opinions of the majority of the committee, and that the claims of party were systematically preferred to the claims of justice and honesty. As Charles Buller remarked, 'None of the parties who came before the election committee had confidence in their honour; quite the contrary; every body said that an election committee of the House of Commons was the last tribunal where a man could expect justice.' In the words of a legal writer on the subject, 'The decision of every man upon oath in a matter involving much subtle disquisition and diversity of opinion, is absolutely predetermined according to his political creed.'

The perversion of justice in connection with these election committees had become so flagrant and scandalous, that in 1837 a committee was appointed to inquire into the whole system; and Mr. Charles Buller, the chairman of the committee, brought in a bill for remedying the abuses of which both parties with equal justice complained. He proposed that the numbers of each committee should be reduced from eleven to five, and that three assessors, barristers of

seven years' standing, should be appointed to act as chairmen of the election committees, and as a court of appeal from the decisions of the revising barristers on matters of law. Mr. O'Connell proposed a scheme of a different kind; he wished to transfer the trial of election petitions to a special jury, assisted by five members of Parliament, and presided over by the Chief-Justice of England; but he withdrew his plan in favour of Buller's scheme, and the second reading of his bill was carried by 214 votes to 160 against a motion by Lord Stanley for its postponement.

An attack was next made on the 'Spottiswoode Gang' by Mr. Blewett, member for the Monmouth boroughs, who denounced it as 'a most foul and atrocious aggression upon the freedom of election;' and Mr. Smith O'Brien, the member for Limerick, called the attention of the House to his own grievances as one of the members whose seat was threatened by the Association, and assailed Burdett, who with the zeal of a new convert, had been very active in procuring subscriptions. But after a tumultuous and discreditable squabble in the House, which drew down a severe rebuke from the Speaker, these movements came to nothing. The feeling which these proceedings excited, however, was not allayed; and at a public dinner given to O'Connell on the 21st of February at the Crown and Anchor, the 'Liberator' in his characteristic style spoke of the 'machinations of the Spottiswoode Gang,' and the 'perjury of the Tory politicians.' 'It was horrible to think,' he said, 'that a body of gentlemen—men who ranked high in society, who were themselves the administrators of the law, and who ought therefore to be above all suspicion—should be perjuring themselves in the committees of the House of Commons.'

No one could deny that O'Connell's statements, though strongly expressed, were substantially true. It was notorious that, when an election committee was to be balloted for, there was a canvas on each

side for a large attendance, and that the decision of the committee could be predicted with almost perfect certainty as soon as the result of the ballot was known. Statements identical with that of O'Connell had often been made, though no doubt expressed in milder language. If passion and enmity to the great Agitator had not blinded the Conservative members, they would have seen that any action taken against O'Connell for stating what every one knew to be true, would only serve to give greater publicity and a wider circulation to the charge. But Lord Maidstone, the eldest son of the Earl of Winchelsea—the foolish son of a foolish sire—thought fit to bring O'Connell's accusation before the House of Commons (February 23rd). O'Connell at once admitted the accuracy of the report, and declared that he had only repeated what every one knew to be true. 'Is there a man,' he said, 'who will put his hand upon his heart and say, upon his honour as a gentleman, that he does not believe it to be substantially true? Heaven help the man who out of that House, even in the presence of members of the House, would venture to assert that these election committees were impartial tribunals assembled solely to do justice between the parties. Why, such an assertion would be turned into ridicule; the man would be laughed to scorn.' Lord Maidstone, three days later, moved a vote of censure against O'Connell; and though the Ministers interposed for his protection, the House, by majorities which varied considerably in numbers, decided that the charge complained of was a false and scandalous imputation upon the honour of the House, that O'Connell had been guilty of a breach of privilege, and finally, that he be reprimanded by the Speaker, which was duly carried into effect. O'Connell, after the scene was over, informed the House that he was bound to re-assert what he had before said.

These proceedings were as unwise as they were undignified. Everybody knew that the Tories had attacked O'Connell, while

they passed over a similar assertion made by other members, merely out of their vindictive hatred to the Irish Agitator; but having entered upon this path, they were obliged to go on. Six weeks afterwards, Mr. Poulter, the Liberal member for Shaftesbury, having been unseated by a committee, addressed a letter to his constituents, in which he declared that the majority of the members of the committee were 'the most corrupt that ever degraded the administration of justice and the name of the Commons of England.' Their 'ignorance was second only to their corruption;' and he added, 'that his seat was as completely filched from him as ever purse was stolen from a person on the common highway.' The letter was brought before the House on the 6th of May by Blackstone, chairman of the committee thus mercilessly assailed, and Poulter was ordered to attend on the following Monday. He at once avowed that he had written the letter, and justified it by the manner in which he had been treated. He was quite willing, he said, to admit that the members of the committee had not been guilty of pecuniary or base corruption; but he was bound to say, that he should ever regard his seat as having been taken from him on political grounds alone. Blackstone, who evidently winced under this temperate statement, which he must have known to be true, insisted that Poulter should be censured. But the feeling was so strong, that it was invidious to censure one man for saying what many others had said, and the truth of which no one could deny, that the motion was carried by only 122 votes to 120. A second proposal, however, that the question should be adjourned for a week was carried by 122 votes to 116, and no more was heard of the matter.

Such proceedings as these are fitted to convey by no means a high idea of the moral principles of the members of the House at this time, and show that a factious spirit was manifested in all their proceedings. Various schemes were proposed for the removal of the scandal connected with

election petitions, and Sir Robert Peel obtained leave to bring in a bill authorizing the Speaker to nominate 'a general committee of elections,' who should be empowered to appoint select committees to adjudicate on election petitions; but nothing came of it at that time.

Ireland still continued to be the main difficulty of the Government, and Irish questions occupied, as they had hitherto done, the chief attention of Parliament. Three important measures relating to that unhappy country—Tithes, Poor Laws, and Corporations—remained still unsettled; and the Ministry resolved to deal first with the legal provision for the poor, as being both the most urgent and the measure most likely to obtain general support. This subject had for several years engaged the attention of the Government and the Legislature. A commission was appointed in 1833 to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes, and their investigations had been continued during three years. Their report, which was presented in 1836, presented an appalling picture of misery; but the remedies which they recommended were regarded by the Ministry as inadequate in some respects, and injurious in others. They therefore resolved, before legislating on the subject, to send Mr. Nicholls, one of the three English Commissioners, to Ireland to make a personal investigation of the state of the poorer classes. His report furnished the basis of the measure which they resolved to introduce, for the purpose of relieving the country from the evils of the almost universal mendicancy that prevailed among the poor. Relief was to be granted to the destitute—the able-bodied as well as the aged and infirm; but it was to be obtained only in workhouses. No outdoor relief was to be given. In order to carry out the regulations prescribed in the measure, Ireland was to be divided into unions, and each union was to be placed under a board of guardians, who must be all laymen. The bill was opposed by O'Connell and several other Irish members, who argued

that it would have the effect of drying up to a considerable extent the natural stream of charity, and of injuring the independence and industry of the labouring classes. But the second reading was carried by a majority of 252. Strange to say, the measure was opposed in Ireland itself by Romanists and Protestants, Tories and Liberals, alike; and Mr. O'Connell did not speak without warrant, when he complained that English gentlemen would force upon the country a measure which the people rejected. The House of Commons, however, persisted in carrying the bill through its various stages, and it passed by a majority of 234 votes against 59. In the House of Lords it was opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Brougham, and other peers, both Conservative and Liberal; but it was supported by the Duke of Wellington as well as by the members of the Cabinet, and passed the House on the 9th of July by a majority of 62. The operation of the new law was much more successful at the outset than was expected, and its effect was soon seen in the diminution of the crowds of beggars on the roads and in the villages.

The Irish Tithe Bill was a much more difficult and embarrassing measure. Session after session it had been brought into Parliament, encumbered with the clause which had been made an instrument for the ejection of the Conservatives from office; and as regularly as it was carried by the Commons it had been rejected by the Lords. It had now become evident to all impartial spectators that the Ministry were too weak to compel the peers to give way, and that a very large proportion of the electors in England and Scotland were not disposed to support the Appropriation clause, or to divert any part of the ecclesiastical funds of Ireland to secular purposes. In these circumstances the Government resolved to yield to the dictates of necessity, and to introduce a Tithe Bill divested of the oft-repeated Appropriation clause. Their scheme, in other respects, did not differ materially from the previous bills for the settlement

of this vexed question. They proposed that the existing tithe composition should be converted into a rent-charge at the rate of 70 per cent. of the nominal value of the tithe; that this income should be secured to the present incumbents by a legislative guarantee; that the State should be authorized, on the termination of existing interests, to redeem each rent-charge at the rate of sixteen years purchase on the full sum of £100; that the money paid for its purchase should be vested either in real property, or in any other security which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should advise; and that the State should devote the rent-charge which it purchased to the support of the Irish constabulary force or the Dublin police, or the expense of criminal prosecutions; and that the sum of £100,000 should be given for the education of the Irish people. The Government had good reason to expect, from the statements made by Sir Robert Peel, that the olive branch which they held out would be welcomed by the Conservative party; but on the 10th of May Sir Thomas Acland, one of the members for Devonshire, and the successor of Wilberforce as the leader of the Evangelical party in the House of Commons, proposed that as a preliminary to any settlement of the tithe question, the appropriation clause should be repealed. Russell naturally complained that he had been deceived, and that an unfair advantage had been taken. 'The only advantage,' he said, 'is that which I shall derive for my future guidance from the past conduct of my opponents, which is that, whenever they make professions, I shall consider these professions as snares; that whenever they make declarations, I shall consider these declarations as stratagems, and intended to deceive.' After a keen debate, in which the leaders on both sides took part, the Conservatives were defeated by 317 votes to 298.

A few days later the Government, though so far victorious, finding that an opposition so powerful could prevent the passing of any measure of which they strongly dis-

approved, resolved to modify their scheme, and to limit the Bill simply to converting the tithe composition into a rent-charge. The Conservatives expressed their willingness to support the measure in this form, but Ward, the author of the appropriation clause, made an ineffectual attempt to reintroduce it into the Bill. The rent-charge was ultimately fixed at £75 per cent. instead of £70 per cent. of the composition. The claim of the nation to repayment of the large sum of £640,000 advanced to the tithe-owners was abandoned, and, in addition, £260,000 was to be devoted to the extinction of the remaining arrears. Lord John Russell was quite entitled to say, as he has done in his 'Recollections and Suggestions,' that 'any one who will read this part of the history of Ireland, will see that a measure which changed the collection of tithes from a question between tithe proctor and peasant into a question between landlord and tenant, with a percentage of twenty-five per cent. to the landlord for the cost and trouble of collection, and thereby put an end to all the oppression, all the ill-will, and all the bloodshed of former contests, was one of immense value to the whole body of small occupiers in Ireland. No measure has tended more to the peaceful progress of Ireland than the Tithe Act of 1838.' Lord John, however, ought to have added that if this question of commutation of tithes in Ireland had not been made a battlefield, on which rival political parties contested their claims to office, this much-needed measure would have been passed three years before.

The Irish Corporations remained still in their original condition, with their gross and flagrant jobbery and corruption in full operation, and their sectarian restrictions unremoved. Peel had intimated, on learning the nature of the Tithe Bill which the Government intended to introduce, that he did not intend to renew his motion instructing the committee to provide for the total abolition of the Irish municipal corporations. It was, therefore, generally expected that this question would at last be settled,

and the people of Ireland allowed to enjoy the same local rights and privileges with their fellow-subjects in Scotland and England. The Bill, which was brought in for the reform of the Irish municipalities, was read a second time without opposition, and on the 29th of May Russell proposed that the House should resolve itself into a committee upon the measure. It divided the towns of Ireland into three classes, arranged in schedules attached to the Bill. The first two contained the larger towns, eleven in number, whose populations exceeded 15,000 each; and the third the smaller towns. Peel at once expressed his willingness to confer corporate rights on the whole of the eleven large towns, provided that the franchise of the new electors should be a *bona fide* one, and be fixed at £10 ratable value either for a house or a house and land. With respect to the smaller towns, he was prepared to leave it to the option of a majority of the £10 electors to apply to the Lord-Lieutenant for a charter of incorporation.

On the 1st of June Lord John Russell intimated that the Government, in order to obtain a settlement of this disputed matter, were willing to concur in the proposal that corporations should be conferred only on the eleven largest towns, allowing the electors of the smaller towns to apply for a charter if they should think proper; but they considered that a uniform £10 franchise would be too high a qualification. They were willing to make a compromise with the Opposition, and to make £10 the qualification for an elector in the larger towns, and £5 in the smaller towns; but beyond this they could not go. A meeting of the supporters of the Government had, in fact, been held a few days before, and they had expressed their annoyance at the concessions already made, and their determination to oppose any further concessions to the men who had refused to confer upon the Irish people equality of privileges with the burghal populations of England and Scotland. The Conser-

vatives, however, persisted in pressing their scheme on the House, but their amendment was rejected by a majority of 286 votes to 266. Apparently irritated at this defeat, Lord Francis Egerton was put up to move, on the 25th of June, the rejection of the Bill; but the majority against this factious proposal was increased to thirty-five.

As usual, however, the Tory majority of the Upper House accomplished what their party in the Commons had been unable to effect. They not only, by a majority of sixty, on the motion of Lyndhurst, substituted a qualification of £10 for the £5 in the Bill, but they introduced various other alterations, all calculated to perpetuate existing abuses, and to restrict the rights and powers of the electors. Melbourne in vain warned them that, having abandoned their former principles, nothing was so imprudent as when they were prepared to make a concession, not to make it sufficiently extensive, and that there was nothing so unwise as not to take care that they obtained the object for which they gave way.

When the Bill was returned to the Commons, Russell commented, in language of well-merited severity, on the nature and object of the amendments which the Lords had introduced into the measure. The present corporation trustees of charities, and for lighting, paving, and cleansing the towns, were to continue in office. So were the entire body of the present local officers of every grade, from the town clerks down to the scavengers. The existing corporations were empowered to mortgage their property for debts due before the passing of the Act, and it was not improbable, he said, that the whole of the property would be mortgaged for debts which nobody had ever heard of. These and other amendments he insisted were passed with the interested, narrow-minded, perhaps factious view of preserving as much power as possible to the old and giving as little as possible to the new corporations in Ireland, placing the latter in a totally different position from that occupied by the municipalities of Scot-

land and England, depriving them of functions essential to the proper management and control of municipal affairs—leaving them, in fact, little to do but debate. Such amendments as these the Government could not accept, but they were willing, in order to bring the contention between the two parties and the two Houses to an amicable conclusion, to substitute an £8 ratable franchise for the £10 qualification, which the Upper House had introduced into the measure. The Lords, however, doggedly refused to make any concession. A conference took place between the Houses, but without effect, and the Municipal Bill was accordingly abandoned.

An incident occurred at this time which threw a lurid light on the state of education and intelligence among certain classes of the English people, even in the vicinity of the Archbishop's Cathedral. Shortly before the general election of 1833 an individual appeared at Canterbury, who styled himself 'Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, Knight of Malta, King of Jerusalem, and King of the Gipsies.' He was a remarkably handsome man, of lofty stature and imposing appearance, with a long flowing beard, at that time rarely seen in England, and clothed in a magnificent uniform of crimson velvet bordered with gold. He addressed the people in vehement, exciting, but somewhat incoherent strains, and gathered around him an enthusiastic crowd of admirers, who were by no means exclusively composed of the lower classes. The Conservative party in Canterbury, much to their discredit, started this unknown and eccentric stranger as a candidate for the representation of the city, mainly for the purpose of causing annoyance, trouble, and expense to the two Whig candidates, who expected to walk the course. The ultra-Radicals combined with the ultra-Tories in the support of the new candidate, and he actually polled 950 votes, though he failed to secure his election. The enthusiasm in his favour, however, was by no means diminished by his defeat. His

portrait was seen in most of the shop windows, and was even stamped on pocket handkerchiefs, and painted on tea-trays. Accompanied by several persons belonging to the higher classes, he attended public meetings on all questions, social and political, harangued the populace on all occasions in a rambling incoherent style, and made extravagant protestations of zeal on behalf of the doctrines of the church. It was at length discovered that this extraordinary personage was an insolvent Cornish brewer of the name of Thom, who was found to be implicated in a smuggling transaction which resulted in his conviction for perjury, and he was sentenced to six years' transportation. Decided symptoms of insanity, however, exhibited themselves, and he was removed from Maidstone gaol to the county lunatic asylum, where he remained in confinement for four years.

At the expiry of that period, in October, 1837, he was delivered up to his friends on the assurance that he was harmless, and that they would take charge of him. But they most improperly allowed him to return to the scene of his former popularity in the spring of 1838. He claimed to be a great religious as well as political reformer, styled himself the Saviour, represented himself as invulnerable to steel or shot, and gathered around him a crowd composed of farmers and yeomanry, as well as of the peasantry, to whom he promised estates and a share of the plunder of Canterbury. A constable named Mears, who was sent to apprehend this crazy impostor, was shot dead by him. A similar fate befell Lieutenant Bennett, the commander of a detachment of the 45th Regiment who were despatched from Canterbury to suppress the insurrection. Thom's deluded followers then made a furious charge upon the soldiers, who were compelled to fire upon them in self-defence; and ten of the assailants, including their insane leader, were killed on the spot, and several others were severely wounded. So strong was the delusion of the fanatical followers of this madman, that they actually

expected him to rise again from the dead, as he had promised. It is a strange and discreditable fact, that the evidence which this lamentable incident afforded of the danger to the public safety arising from the ignorance of the people, does not appear to have stimulated the upper classes to any extent to take measures for the promotion of national education.

Such an interlude, as was furnished by this extraordinary and lamentable moral and intellectual phenomenon, served only for a brief space to divert the attention of the Legislature and the public from the condition of the Irish people. Unhappily it continued still to be a question of political strife, rather than of cautious and impartial statesmanship. A most deplorable incident which occurred at this time contributed not a little to stir up to a blaze the embers of party strife. On the first day of 1839 the Earl of Norbury, a quiet, inoffensive nobleman, who had never taken any part in political affairs, and had lived on the best terms with his Roman Catholic neighbours, was murdered in open day when walking on his own grounds. The assassin was never discovered, though he must have been seen by a concourse of thirty or forty people, who were in attendance upon a funeral in the immediate vicinity of the spot. A meeting of the magistrates of the county of Meath was immediately held, at which a series of violent resolutions were passed; and the memorable statement made by the Under-Secretary, Mr. Drummond, to the magistrates of Tipperary, that 'property has its duties as well as its rights,' was denounced as a deliberate and unfeeling insult, and affirmed to have had the effect of increasing the animosities entertained against the owners of the soil, and to have emboldened the disturbers of the public peace. On the other hand O'Connell, who had recently instituted what he called a Precursor Society for the purpose of obtaining justice to Ireland, commenced a fresh agitation, with his usual energy and violence, to

rouse the millions of Irish Roman Catholics against the Conservative party and the House of Lords. As soon as Parliament met, the contest was transferred to the House of Commons; and the motion of Mr. Shaw, for returns of the number of offences committed in Ireland from 1835 to 1839, gave rise to a keen and protracted discussion, which, however, was intended merely to prepare the way for a violent attack in the House of Lords upon Earl Mulgrave's administration of affairs in Ireland. The Irish viceroy, who had recently been created Marquis of Normanby, had become anxious to be relieved from the duties of his laborious office. Shortly before this time, he had replaced Lord Glenelg at the head of the Colonial department, and was succeeded by Lord Fortescue in the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. The Irish Conservatives were strongly dissatisfied with what they considered the culpable clemency which Normanby had displayed towards political offenders. On the 21st of March, Lord Roden moved for a select committee, to inquire into the state of Ireland as to the crime and outrage which had rendered life and property insecure since 1835. He asked for the committee, on the grounds that throughout the whole country life and property had never been so insecure; that there existed throughout Ireland a systematic, organized, and secret conspiracy, having for its objects entire separation from England, and the annihilation of the Protestant faith; that it was chiefly owing to the violence of the Roman Catholic priesthood that Ireland is a prey to all this misery and agitation; that Lord Normanby had suffered crime to go unpunished; that when he had met it he had neither grappled with it nor subdued it; and that upon him consequently rested the responsibility 'for all these tears of sorrow and streams of blood which had marked the career of his viceregal authority.'

Normanby, on the other hand, endeavoured to prove, by the evidence of the

Crown solicitors and stipendiary magistrates, that twenty-seven counties out of thirty-two were either perfectly tranquil or had considerably improved during the previous six or seven years; and that the remaining five, though not tranquil, were in no way worse than they had always been. The Conservative peers, however, were not convinced by his statements, and the proposed committee was granted by sixty-three votes to fifty-eight.

Lord Melbourne declared that he regarded the motion as a censure upon the Government, and nothing else; and next day Lord John Russell announced his intention to take the opinion of the House of Commons, immediately after the Easter recess, on the conduct of the Irish Government. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, he asked the Lower House to declare '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 laws and the general improvement of that part of the United Kingdom.' After a debate which was protracted over several nights, the motion was carried against an amendment of Sir Robert Peel by 318 votes to 296. The attack was certainly factious and unfair, for though Lord Normanby's Government had failed to redeem Ireland, it had yet in various ways been a boon to that unhappy country, and had made it evident that the misery of the people arose mainly out of social rather than political causes.

At this period the country was roused to deep indignation by the discovery that the slave trade, with all its atrocities, was still flourishing under the patronage of the Spanish and Portuguese authorities. Portugal was bound by a treaty with Great Britain, which declared the slave trade illegal, to bring about the entire abolition of that vile traffic. And in consideration of this agreement, the British Government promised to remit the balance of a debt amounting to £600,000, due by Portugal to this country. Notwithstanding this

engagement, the traffic in slaves continued to be carried on under the flags of Portugal and Spain. The Spanish Government, however, ultimately consented to give Britain the power of seizing vessels equipped for the slave trade, without waiting till they had taken their cargo on board; but a British cruiser could not condemn a Portuguese vessel unless slaves were actually on board of it. In consequence, not only did ships belonging to Portugal prosecute to a large extent the slave carrying trade, but an American vessel, on the payment of 100 dollars, could assume the Portuguese flag at the Cape de Verd. The remonstrances of the British Government against this dishonest and dishonourable procedure were unheeded through the influence of persons interested in the maintenance of the contraband commerce, who gave large bribes to the Portuguese ministers; and even Lord Howard de Walden, the British minister at Lisbon, who was instructed to induce the Portuguese Government to declare the slave trade piracy, instead of obeying his orders (to his shame be it said) actually wrote to the Viscount de la Bandiera, the Portuguese Premier, telling him how he could best evade the demand. Such instruction was not needed. The Portuguese were adepts in the practice of pleading dishonest excuses for the evasion of their duty, and in making inadmissible demands in order to escape from their treaty obligations. The sufferings of the unfortunate negroes, who had been torn from their homes by the slave catchers, had been aggravated by the steps which our country had taken to suppress the trade. Before the traffic in slaves was declared piratical, the unhappy victims of the avarice and cruelty of their fellowmen had the benefit of what was termed the 'Slave Carrying Act,' and were allowed a certain space between decks, and a prescribed supply of provisions and of water. But now that speed had become an indispensable quality in a slave ship, the most limited portion of space, and the scantiest

supply of food that would support life, were provided. In one case, which there was no reason to believe was a solitary one, from 180 to 200 negroes were crowded into a space only two and a-half feet high. Ophthalmia broke out among them, and the captain of the vessel threw overboard the diseased portion of his living cargo, amounting to one half, in order to preserve the remainder. A similar shocking course was frequently adopted to lighten the vessel when chased and in danger of being overtaken by a British cruiser. Lord Brougham mentioned a case where 500 negroes, of both sexes, were thrown into the sea for the purpose of giving the slaver a better chance of making her escape. The miserable creatures thus closely packed together in the hold of the slave ship were not only chained, but soldered and rivetted together—'welded together by the blacksmith in his forge'—so that their irons could not be removed or loosened 'until,' said the ex-Chancellor, 'after enduring the terrors of the middle passage, the children of misery shall be landed to bondage in the civilized world.' These fetters served not only to secure the pirate crew against revolt, and the cargo against suicide, but they also 'served the purpose of weights; and, if time were allowed in the hurry of the flight, more weights were added, to the end that the wretches might be entangled, to prevent their swimming. Other precautions were sometimes used for the same shocking purpose. Water casks have been filled with human beings, and one vessel threw twelve overboard thus laden.' Even when the slave ship pursued its course without interruption, the sufferings endured by its living cargo were almost inconceivable, and the waste of human life was frightful. The slaves, packed together in the hold like herrings in a barrel, the living not unfrequently chained to the putrid dead, had to endure horrors that cannot be described—the filth and the stench, the sea-sickness, the suffocation, the terrible thirst, the fury of despair. As many as 980 slaves were

carried off in one ship, and of this number 600 perished in the voyage, entirely through the sufferings and hardships to which they were subjected. Of 2300 slaves shipped on board four other vessels, no less than 1500 perished in like manner. Even after they had landed, multitudes more perished in what was called 'the seasoning on the coast,' and the remnant who had lived through all this misery were then sold to endure the abominable cruelties of Spanish and Portuguese masters. It was calculated that at least two negroes perished for every one that survived to be sold into slavery. Well might Buxton ask, 'In what other trade did two-thirds of the goods perish, in order that one-third may reach the market?'

This subject was brought before the Upper House by Lord Brougham in a speech of great power. As a proof of the extent to which this horrid traffic was carried, he stated that in 1835 eighty slave ships sailed from the Havannah alone, and six of them brought back an average of about 360 slaves, so that about 28,000 were brought to that port in the course of the year. In the month of December of the same year, between 4000 and 5000 were safely landed at Rio. One of these ships carried 570, another no less than 700 slaves. The British Government allowed the captors a bounty of £5 on every slave recovered and restored to freedom, and Brougham alleged that this head-money system, instead of suppressing the slave trade, encouraged the shipping of slaves. The slave ship was allowed to gain the African shore, and to remain unmolested while the human cargo was being prepared for her. Meanwhile the cruiser kept out of sight until the lading was completed, and the pirate had put to sea, and not till then did she give chase. The bounty, in short, acted as a powerful incitement to capture slaves rather than to stop the slave trade. The ex-Chancellor insisted that men should be rewarded for preventing the slavers' voyage, not for interrupting it; for

saving the Africans from the slave ship, not for seizing the ship after she has received them. Some weeks later he moved a series of resolutions condemning the payment of head-money; but the Peers refused to adopt them. The Ministry, however, agreed to an address on the subject, moved by Sir Robert Inglis in the House of Commons, and resolved that, instead of the existing system of head money, in future a tonnage bounty should be given on captured slave vessels. Measures were also taken to render more efficacious the means used for stopping the traffic in slaves carried on under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags.

The sum of twenty millions which the British Legislature had voted to the planters as compensation for the freedom of their slaves had by no means put an end to the system, or to the troubles to which it had given rise. In some of the colonies, as we have seen, the time appointed for complete emancipation had been anticipated with the best effects; but in others, and especially in Jamaica, the regulations which had been enacted for the protection of the slaves, and their gradual preparation for freedom, had been systematically violated. Not a single step had been taken to distinguish non-predial from predial apprentices, or to afford them adequate food, shelter, or clothing. The enforced labour demanded from the apprentices, as the negroes were now termed, was more severe than it had been in a state of slavery. The Emancipation Act had limited the labour of the apprentices to nine hours a day, but many of them had to walk eight or nine miles to their work, owing to the refusal of their masters to provide them with cottages near the place of their toil; and the working hours were invariably counted from the time they began their labour, which was thus prolonged to fourteen or fifteen hours daily. The slave allowance of food before 1834 was fourteen pints of Indian corn and twenty-one pints of flour a week; but the apprentice was allowed only ten pints of corn and eight pints of flour. Female

slaves were constantly flogged in direct violation of the law. Pregnant women were compelled to labour in the fields. When, exhausted by their long journeys to the place of toil, their hard work, and scanty supply of food, they were unable to continue their labour, they were sent to the house of correction to be punished for their obstinacy by being placed on the treadmill. 'Let the treadmill stop,' said Brougham, 'from the weary limbs and exhausted frame of the sufferers no longer having the power to press it down the requisite number of turns in a minute—the lash instantly resounds through the mansion of woe! Let the stone spread out to be broken not crumble fast enough beneath the arms already scarred, flayed, and wealed by the whip—again the scourge tears afresh the half-healed flesh.' The sufferings thus inflicted were of the most frightful kind. The planters, in fact, seemed bent on working the negroes to death before the expiry of their apprenticeship. Numerous instances were narrated in the reports laid on the tables of the two Houses of Parliament in which the miserable wretches had expired under the combined effect of hard labour, want of food, and savage punishment. Mention was made of the case of eleven females, who were first severely flogged, and then put on the treadmill, where they were compelled to ply until exhausted nature could endure no more. When about to fall off through faintness, they were suspended by the arms in such a manner that the wheel of the treadmill, at each turn, bruised and galled their legs until they became one mass of ulcerated flesh. In the course of a few days the whole of these wretched beings died from the effect of the tortures inflicted on them. The law required that a coroner's inquest should be held. A jury was empanelled on each of these murdered women, and eleven distinct verdicts were returned of 'Died by the visitation of God.'

The statements which Brougham made respecting the sufferings of the apprentices

were fully borne out by the report of a commission appointed by the Colonial office to investigate the charges brought against the planters, and by an officer whom the Government sent out in 1837 to examine and report on the Jamaica prisons. The information thus furnished was circulated throughout the country by the members of the Anti-slavery societies, who had contributed so largely to wipe off that foul blot from our national character. The old agitation was at once renewed. Meetings were held in every part of the country, at which resolutions were passed demanding the abolition of the entire apprenticeship system on the 1st of August, 1838; and upwards of 3000 petitions, with more than 1,000,000 signatures, were presented to Parliament reiterating this demand. Brougham, who had been originally in favour of the apprentice system, was now foremost in demanding its abolition. Buxton had been rejected at the general election of 1837 by the corrupt borough of Weymouth; but in his place Sir George Strickland, one of the members for Yorkshire, acted as the representative of the Abolitionists, and moved on the 29th of March that negro apprenticeship which, as to predial slaves, was by the existing laws to continue till August, 1840, should terminate on the 1st of August, 1838. The Ministry, however, declined to support the motion, on the ground that the existing arrangement had been made the subject of an agreement between Parliament and the planters; but so strong was the feeling on the subject, that they found it necessary to bring in a bill to 'amend the Act for the abolition of slavery, and to provide for the protection and better treatment of the apprentices,' which was carried through both Houses, and became law. Another bill was also passed without opposition, empowering Her Majesty in Council to make rules for the government of the prisons in the West Indies, to appoint inspectors of prisons, to dismiss or suspend officers, and to determine the fitness or unfitness of any plan to be used for purposes of penal confinement.

Neither party had any idea of the consequences that were to flow from this much-needed enactment.

The news of the discussions in the British Parliament, and of the state of feeling among the British people, seems to have produced a considerable effect on the colonists in the West Indies; and when followed up by despatches from the Colonial Office, earnestly recommending the planters to release their apprentices, Antigua, Monserrat, Nevis, and Barbadoes, followed this advice, and at once set at liberty more than 120,000 apprentices. But the planters of Jamaica, who had ever since the abolition of slavery been a thorn in the side of successive Colonial Secretaries and provincial Governors, exhibited their usual refractory disposition, and refused to listen either to the remonstrances of the Legislature, or to the advice of Lord Glenelg. Their conduct throughout showed, in the strongest light, the demoralizing influence which the system of slavery had exercised upon the masters as well as upon the slaves. But even the Jamaica planters now perceived that it was advisable for their own interests that they should yield. There were upwards of 43,000 non-predial negroes on the island who must be emancipated in the course of a few weeks; and the planters could not fail to see that it would then become very difficult, if not impossible, to exact enforced labour from the remainder. They were about to be deprived, by the recent Act, of their favourite instruments for compelling the apprentices to work beyond their strength. That Act regulated the hours of labour, and secured to the apprentices the same allowances to which they had been entitled during their previous state of slavery. It authorized the special magistrates at all hours to inspect prisons and hospitals, as well as plantations and mills. It declared in significant terms that it should no longer be lawful 'to place any female apprentice on a treadmill, or in the chain of any penal gang of any parish, or to punish any female apprentice by whipping or beating her

person, or by cutting off her hair for any offence by her committed.' And it extended similar protection from gross ill-treatment to the male apprentices, after August 15, 1838.

The apprenticeship system, thus restricted and deprived of the power to enforce its requirements by means of the scourge and the treadmill, and other cruel and barbarous instruments, seemed to the Jamaica planters not worth retaining. With the worst possible grace, therefore, the Provincial Legislature passed an Act for the total abolition of the predial apprenticeship on the ensuing 1st of August. But they accompanied the concession, thus wrung from them, with an angry protest against the proceedings of the British Legislature, in which they had the effrontery to boast that Jamaica was not disgraced by the outrages and murders which had taken place in Ireland, or by combinations to raise wages by maiming and murder, or by the horrible trade of Burke, which had given a new word to the English language; and to taunt the House of Commons with the charges of perjury and corruption which had been brought against it by O'Connell.

The Provincial Legislature of Jamaica speedily showed their resentment at the proceedings of the British Parliament and Administration in a more tangible form. They were especially indignant at the measures recently passed for the regulation of prisons. During the period of slavery, when to imprison a slave was to lose his labour, the slave-owners were little disposed to resort to prison discipline. Prisons were therefore of trifling importance as instruments of penal inflictions; and their condition was very little heeded. But after the Act of Emancipation, when the slaves could no longer be punished by the domestic authority of their masters, and the lash of the overseer was transferred to the jailor, it became a matter of vital importance to take proper measures for the regulation of prison discipline. During the period of apprenticeship not a single step was taken

by the Jamaica Legislature to provide for the proper management of their prisons, and in consequence the most frightful abuses prevailed in them. These places of confinement became the scenes of the most revolting cruelties perpetrated upon the negroes who were committed to gaol by the special magistrates, tools of the planters; women were flogged, their hair cut off, and they died there under the severities of the treadmill and the *cat*. 'The punishment,' said the Governor, 'of the *cat* upon women who will not work on the treadmill has become so general, that some example should be made.' Complaints made to the Jamaica Legislature were left unheeded. 'The existing laws,' it was said, 'are sufficient to prevent abuses,' but nothing was done.

The repeated solicitations of successive Governors at length induced the British Government to bring forward the measure for the regulation of prisons, which was unanimously passed by the Parliament. This brought matters to a crisis. The Jamaica Assembly, at their first meeting thereafter, declared that the Prison Act was illegal, and ought not to be obeyed. They denounced the 'continued aggressions of the British Parliament,' and resolved that they would abstain from the exercise of their legislative functions 'until they should be left to the free exercise of their inherent rights as British subjects.' The Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, prorogued the House of Assembly for a few days, to give the members time for reconsideration. But when called together again they doggedly adhered to their resolution, and were in consequence dissolved by the Governor. A new Assembly met on the 18th of December, 1838, but their spirit was not changed. 'Their legislative rights,' they said, 'had been invaded by Parliament,' and 'even in their ordinary legislative proceedings they were fettered by an overruling authority,' meaning the veto of the Crown; 'they must therefore adhere to the determination which was come to by the late

House of Assembly.' In a word, they abdicated their authority, and as far as it lay in their power deprived the people of Jamaica of the exercise of their own Constitution. Sir Lionel Smith was quite justified in saying, in his despatch to the Colonial Secretary, that 'no House of Assembly can now be found that will acknowledge the authority of the Queen, Lords, and Commons to enact laws for Jamaica, or will be likely to pass just and prudent laws for that large portion of the negro population lately brought into freedom. Thus a constituency, which may be computed at about 1500 or 1600 voters for the whole island, have returned, and will continue to return, the same members who deny the authority of the mother country; while upwards of 300,000 of Her Majesty's firm and loyal subjects are totally unrepresented, and my appeal to obtain for them common laws of protection as labourers has been totally disregarded.'

It was impossible that matters could be allowed to remain in this disordered and alarming condition. The interests of all classes in Jamaica urgently called for the enactment of new laws adapted to their new relations. The means which had hitherto been available for protecting the mutual interests, and regulating the different classes in the island, had suddenly ceased to exist. Provision had to be made to secure to the labourer the profits of his labour, and to the capitalist the produce of his capital. Sufficient securities had to be taken against crime, riot, vagrancy, and squatting. The prisons were at once badly regulated and insecure; the judges were incompetent, and juries notoriously corrupt; while the laws respecting ejection, breach of contract, and vagrancy, were capable of being used in a manner at once oppressive and unjust. But the House of Assembly, by their dogged refusal to execute their legislative functions, made it impossible to provide sufficient securities for the peace of society, the protection of the newly emancipated classes, the relief of the poor

and infirm, and the prevention and punishment of crime.

At this crisis the Ministry resolved to follow the precedent which had been set in dealing with the refractory French Canadians—to suspend for five years the Constitution which the Assembly had already put in abeyance, and to transfer during that time to the Governor and Council, assisted by three paid Commissioners, the power of making laws for Jamaica; but all these legislative proceedings were to be submitted to the supervision of the British Parliament. The Government had good reason to expect that this scheme would meet with the approval of the Conservative party, who had given their cordial support to the suspension of the Canadian Constitution, all the more that the Prisons Act, of which the planters complained so bitterly, had passed both Houses of Parliament without the slightest opposition. But it was discovered that nine or ten members of the Radical party disapproved of the Bill, and were prepared to vote against it. Their secession from the Liberal party afforded the Conservatives an opportunity of defeating the Government, which was not to be lost. The 'ancient representative Assembly,' as Lyndhurst termed it, consisting of an oligarchy of forty-five planters, attorneys, and overseers, chosen out of a population of about 3600 by 1600 electors, became all at once far more precious in their eyes than the popularly elected Canadian Assembly. The passage of the Bill was made so strictly a party question that Tory members connected with the West Indies, who had expressed to various members of the Administration their favourable opinion of the measure, were constrained by severe pressure to sacrifice their own sentiments and interests, and to revoke the support promised or implied, for the purpose of gratifying their party. The Conservatives, aided by Mr. Hume and other Radicals, strained every nerve to defeat the measure; and the consequence was that the second reading of

the Bill was carried in a full House by a majority of only five—294 votes to 289.

The Ministry saw clearly that, with the support of such a narrow majority, it would be impossible for them to carry the measure even through the House of Commons; and they therefore resolved to resign office. The Queen accepted their resignation, and by the advice of Lord Melbourne sent for the Duke of Wellington, who recommended her to intrust to Sir Robert Peel the task of forming a new Administration. Peel readily undertook the charge confided to him, and in a brief space made arrangements for filling up the principal offices in the new Cabinet. But on waiting on Her Majesty with the list, and mentioning the changes he proposed to make in the royal household, the Queen intimated that she was not willing to admit any change in the female appointments of her household. Sir Robert, however, persisted in his wish 'so to constitute Her Majesty's household, that Her Majesty's confidential servants might have the advantage of a public demonstration of Her Majesty's full support and confidence,' avowedly as a counterpoise to what he justly considered his greatest difficulty—a minority in the House of Commons. On the following day Peel was informed that the Queen, having considered the proposal 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.' Sir Robert in consequence abandoned the attempt to form a Ministry. Her Majesty in these circumstances appealed for support to her former advisers; and Lord Melbourne and his colleagues readily responded to her appeal. By consenting to retain office they, of course, made themselves responsible for the Queen's refusal to yield to Sir Robert Peel's demands. The point at issue was keenly discussed at the time, both in Parliament and throughout the country. Impartial and candid on-lookers were of opinion that constitutionally Peel was right, but that politically he was

wrong; and a strong feeling was excited among the great body of the people that it was both unnecessary and harsh to demand that, as a condition of his taking office, the youthful sovereign—a mere girl—should be separated from all the friends by whom she had been surrounded since her accession to the throne, that she should be 'debarred from the privileges enjoyed by her meanest subject, condemned to feel that every association, every intimacy, every friendship was held upon the tenure of Ministerial jealousy and fear.' There is reason to believe that Peel himself, though pressed on by the eager and impatient aspirants to office among his followers, was by no means anxious to assume the position which he had been invited to occupy. He was well aware of the enormous difficulties he would have to encounter in connection with the state of affairs in Canada and Jamaica, and above all in Ireland, supported only by a minority in the House of Commons; and he could not have really imagined that these difficulties would have been materially lessened by the exclusion of two middle-aged ladies from the royal household.

On the resumption of office by the Melbourne Ministry, it became necessary for them to prepare a new Bill for dealing with the affairs of Jamaica. The Tory party had not ventured to justify, or even to extenuate, the conduct of the House of Assembly. They merely pleaded for delay in order that the provincial legislature might be afforded another opportunity of retracing their steps, and resuming the performance of their duties. Peel himself had explicitly declared, that if the planters persisted another year in the course they had adopted, he would be prepared to concur in the suspension of the constitution. Acting on this expression of opinion, the Government inserted in their new Jamaica Bill, as the first clause, a proviso that if the Assembly should not, before the 1st of October, make ordinances on the subject of contract for labour, vagrancy, and the occupation of waste lands, the Governor in Council should

be empowered to suspend their sittings, and to legislate on these subjects without their concurrence. This proposal was vehemently opposed by the Tory party, and was carried at last only by a majority of ten. The clause was rejected, however, by the Peers, and when the Bill was returned to the House of Commons the Ministry, in their enfeebled condition, thought it better that it should pass in its mutilated form, than that it should not pass at all.

Another attempt on the part of the Ministry to reform the Irish municipalities, which at the opening of the session they had declared to be 'essential to the interests of Ireland,' failed of success. The Bill was mangled and marred, as usual, by the Peers, and was in consequence abandoned by the Commons. The Government, however, were more successful in repelling the fierce and reiterated attacks which Dr. MacHale, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, and Dr. Phillpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, made upon the Irish Board of Education. Through the zealous and judicious exertions of Whately and Murray, the Protestant and Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin, both men of a liberal and tolerant spirit, the united system of education established by Earl Grey's Ministry continued steadily to extend itself over the country, and at this time about 170,000 children were receiving their education in the National Schools.

While Scotland, a small and poor country, had for centuries enjoyed the inestimable benefit of a system of education, which, as Lord Macaulay remarks, had made the common people of Scotland superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe, the wealthy and populous sister country had made no provision for the education of the working classes. A large portion, indeed, of the English Tory aristocracy had denounced every proposal to educate these classes as fraught with danger to the public welfare. Lord Brougham had repeatedly brought this question before the Legislature, and in

speeches of extraordinary eloquence had moved for returns, and obtained the appointment of committees to inquire into it. In 1837 he brought in a Bill for the establishment of an Education Board to superintend the distribution of the funds set apart for instructing the people, which, however, was not carried beyond its initiatory stage. Mr. Wyse, the member for Waterford, and chairman of the Central Society of Education, an enlightened and zealous friend of education, in the following year moved and nearly carried an address to the Crown for the appointment of 'a Board of Commissioners,' with the same object. A pittance of £20,000 a year had, though not without opposition, been voted in 1833 and subsequent years, for educational purposes, and had been dispensed through the agency of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The former, which absorbed by far the larger share of the grant, prescribed the use of the Church Catechism in all its schools, and required attendance at church on Sundays. The latter, though it made provision for religious instruction, admitted of no particular catechism, and recommended no exclusive form of worship.

Many of the Nonconformists, who had no other means of education within their reach, though they sent their children to the National Society's schools rather than allow them to grow up in ignorance, complained bitterly that schools aided out of national funds were made establishments for manufacturing members of the Church, rather than for training the young for the work of life. Affairs, however, took a new turn in 1839. Encouraged by the reception given to the motion of Mr. Wyse, the Government now resolved to increase the amount of the annual grant to £30,000, and to place the distribution of this sum under a Committee of the Privy Council, composed of the Lord President and five of its members. It was proposed that this Committee should establish a Normal School for the training of teachers, who

were to receive there a religious, general, moral, and industrial training, and that they should appoint inspectors to visit all the schools which obtained a share of the grant, and report on their condition. Religious instruction was to be given in the State-aided schools, but the rights of conscience were to be respected, and assistance was to be given to schools in which the Roman Catholic version of the Scriptures was read. Such were the first germs of that system which has now attained such gigantic proportions.

As soon as the Privy Council scheme was laid before Parliament, it met with the most violent opposition. It was denounced as unconstitutional, as a violation of the privileges of the House, as hostile to the Church, and even to revealed religion, and as a boon to Nonconformists, especially to Roman Catholics. Petitions, got up principally by the clergy, poured in from every quarter of the country against the general features of the plan, and especially against the inspection of the schools. Lord Stanley, unmindful of the fact that he was the author of the Irish system of education, which had been denounced with equal violence by his new coadjutors, led the attack against the Privy Council scheme, and on the 14th of June moved that an address be presented to Her Majesty to rescind the Order in Council for constituting the proposed Board of Privy Council. After a keen discussion, which lasted three nights, Stanley's motion was defeated only by 280 votes to 275. Ten days later (June 24), when the increased grant made on the conditions stated in the minute of the Council was proposed, the Conservatives renewed the contest, and the Ministerial majority was reduced to two; there being 275 in favour of and 273 against it. All the leading members on both sides of the House took part in these debates, but the most eloquent and memorable speech delivered on the occasion was that of Mr. Shiel, who exposed very happily the old cry of 'the Church in danger,' which was

once more raised on this occasion. Addressing the Conservatives in the House, he said, 'What in the world makes you so much afraid? Your Church is incorporated with the State, supported by the interests of the higher orders, and by the faith of the humbler classes. It lifts its mitred head amidst courts and parliaments; it possesses vast revenues; it rules over the two most famous universities in the world; it presides over the two great patrician seminaries of the land; it has retained all the pomp, pride, and glorious circumstance of the establishment of which it is a perpetuation; and bishops, deans, cathedrals and golden stalls. It is distinguished by a prelacy eminent for learning, and a clergy distinguished for energy, activity, and an organized spirit of confederacy. Such is your establishment. And can you bring yourselves to believe that such a fabric, based on the national belief and towering amongst aristocratic sustinment, can be prostrated on the rock of truth on which you believe it to be raised—not by foreign invasion, not by intestine commotion, not by great moral concussion, but by a discharge of Douay Testaments and Popish Missals from the hands of a set of shoeless, shirtless, Popish paupers, gathered under the command of the Privy Council from the lanes of Liverpool, the alleys of Manchester and Salford, or the receptacles of St. Giles? This ague of apprehension for your Church is idle, and would be ridiculous but for the fatal results it produces, and the constant injustice it works.'

The eloquence of Shiel, however, and the arguments of Russell and Morpeth, failed to conciliate the Conservative and clerical opponents of the Ministerial scheme; and on the 5th of July the Archbishop of Canterbury moved a series of six resolutions condemnatory of the proposed arrangements, especially in regard to the institution of a normal school and the right of inspection; and expressing a strong opinion that the powers intrusted to the Committee of Council ought not to be committed to any public authority

without the consent of Parliament. The first of these resolutions was carried by 229 votes to 118, and the remainder were adopted without a division—the Bishop of Norwich being the only prelate who opposed them. They were then embodied in an address to the Crown, which was presented by the Lords in a body.

The Ministry, feeble as they were, had the firmness to adhere to their educational scheme, though supported only by a majority of two in the Commons, and condemned by the great body of the Peers; and they had even the courage to advise Her Majesty to express her regret that the Lords should have thought it necessary to present an address against the Privy Council plan.

Another important reform was effected at this time amid many misgivings and objections—the re-organization of the postal system—the momentous effects of which very few persons foresaw on its introduction. The arrangements of the Post Office had long been in a most unsatisfactory state. It is scarcely possible for those who have never known anything practically of the former state of matters, but have all their lifetime enjoyed the benefits of cheap and rapid postal communication, to form a conception of the manifold evils of the old Post Office arrangements, and of the extent to which they not only impeded the extension of commerce, but exercised an injurious influence on the moral and intellectual welfare of the people. The conveyance of letters and newspapers was a strict Government monopoly, which was valued entirely for the sake of the large revenue that it yielded; and every proposal for its improvement was resisted by the officials intrusted with its management, from an apprehension that the amount which it annually remitted to the Treasury might be diminished. The public convenience was the last thing thought of by these imperious and shortsighted obstructives. Forty-five years ago there were only about 4000 post or receiving offices in the

whole United Kingdom, and the efforts made to increase their number were almost invariably unsuccessful. Hence, great numbers of populous villages and districts were left without any proper or direct postal accommodation, the nearest post office being not unfrequently ten miles distant; and the mode of conveyance was so slow, and the route often so circuitous, that it was no uncommon occurrence for a letter sent from one town to another only ten miles off, to be forty-eight hours on the way, costing at least $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ for postage. A letter from London to Edinburgh, or indeed from any town 200 miles distant, was charged with the exorbitant impost of $1s. 1\frac{1}{2}d.$ The average postage charged on general post letters was more than 1000 per cent. on the prime cost. The charge was regulated not by weight, but by the number of sheets; and two of these, no matter how thin and light, entailed double postage.

As a matter of course, exactions so burdensome and unjust were systematically evaded; the habitual violation of the law in this case being generally regarded as a very venial offence. An illegal traffic in the conveyance of letters was carried on to an almost incredible extent. The carriers plying between Birmingham and the neighbouring towns, for example, were in the constant habit of conveying letters, which they delivered at the charge of $1d.$ each; and there is reason to believe that the number of letters distributed in this way greatly exceeded the numbers distributed in the same district by the Post Office. It also transpired that vast numbers were every day forwarded by carriers and coach proprietors. A bag was discovered in the warehouse of a carrier containing no less than 1100 letters. An occasional seizure was made; but the traffic was so openly carried on, that the risk could not have been great. In 1833, though one of the fines incurred was so high as £1000, the highest amount paid was only £160. The privilege of franking letters, which was conferred on

members of both Houses of Parliament and on Government officials, was grossly abused in favour of relatives, friends, and supporters, and was employed to such an extent, that 10 per cent. of all the letters and parcels which were conveyed by the Post Office contributed nothing to the public revenue. The burden which the system entailed on the community at large was keenly felt by all classes, except the rich and the privileged section; but it pressed with peculiar and galling weight on the poor, among whom it rendered correspondence almost impossible. It was no uncommon occurrence in those days for a letter to remain for weeks stuck up in the Post Office, from the sheer inability of the person to whom it was addressed to pay the postage. Cases have been known in which poor people were for six or eight months left in ignorance of the death of a relative, in consequence of their inability to pay the required sum. Attempts were often made to convey a message, by hiding it in a corner of an old newspaper, which passed free, or by the use of invisible ink, or by marking certain letters at intervals in the journal. A poor widow, residing in a rural district of Scotland, contrived to obtain tidings of her equally poor son located in England, through the medium of a blank sheet of paper addressed to her through the post; the sight of which in the postman's hands every three months, though its delivery was declined, made her aware that her son was alive and well. It must have cost the Post Office officials no small amount of time and toil to watch against and detect these attempts to evade the law. Kindhearted Post Office keepers in country districts not unfrequently gave up letters to poor persons with whom they were acquainted, running the risk of nonpayment, but generally in the end being repaid by degrees. Mention was made by one of them of a woman, who had six children and was very badly off, making offer of a silver spoon to keep till she could raise the money for the postage of a letter from her husband, who was confined in a

prison for debt. The letter was given up to her, but the spoon was not taken. It was painful to witness, as the postmasters did often, the struggle between poverty and natural affection which made a poor labouring man hesitate to take a letter from a son or daughter at a distance, because the postage would take a loaf of bread from his other children. 'Sixpence,' said Mr. Brown, a member of the Society of Friends, 'is a third of a poor man's daily income. If a gentleman, whose fortune is £1000 a year, or £3 a day, had to pay one-third of his daily income—that is, a sovereign—for a letter, how often would he write letters of friendship? The people do not think of using the Post Office. It is barred against them by the very high charge.'

The fact that while the population and wealth of the country had greatly increased, the Post-Office revenue was stationary, indeed to some small extent retrograde, was of itself sufficient to show that the system was radically unsound and defective; for every improvement in wealth, commercial activity, and education, ought in a proportionate degree to have extended its correspondence. But Mr. Hill proved that if the Post Office had increased since 1815 only at the rate of population, it would have exhibited in 1839 an increase of more than £500,000, and that if it had increased as rapidly as the stage coach duties it would have exhibited an increase of £2,000,000.

The excessive rate of postage, however, was not the only obstacle to the extension of the public correspondence. The whole postal arrangements at this time were calculated to cause both expense and delay. The letter boxes, even in London, were kept open only from eight in the morning until seven o'clock at night, and the suggestion that they should not be closed until midnight was resisted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground that such an arrangement would have seriously interfered with the comfort of the officials of the Post Office. Clerks in the London Post Office were unemployed from nine in the morning

until four o'clock in the afternoon, and were, therefore, their own masters during nearly the whole day. The despatch of a second mail from London would have materially interfered with their comfort in any other employment which they might have undertaken. This thoughtful care for the interests of the clerks, at the expense of the public, caused letters which passed through London to be delayed there for the best part of twenty-four hours, or, if a Sunday happened to intervene, for forty-eight hours. It was stated by Mr. Hill that 'a letter written at Uxbridge after the close of the Post Office on Friday night was not delivered at Gravesend, a distance of less than forty miles, earlier than Tuesday morning.' The money-order office was under private management; the public were charged eightpence in the pound for the transmission of money, and no accounts were ever rendered to the Postmaster-General. The postal officials were authorized to open any letters, to see if they had been posted at the place at which they were written; and it was notorious that in country places letters were not secure from the prying curiosity of the keepers of the Post Office. The whole arrangements of the department, in short, were devised, not for the public benefit and convenience, but for the purpose of raising the largest possible revenue with the least possible amount of trouble and expense.

Numerous complaints had from time to time been made, especially by the commercial classes, against the postal system of the country. Mr. Wallace, the energetic member for Greenock, and a zealous advocate of Post Office reform, proposed an inquiry into the working of the department in 1834, and again in 1835; and the Ministry, though Mr. Vernon Smith, one of the subordinate officials, replied to the arguments of Mr. Wallace in a manner as impertinent as it was futile, were constrained to appoint a commission to inquire into the subject. The commissioners re-

commended that the office of Postmaster-General should be abolished, and the postal department placed under three commissioners; and a Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1836, to carry out this proposed alteration in the management.

A reform of this kind, however, was not likely to satisfy the Post Office reformers or the House of Commons, especially now that a scheme of a very different kind had been brought before the public in a pamphlet, entitled, 'Post Office Reform: its Importance and Practicability,' by Rowland Hill, the son of a Birmingham schoolmaster, who had himself been the head of an educational establishment. At an early period Mr. Hill's attention had been directed towards postal reform; but it was not until 1835 that he had made it the subject of special investigation. He had observed that the reduction of the duties on soap, tea, coffee, cotton goods, and other articles of common use, had been followed by a large increase in consumption; and he came to the conclusion that the high rate of postage was the main reason why the revenue derived from the Post Office was stationary, while the country had largely increased in population and wealth. On a careful analysis of the accounts of the department, he found that a large portion of the heavy expenses which it incurred was not directly connected with the conveyance of letters. As the postage of letters was not prepaid at that time, one great source of expense was what was technically called the 'taxing of letters'—ascertaining and marking the postage to be charged on each, one by one. The complicated and yet very unsatisfactory system of accounts was another cause of heavy expense; and the third was the arrangement which saddled the letter carrier with the labour of collecting the postage on each letter. On a careful consideration of these various items of expenditure, Mr. Hill came to the conclusion that they could be saved by a low and uniform rate of postage, combined with a system of pre-

payment. The apparent cost of the receipt, conveyance, and distribution of letters and newspapers within the United Kingdom was on the average $\frac{2}{3}$ of a penny, and of this sum only one-third went to conveyance. As letters are much lighter than newspapers, the average expense of conveying a letter was probably only $\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny. The cost of conveying a letter from London to Edinburgh, a distance of 400 miles, was no more than $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a penny. 'Thus, then,' Mr. Hill says, 'I found first that the cost of conveying a letter between post town and post town was exceeding small; secondly, that it had but little relation to distance; and thirdly, that it depended much upon the number of letters conveyed by the particular mail; and as the cost per letter would diminish with every increase in such number, and as such increase would certainly follow reduction of postage, it followed that if a greater reduction could be effected, the cost of conveyance per letter, already so small, might be deemed absolutely insignificant.' Mr. Hill therefore recommended that a uniform postage of a penny the half-ounce should be adopted throughout the whole of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Hill's suggestions, supported as they were by a strong array of facts, made a powerful impression on the people. Mr. Wallace, to whose indefatigable labours Mr. Hill pays a high tribute, after some opposition from the Ministry, obtained, in November, 1837, the appointment of a committee 'to inquire into the present rates and modes of charging postage, with a view to such reduction thereof as may be made without injury to the revenue; and for this purpose to examine especially the mode recommended for charging and collecting postage in the pamphlet of Mr. Hill.' As a matter of course, the scheme was ridiculed, and denounced by the officials of the Post Office. Lord Lichfield, the Postmaster-General, declared that 'of all the wild and visionary schemes

which he had ever heard or read of, it was the most extraordinary. If the postage charge,' he said, 'were generally reduced to a penny per letter, it would require twelve times the present circulation of letters to produce the revenue now derived from the Post-Office charges.' He added, 'The mails will have to carry twelve times as much in weight, and therefore the charge for transmission, instead of £100,000 as now, must be twelve times that amount.' His Lordship was ignorant of the fact that the existing mail coaches were by no means fully laden; many of them, indeed, having very little to carry; and that the chargeable letters formed but an inconsiderable part of the mail. The subordinate officials of the Post Office dutifully supported their official superior, and brought forward no end of objections to the proposed uniform penny postage, most of them founded either on prejudice or ignorance of the real state of matters. Before the committee, the Post Office and Mr. Hill were perpetually in conflict on matters of fact, and it invariably turned out that Mr. Hill was always right in his facts, and that the Post Office was always wrong, even on so plain a point as the average number of letters at that time passing through the Post Office.

The committee sat no less than sixty-three days; and besides the officials of the Post-Office department in the three kingdoms, and of the Board of Stamps and Taxes, they examined Mr. Hill and eighty-three other witnesses of various occupations, professions, and trades, from different parts of the country. They received a great deal of curious and interesting evidence, especially respecting the vast extent to which the illegal conveyance of letters was carried on. Mr. Cobden, who had been deputed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to state the result of its inquiries, reported that 'the extent to which evasion is there practised is incredible; five-sixths of the letters from Manchester to London do not pass through the Post Office.' Similar evidence was received from Glasgow. Not

one-fiftieth part of the letters sent from Walsall was sent by post. Two carriers of Cirencester carried four times as many letters as the mail did. Letters were carried wholesale in the parcels sent by London booksellers to the provinces, in warehousemen's bales, in 'weavers' bags,' in 'family boxes,' and by means of other similar devices. But the evasion of the postage on letters sent to the outports, for the purpose of being put on board of ships bound to foreign countries, far exceeded the evasion of the inland postage. The American packet, which at that time left London every ten days, carried 4000 letters each voyage, which did not pass through the Post Office. It appeared that there were large numbers of receiving offices in London for letters to be forwarded to foreign ports in other ways than by post; and almost every shipbroker in London had a bag hanging in his office for letters to be forwarded by the ship to which he acted as broker. Mr. Maury, president of the 'American Chamber of Commerce' in Liverpool, mentioned that when a regular steam communication was established between that town and New York, the postmaster, expecting to have a large despatch of letters to provide for, furnished himself with a bag of ample dimensions; but, to his astonishment, he received only five in all, though by the first steamer at least 10,000 letters were in fact sent all in one bag. Mr. Maury himself sent at least 200 by that ship, which went free. The committee, in short, were fully warranted to come to the conclusion 'that, with regard to large classes of the community, those principally to whom it is a matter of necessity to correspond on matters of business, and to whom, also, it is a matter of importance to save the expense of postage, the Post Office, instead of being viewed, as it ought to be' and would be under a wise administration of it, as an institution of ready and universal access, distributing equally to all, and with an open hand, the blessing of commerce and civilization, is regarded by

them as an establishment too expensive to be made use of, and as one with the employment of which they endeavour to dispense by every means in their power.'

It was quite evident that some steps required to be taken in order to place the system on a sound and proper footing; and at length, in spite of the dogged and angry opposition of the Post-Office authorities, especially of Colonel Maberley the secretary, who declared that 'the plan appeared to him a most preposterous one, utterly unsupported by facts and resting entirely on assumptions,' the committee resolved, by the casting vote of the chairman, Mr. Wallace, to recommend the establishment of a uniform rate of inland postage between one post town and another. The majority, however, timidly shrank from recommending the adoption of a uniform rate of one penny per half-ounce without regard to distance. But they agreed, again by the casting vote of the chairman, to report in favour of a uniform twopenny rate. Petitions poured in from all quarters, and especially from the most influential public bodies and commercial and trading communities, in favour of the penny rate; 215 were presented to the House of Commons in the course of six days, and during the session of 1839, the petitions were upwards of 10,000 in number, with upwards of 250,000 signatures. The *Times* and the public journals in general earnestly advocated the scheme, and a deputation of 150 members of Parliament waited on Lord Melbourne to press its adoption. The Cabinet in these circumstances judiciously preferred the measure as it was embodied in Hill's pamphlet, to the modified scheme recommended by the committee. 'They were unanimous,' Lord John Russell says, 'in favour of the ingenious and popular plan of a penny postage; but,' he justly adds, 'they ought to have enacted at the same time such a measure as would have secured a revenue sufficient to defray the national expenditure. Failing to do this, there was for three years together a deficit,

which exposed the Government to the powerful reproaches and unanswerable objections of Sir Robert Peel.' The Government admittedly adopted this resolution with reluctance, and not without misgivings as to the result. They ultimately agreed, however, to reduce the postage on the 5th of December, 1839, to a uniform rate of fourpence, in order to prevent the Post Office servants from being overwhelmed by a sudden and enormous increase in the number of letters, and on the 10th of January, 1840, to a uniform rate of a penny. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in moving a resolution to that effect, proposed that the privilege of receiving and sending letters post free, which had been conferred on members of Parliament and had been grossly abused, should be abolished; that official franking should be strictly regulated; and that the House should pledge itself at the same time to make good any deficiency of revenue which might be occasioned by such an alteration in the rates of the existing duties.

The proposal was opposed by Mr. Goulbourn, Sir Robert Peel, and other members of the Tory party, chiefly on financial grounds, and the large powers granted to the Treasury; but it was carried by a majority of nearly two to one. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington said, though he felt little confidence in the measure, and could never cease to lament that it should ever have been adopted, yet under all the circumstances, he earnestly entreated their Lordships to pass it, as it was most anxiously expected by the country. The Peers followed the judicious advice of their illustrious leader, and the Bill became law without further opposition.

It was evidently a matter of paramount importance that the carrying out this new scheme should be intrusted to its inventor; but no place could be found for him in the Post Office, which, from the time it was first mooted, had done nothing towards the penny postage but 'oppose, delay, contradict, and show itself uniformly wrong.' A place,

however, was made for him in the Treasury. Mr. Hill at this time was Secretary to the South Australian Colonization Commission, a comfortable and permanent office; and he was offered a partnership in a well-known London firm which would have yielded him £2500 a year. But he was not connected in any way, not even by a tenth cousinship, with any of the 'great governing families of England;' an engagement for two years only at a salary of £500 was therefore regarded as an adequate remuneration for the services of a schoolmaster's son, who was to give up his whole time to the duties of his office. 'I could scarcely avoid,' says Mr. Hill, 'regarding the offer as an affront.' When his brother heard the insulting proposal, 'his face flushed, and his whole frame quivered with indignation.' The Treasury speedily found that they had made a mistake, and they offered in succession to raise Mr. Hill's salary to £800, £1000, and ultimately to £1500 a year. On these terms, though thwarted and opposed at every turn by the Post-Office authorities, with Colonel Maberley at their head, Mr. Hill continued to labour indefatigably to facilitate the progress and to diminish the cost of his scheme. But in 1842 the Conservatives, who by this time had come into power, dismissed him from his office on the plea that his work was completed, while in reality it was little more than begun, and turned him adrift to begin the world anew at nearly fifty years of age, without employment of any kind being offered him. This act of scandalous injustice and ingratitude to a great public benefactor excited deep and general indignation throughout the country. The sum of £16,000 was subscribed and presented to Mr. Hill, and he received many other gratifying tokens of the estimation in which his beneficent invention was held. In 1846, on the downfall of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, Mr. Hill was made Secretary to the Postmaster-General (an office created for him), but at a lower salary than he had received at the Treasury. He found him-

self, as before, in perpetual discord with the Post-Office authorities, who opposed and thwarted him in every way, and even stirred up the subordinates in the department to resist Mr. Hill's plans. At length, in 1854, another situation was provided for Colonel Maberley (the 'inharmonious Secretary'), and Mr. Hill was appointed to be Secretary at the Post Office, the position which he ought to have held from the first. Then, at last, his long contemplated reforms were fully and fairly carried out, including the amalgamation of the general and district posts, the division of London into ten districts, the earlier delivery of letters all over the country, the book and parcel post, the registration of letters, packet service, colonial postage, telegraphs, rectification of accounts, and all the other familiar improvements which have contributed so largely to promote the public benefit and the public convenience.

The benefits of the penny postage were not limited to the United Kingdom and its colonial dependencies. Strange to say, Spain and Russia, who usually lag in the rear of European civilization and liberality, were the first countries to adopt the improvement; but their example was speedily followed by other Continental Governments, and by 1854 Mr. Hill's plan had been adopted, more or less completely, also in Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Brazil, Bremen, Brunswick, Chili, Denmark, France, Frankfort, Hamburg, Hanover, Lubeck, Naples, New Granada, Netherlands, Oldenburg, Peru, Portugal, Prussia, Sardinia, Saxony, Switzerland, Tuscany, United States, and Wurtemberg. Sweden did not long remain an exception.

'Peace has its triumphs no less glorious than those of war;' and the victory achieved by Sir Rowland Hill, on behalf not only of his fellow-countrymen, but of mankind, is one of the most important and beneficent ever gained in the history of civilization. The financial, commercial, and political advantages of cheap and speedy postage have been chronicled and reiterated by

a thousand pens; and it has been fully set forth how largely our country, and indeed the whole civilized world, have been benefited by its agency both direct and indirect; how postal communications, letters, newspapers, and post-cards have been increased twenty-fold, and Post Offices six-fold; and how the net revenue yielded by the Post Office has been doubled, after providing to an enormously larger extent and incomparably greater efficiency for the requirements of the public. The wants and wishes of the most distant nations are now made known to the busy population in the great central seats of industry; and the literature, the scientific discoveries, and the moral and religious disquisitions of Britain, as well as her manufactures, are conveyed to the ends of the earth with a rapidity almost incredible. The results of the system in promoting the advancement of commerce, education, art, and science at home, and in bringing distant nations into close and friendly intercourse, have largely exceeded the most sanguine expectations. But the influence which it has exerted on the moral and intellectual welfare of our countrymen, and the benefits which it has conferred on social and domestic interests, far surpass in value the sum of its material advantages. When the sons and daughters of the industrious classes of the community leave, as they must do, the protection of the paternal roof to enter upon the battle of life, and to encounter the temptations and the difficulties which attend every active career, they are no longer saddened, as formerly, by the sense of an entire separation from home and its affections and sympathy. The moral dangers which the young of both sexes incur on their entrance upon life are now incalculably lessened by the facilities afforded them of at once making known their circumstances, and asking counsel of their best friends—a safeguard which without doubt has preserved many thousands from becoming aliens and outcasts from the family circle. The knowledge that home is still near, as it were,

and of ready access; the facility afforded them of obtaining a father's or a mother's advice and sympathy in the time of need; the opportunity of disburdening their minds of cares, anxieties, and apprehensions—must be of especially inestimable value to the hundreds and thousands of operatives, artizans, shop-women, milliners, and domestic servants, who are compelled to quit in search of employment the rural districts in which they were brought up, and to expose themselves to all the temptations of a great city. Instead of the sense of utter loneliness under their separation from home and intercourse only with strangers, which must have oppressed a former generation of their class, they are now cheered and strengthened by the thought that the best influences of their old life are still mingling with and purifying and elevating the new; for what was forty years ago a rare and expensive indulgence, is now a benefit which may be enjoyed by all. Hardly less important must this ready access to home, this unrestrained intercourse with friends, be to the sick and the suffering, the aged and the infirm; and the influence of the frequent letter, the occasional flower or other reminiscence of home, in smoothing the pillow of the sick, or, on the other hand, the effect of the daily bulletin in relieving the anxieties of absent friends, cannot well be over-estimated. The venerable author of this beneficent system enjoyed the rare felicity of witnessing the marvellous success of his scheme, not merely in vastly expanding the commerce and augmenting the wealth of the country, but also in encouraging science and literature, and above all in directly promoting the social and domestic virtues and the happiness of all classes of the community. The services of this great public benefactor were at last fully appreciated by the Government, as they had long before been by the country. He received the honour of knighthood from the sovereign, and the degree of

D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, the freedom of the city of London, and numerous other tokens of public gratitude. On his resignation of his office in 1864, on account of severe illness and advanced years, he was awarded his full salary for life, and received in addition a grant of £20,000 from Parliament. He survived his retirement from active life fifteen years, and passed away, August 27, 1879, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The mortal remains of the author of the greatest social improvement that has taken place in the present century, perhaps in the history of our country, were worthily deposited in the British Valhalla, Westminster Abbey, beside those of our great poets, historians, men of science, philanthropists, statesmen, and warriors; and his memory will long be affectionately cherished by the people who have benefited so largely by his labours.

At the close of the session of 1839 several important changes took place in the Ministry. Spring Rice was appointed Comptroller of the Exchequer, and was elevated to the House of Lords with the title of Baron Monteagle. Francis Baring was selected to succeed him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of Normanby was transferred from the Colonial to the Home Office; and Lord John Russell became Colonial Minister. Lord Howick was so much dissatisfied with these interchanges of offices that he resigned the Secretaryship of the War Office; and his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), retired from the Admiralty. Mr. Macaulay, who had recently returned from India, succeeded Lord Howick at the War Office, and was elected member for Edinburgh. On the reconstruction of the Ministry, Mr. Abercromby resigned the Speakership on the ground of ill health, and was replaced by Mr. John Shaw Lefevre, who was elected (27th May) by 317 votes to 299 over Mr. Goulbourn the Tory candidate for the office.

CHAPTER XVI.

Marriage of the Queen—Discussions in Parliament respecting Prince Albert's Naturalization and Annuity—Popularity of the Queen's choice—Character of Prince Albert—State of the Country—Quarrel between the Parliament and the Courts of Law—The case of *Stockdale v. Hansard*—Resolutions of the House of Commons respecting privilege—Actions brought by *Stockdale*—*Stockdale* and the Sheriffs committed—The Government Bill to settle the Question passed—The Irish Municipal Bill passed—Protest of Bishop *Phillpotts*—Vote of Want of Confidence in the Ministry proposed, but rejected—Stanley's Irish Registration Bill—Disorderly Scene in the House of Commons—Registration Bills of *Stanley* and *Morpeth*—Financial Embarrassments of the Government—The Budgets of 1840 and 1841—The Corn Laws—The Ministry defeated on the Sugar Duties—A vote of Want of Confidence carried—Dissolution of Parliament—Election Returns unfavourable to the Ministry—Their Resignation—Measures carried by the Whig Administration.

THE Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 16th of January, 1840, and the speech from the throne announced her intention to marry her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, the second son of Ernest the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and nephew to Leopold, King of Belgium, and to the Duchess of Kent. A marriage between the heiress to the British crown and Prince Albert had been thought most desirable by her mother's relatives at a time when the two were mere children. Nothing, however, was said on the subject until after a visit which the Prince paid to England along with his father in 1836, when the youthful sovereign seemed to cherish a marked preference for her handsome cousin. Prince Albert visited England again in 1839, and the Queen, in a letter to her uncle, King Leopold, expressed her opinion of him in such glowing terms as clearly to foreshadow the approaching result. 'Albert's beauty,' she said, 'is most striking, and he is most amiable and unaffected; in short, very fascinating.' The betrothal took place on the 10th of October, and was formally announced to the members of the Privy Council at Buckingham Palace, on the 23rd of November. The intimation was most cordially welcomed by the nation; and at the opening of the session of Parliament enthusiastic crowds lined the streets from Buckingham Palace to Westminster, and the formal announcement by Her Majesty was received with the warmest congratu-

lations and expressions of sympathy from members on both sides of the House. Sir Robert Peel, in supporting the address of congratulation which followed, said 'Her Majesty has the singular good fortune to be able to gratify her private feelings while she performs her public duty, and to obtain the best guarantee for happiness by contracting an alliance founded on affection.'

Some members of the royal family, however, were desirous that Her Majesty should marry her cousin, Prince George of Cambridge; and it was well known that a number of the ultra-Tories viewed with strong dissatisfaction the prospect of her alliance with a member of the Coburg family. Gossip and malice were soon at work, propagating injurious rumours respecting Prince Albert's religious opinions. It was reported in some circles that he was a Roman Catholic, in others that he was a Radical and an Infidel. The Ministry, in the declaration of marriage to the Privy Council, thoughtlessly and imprudently omitted to mention the fact that the bridegroom elect was Protestant. They imagined that this was unnecessary, as it was notorious that he belonged to that branch of the Saxon family which, since the Reformation, had been conspicuous for its attachment to the Protestant cause. 'There has not,' Prince Albert himself wrote to the Queen, 'been a single Catholic Princess introduced into the Coburg family since the appearance of Luther in 1521.'

Moreover, the Elector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, was the very first Protestant that ever lived.' It was equally well known that the marriage of a British sovereign to a Roman Catholic involved *ipso facto* the forfeiture of the crown. But, nevertheless, the shrewd King of the Belgians, who formed a more correct estimate than Her Majesty's ministers of popular prejudices and of the misrepresentations of faction, expressed strongly, in a letter to the Queen, that the mention of the Prince's being a Protestant could do no harm, while its omission 'would give rise to interminable growling.' On religious matters,' he added, 'one cannot be too prudent, because one can never see what passionate use people will make of such a thing.' Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, however, declined to follow King Leopold's prudent advice, and this omission led to a somewhat unpleasant discussion in the House of Lords, and to the adoption of a motion made by the Duke of Wellington, that the word 'Protestant' should be inserted in the congratulatory address to the Queen. It is significant of the extent to which party feeling ran at this time, that the Duke charged the Ministry with having purposely made the omission through fear of giving offence to their Irish and Roman Catholic supporters.

A still more unpleasant discussion took place respecting the naturalization of the Prince and the provision to be made for him by the country, which in all probability might have been prevented if the Ministry had prepared the Bill for his naturalization with proper care, and had taken the precaution to communicate confidentially beforehand with the leaders of the Opposition. The Bill which was introduced into the House of Lords on the 20th of January was simply entitled a Bill for the Naturalization of the Prince; but it contained a clause to give him precedence for life, 'next after Her Majesty, in Parliament or elsewhere, as Her Majesty might think proper;' and had this provision been adopted, the Prince,

in the event of his surviving the Queen without issue, would have taken precedence of the eldest son of the heir presumptive. The measure was strongly objected to by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and others, both on account of its form and its merits, and it was certainly a most injudicious step for the Government to bring forward a proposal of such a nature without any previous notice to Parliament.

No provision had been made in the constitution of the country respecting the title and precedence of the husband of the Queen-Regnant; and if the matter had remained unsettled, it would have been a subject of constant annoyance to Her Majesty, and of embarrassment to the Prince. The Queen herself said 'much bad feeling was shown on the subject; several members of the royal family showed bad grace in giving precedence to the Prince, and the King of Hanover positively resisted doing so.' Even the Duke of Sussex was disposed to stand for what he called the rights of his family. But the course which the Ministers adopted to settle this question showed a great want of judgment, and even of common propriety. In the end they were obliged to give way, and to limit the Bill to the object expressed in the title—the simple naturalization of the Prince; leaving the question of precedence to be dealt with by the exercise of the royal prerogative.

The question of Prince Albert's annuity came before the House of Commons on the 24th of January. Following the precedents in the instances of Queen Anne's husband, and of Prince Leopold, Queen Charlotte, and Queen Adelaide, Lord John Russell proposed that the sum of £50,000 a year should be settled upon the Prince for life. A proposal made by Mr. Hume, that the amount should be reduced to £21,000, was negatived; but a motion by Colonel Sibthorp, an extreme Tory of eccentric character and manners, was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Mr. Goulbourn, and other leading Conservatives, as well as by the Radicals,

and was carried by a majority of 262 votes to 158. The state of feeling displayed in Parliament by these adverse decisions could not fail to cause a good deal of annoyance, both to the Queen and the Prince. 'You can easily imagine,' he wrote to the Queen, 'the very unpleasant effect produced upon me by the news of the truly most unseemly vote of the House of Commons about my annuity;' and his biographer admits that these incidents caused considerable pain and vexation to the Queen at the time. The part which the Conservatives took in reducing the grant to the Prince, so much out of keeping with their usual mode of procedure, was popularly attributed to their mortification at the manner in which, shortly before, they had been disappointed in their expectations of obtaining office. But Lord Melbourne, with his habitual frankness and candour, admitted that the blame was shared by his own supporters. 'The prince,' he said to Stockmar a few days afterwards, 'will be very angry at the Tories. But it is not the Tories only whom the prince has to thank for cutting down his allowance. It is rather the Tories, the Radicals, and a great proportion of our own people.'

Whatever might be the feelings of disappointed and factious politicians, the Queen's marriage was highly popular among the great body of the people. The ceremony was fixed for the 10th of February, 1840; and when the Prince came over to England, a few days before the wedding, he received a most enthusiastic welcome from the crowds who met and followed him everywhere. Tall, handsome, and graceful, he was every way fitted to fulfil the popular idea of what a prince and the bridegroom of the sovereign ought to be; and to complete the national satisfaction, it was well known that the Queen's choice had been made, not from State policy, but from genuine affection. 'It is this,' said Lord Melbourne, 'that makes your Majesty's marriage so popular.' The choice was, indeed, singularly fortunate both as regards Her Majesty's own happiness and the welfare of her subjects. The Prince

was possessed of sterling good sense as well as of fine taste, and varied and high attainments in arts, science, and letters, which would have obtained for him distinction in any sphere of life. He devoted himself from the first, with conscientious diligence and unwearied industry, to the discharge of the duties of his station, and throughout conducted himself, in a position of great delicacy and responsibility, with a prudence and discretion as admirable as it is rare. Young as he was, when he became the husband of the Queen, he had carefully studied the constitutional history of states both in ancient and modern times; and he now acquired an intimate knowledge of the constitution of the country which was henceforth to be his home, and was careful to keep strictly within its limits, holding himself aloof from political faction and party politics. During the whole of her too brief married life, the Queen found in him not only a husband morally and intellectually worthy to be the head of the highest family in the land, but a judicious and disinterested counsellor on whom she could lean with implicit trust amid all the duties and difficulties of her exalted office.

The wedded life of the Queen began at a time when the political horizon was gloomy and threatening. Abroad there were wars and rumours of wars, and at home a deficient revenue, commercial embarrassments, and distress among the labouring classes, both manufacturing and agricultural. Since 1836 there had been a succession of bad harvests, which had raised the price of provisions to an alarming extent, while a general stagnation of trade had restricted employment and reduced the rate of wages so far as to subject the workmen and their families to severe privations. Political agitators took advantage of the wide-spread distress and consequent discontent among the labouring classes, to teach sedition and to form a wide-spread organization to obtain by force what they were induced to believe were

their constitutional rights. Insurrectionary risings in consequence took place in various parts of the country, and were not suppressed without bloodshed and great destruction of property. The fire thus kindled continued to smoulder for years, and ultimately, as we shall see, was productive of strikes and combination riots which seriously imperiled the peace and safety of the country. Melbourne, with his characteristic shrewdness and public spirit, recommended the Queen at this critical juncture of affairs to 'hold out the olive branch a little' to the Opposition; and he expressed to the Prince his opinion 'that the court ought to take advantage of the present moment to treat all parties, especially the Tories, in the spirit of a general amnesty.'

Meanwhile, however, the Ministry and the Parliament were more deeply interested in a quarrel which had arisen between the Legislature and the courts of law, than in the grievances and discontents of the working classes of the community. In 1836 the inspectors of prisons reported that they had found in Newgate a book, published by J. J. Stockdale, which they considered 'disgusting,' and its plates 'indecent and obscene.' Stockdale brought an action for libel against Messrs. Hansard, the Parliamentary printers who had published the inspectors' report on prisons; and they were instructed by the House of Commons to plead, first, that the publication was privileged, and second, that the libel was true. The jury returned a verdict for the defendant on the second issue, thus avoiding the question of privilege; but Chief-Justice Denman, before whom the issue was tried, in his charge declared that Parliament had no right to authorize the publication of libels on individuals. The House of Commons, without hesitation, accepted the challenge which the Chief-Justice had thrown out to them, and by a majority of more than three to one, resolved that the power of publishing such of its reports, votes, and proceedings as it shall deem necessary, is essential to

the constitutional functions of Parliament; that by the law and privilege of Parliament this House has the sole and exclusive jurisdiction to determine upon the existence and extent of its privileges; that the institution of any suit for the purpose of bringing them under discussion before any other court, is a high breach of such privilege; and that for any court or tribunal to decide upon matters of privilege inconsistent with the determination of either House of Parliament, is a breach and contempt of the privileges of Parliament.

Stockdale, however, was not deterred by this resolution from proceeding in the course on which he had entered. He purchased a second copy of the prison inspectors' report, and brought, in the spring of 1837, another action for the same libel—the sale of every fresh copy being considered in law a separate publication of the libel. The Attorney-General was directed to plead that the Hansards had acted by the order of the House of Commons; but the four judges of the Queen's Bench unanimously repelled the plea, and Stockdale's damages were assessed at £100. A few months later he brought a third action against the publishers. In accordance with the directions of the Speaker, they declined to plead to the action, and judgment was suffered to go against them by default. Damages were assessed at £600. They were levied by the Sheriffs, William Evans and John Wheelton, by order of Court; and on the 11th January, 1840, Stockdale obtained a rule, returnable on the 17th, ordering them to pay over to him the money which they had levied. Parliament assembled on the 16th, and promptly resolved to assert its privileges. By a large majority the Sheriffs were ordered to appear at the bar of the House, bringing with them the documents and authorities under which they acted. Next day it was resolved that Stockdale should be committed, under the Speaker's warrant, for breach of privilege. The bookseller deserved no sympathy, and received none; but it was otherwise with the Sheriffs.

These unfortunate officials were ordered by the Court of Queen's Bench to pay the money which they had levied to Stockdale. If they refused, they were aware that Chief-Justice Denman would send them to the Marshalsea for contempt of court. On the other hand, the House of Commons ordered them to refund to the Hansards the money which they had received for the sale of their goods; and if they refused, they might be committed by the House to Newgate for a breach of privilege. In this dilemma the Sheriffs resolved to obey the Court rather than the House of Commons, and were as a natural consequence committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms.

Three days afterwards the Sergeant-at-arms informed the House that he had been served with a writ of Habeas Corpus from the Court of Queen's Bench, commanding him to produce the Sheriffs in court. He was directed to comply with the order, but to inform the court that these officials had been committed for a breach of the privileges of the House. In cases of committal for contempt the judges have no power to interfere, and the sorely perplexed citizens were sent back to prison. On the same day (January 25th) the irrepressible Stockdale, though in prison, commenced a fourth action against the Hansards; and the Commons were in consequence compelled to persevere in the course on which they had entered. Howard, Stockdale's attorney, who had been previously summoned to the bar of the House, and had been merely reprimanded, was now arrested and committed to Newgate. As before, the defendants declined to plead, and judgment was entered against them by default. Stockdale, who in spite of his imprisonment found that these proceedings were highly remunerative as they brought him both notoriety and money, commenced a fifth action on the 17th of February, which led the House to pass a resolution threatening severe censure on all who should aid in the prosecution of such an action, and to follow

this up by committing Howard's son and his clerk to Newgate.

These proceedings were highly unpopular out of doors among those who did not comprehend the nature and importance of the question at issue; and it had evidently become necessary that the perilous dispute between the courts of law and the Parliament should be set at rest. Sir Robert Peel, who had given his strenuous support to the steps taken by the House to vindicate its authority, expressed his conviction that the time had come when it would be perfectly consistent, with a due regard to their own dignity and the public interests, to settle the difficulty by enactment. On the 5th of March, Lord John Russell introduced a Bill to give summary protection to all persons employed in the publication of Parliamentary papers. It declared that, 'whereas it is essential to the due and effectual discharge of the functions and duties of Parliament that no obstruction should exist to the publication of the reports, papers, votes, or proceedings of either House as such House should deem fit,' it is to be lawful 'for any person or persons, against whom any civil or criminal proceedings shall be taken on account of such publication, to bring before the court a certificate under the hand of the Lord Chancellor or the Speaker, stating that it was published by the authority of the House, and the proceedings should at once be stayed.' The Bill was opposed by nearly all the lawyers in the House, and by a considerable portion of the rank and file of the Conservative party; but with the powerful support of Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, and of the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, it was carried rapidly through both Houses, and became law on the 14th of April. Although this Act did not settle the respective rights and privileges of Parliament and the courts of law, or vindicate the privilege of Parliament, it brought to a satisfactory termination a controversy which had almost entirely arrested the progress of public business in

the House of Commons, and threatened to lead to very serious consequences.

It was so far an advantage to the Ministry that the attention both of Parliament and of the public was at this time diverted, by the controversy with the courts of law, from other questions which they were unable to settle, and yet could not let alone. A measure for the reform of the Irish municipalities was, however, at length passed. The Tories, who now saw that their return to office could not be much longer delayed, grudgingly allowed a very imperfect Bill to be carried through both Houses, which conferred the principle of self-government on the larger towns of Ireland. The town councils were to be elected by the householders rated at £10 a year. With regard to the other towns, the Lord-Lieutenant was authorized to confer a charter on any of them on the application of a majority of the inhabitants rated at the same sum. Meanwhile the corporate property of those towns worth £100 a year was to be managed by Commissioners appointed under an Act of George IV.; the property of those towns which did not reach that amount was intrusted to the Poor-Law Guardians. The measure was exceedingly unsatisfactory to the people of Ireland, and indeed to all fair-minded persons; but the Ministry, in their feeble state, were fain to accept whatever terms the Opposition thought fit to concede. The Bill, limited as it was in its operation, was opposed in the House of Commons by the Irish Conservative members and by Sir Robert Inglis, who admitted the monopoly, corruption, and sectarianism of the existing system, but asserted that the measure would operate as 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to the Protestant religion in Ireland; and in the House of Lords, Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, entered his protest against it, 'because by this wilful and deliberate abandonment of the cause of true religion, and of the security of the Church in Ireland, we have provoked the justice of Almighty God, and have given

too much reason to apprehend the visitation of divine vengeance for this presumptuous act of national disobedience.'

The Ministry was evidently tottering to its fall; but the more impatient spirits among the Tory party were unwilling to wait for its natural demise, and in the beginning of the session of 1840 Sir John Yarde Buller, one of the members for Devonshire, moved that 'Her Majesty's Government, as at present constituted, does not possess the confidence of this House.' The motion was seconded by Alderman Thompson, who had at one time represented the city of London in the Liberal interest. After a debate protracted over three nights, and in which the leading members on both sides of the House took part, the motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-one; the votes being 287 for, and 308 against it. Undiscouraged by this defeat, the Opposition renewed their attacks on specific acts of the Government. A motion, proposed by Sir James Graham, condemnatory of their policy with reference to China, was lost by only nine votes. The scandalous unfairness of election committees was universally acknowledged, and demanded an immediate remedy. The Ministry, however, in their enfeebled state, could not venture to deal with the question; and it was left to Sir Robert Peel to bring in a measure authorizing the Speaker to appoint a general committee of elections, which should be intrusted with the duty of appointing committees for the trial of disputed returns. The Bill was readily passed by both Houses; and though it ultimately failed to give satisfaction, and had to be superseded by a different system, it put an end to the scandal of election ballots.

It was admitted on all hands that the Irish system of registration was in a most unsatisfactory state, and afforded great facilities for fraud and the manufacture of faggot votes. The Government introduced several bills to amend the system, but they made no progress; and at length

Lord Stanley brought forward a Registration Bill, which, if passed, would have had the effect of greatly reducing the number of electors. It was therefore violently opposed by O'Connell; and the Government, after some hesitation, used all their influence to procure its rejection. The second reading of the Bill, however, was carried by a majority of 250 votes to 234. In the committee, out of nine divisions there was only one in which a majority voted against every part of the plan. Every obstacle, however, was thrown in the way of the measure; and at length, finding it impossible to carry it through during the session of 1840, Stanley withdrew the Bill, pledging himself to bring it forward again early in 1841. The discussions on the measure were of the most acrimonious character. O'Connell denounced the Bill as the 'Scorpion Bill,' and its author as 'Scorpion Stanley.' On the other hand, Charles Buller declared in the House that the shouts of the Tories were 'insults the most gross that he had ever seen proceeding from persons in the position of gentlemen.' While O'Connell was arguing that the Bill was intended 'to trample on the rights of the people of Ireland,' the Opposition laughed, whistled, and bellowed in the most discreditable manner. The Agitator, infuriated by this behaviour, exclaimed, 'If you were ten times as beastly in your uproar and bellowing, I should still feel it my duty to interfere to prevent this injustice.' A scene of the most disgraceful uproar ensued, which the Chairman of the Committee proved quite unable to suppress or even to moderate; but O'Connell could not be induced to withdraw the offensive phrase.

The session of 1841 opened quietly, and somewhat more auspiciously for the Ministry. Their foreign diplomacy had been successful, political agitation had almost entirely ceased, the agricultural and commercial interests were prosperous, and the people seemed to be contented. The Government evidently felt that they had

not strength sufficient to deal with any important or difficult questions; and Mr. Grote justly characterized the speech from the throne as 'not very rich in promises, presenting the sketch of a session as blank in prospect as the preceding session was in reality.' The condition of Ireland, however, still presented an inexhaustible source of discussion and controversy; and on the very evening on which Parliament met, Lord Stanley gave notice of his intention to bring forward again his Registration Bill. The Government did not venture to oppose the introduction of the measure, though they declared that it did not propose to deal with the Irish franchise in a way that would be satisfactory to the Irish people. But two days later they introduced a Bill of their own, which differed from that of Stanley mainly in the proposal to extend the franchise to householders rented at £5 a year. After a debate, which lasted four nights, the second reading of this Bill was carried by a majority of only five votes—299 to 294. Farther procedure with the measure was postponed till the 28th of April, amid general expressions of dissatisfaction. It was then proposed to raise the qualification for ratepayers in counties from a £5 to an £8 rating. But Lord Howick moved an amendment on the first clause, embodying a plan of his own, and carried it by a majority of twenty-one. The Government agreed to accept this amendment, but ultimately they found themselves in a minority of eleven and withdrew the Bill. The only thing gained by the time spent in discussing it, was to render it impossible for Lord Stanley to carry his Bill, which he had kept close in the rear of the Ministerial project.

As the session advanced, the weakness of the Government became daily more visible, and their financial embarrassments at length brought about their long-expected dismissal from office. They had from the first displayed an incapacity to manage satisfactorily the financial affairs of the country, and under the administration of Spring Rice

they had steadily gone from bad to worse. Although it was well known that the establishment of the cheap postage system would cause a large deficiency in the revenue, with a carelessness quite unpardonable Rice had made no attempt to provide for it. In 1839, the last year in which he presided at the Exchequer, he had estimated the revenue for 1840 at £48,128,000, while it had amounted to only £47,843,000; the expenditure, which he had placed at £48,988,000, had risen to £49,300,000. The deficit which Spring Rice had computed at £860,000, had thus reached £1,457,000. Baring, the successor of this incapable and careless financier, stated frankly that in his opinion the revenue for 1840-41 could not be expected to exceed £47,034,000, while the expenditure would reach £49,432,000. Rice's four years' administration of the finances of the country had caused a deficit of £1,400,000 in 1837; of £400,000 in 1838; of £1,457,000 in 1839; and an estimated deficit of £2,732,000 in 1840.

Baring did what he could to bring the finances into a healthy state, but the effort was beyond his power. He proposed an addition of 10 per cent. to the assessed taxes, 5 per cent. on the Customs and Excise, and 4*d.* a gallon on spirits. But he did not expect to obtain more than £1,891,000 from these sources, so that on his own calculation he had to commence the year with a deficit of £800,000. The result, however, was much worse than he had expected. The revenue which he had estimated at £48,591,000, only reached £47,443,000; so that, though the expenditure was £147,000 less than his estimate, the deficiency on the year amounted to no less a sum than £1,842,000. To increase the difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he found that while the revenue of the country was steadily diminishing, the expenditure was as steadily increasing; and that for 1841-42 it would not be less than £50,731,226, while he could not rely on a revenue of more than £48,310,000.

In these circumstances it was evidently hopeless to attempt to get rid of a deficiency of £2,421,000 by making additions to the existing taxes. Baring was, therefore, compelled to resort to a new system, and to try the expedient of increasing the revenue by diminishing some of those taxes which had been imposed on foreign commodities for the sake of protection, not of revenue, and in this way to extend their consumption. The duty on colonial timber was 10*s.* a load, and on Baltic timber 55*s.* He resolved to adopt the plan which had been proposed by Earl Spencer—to raise the duty on colonial timber to 20*s.* a load, and to reduce the duty on Baltic timber to 50*s.* The duty on colonial sugar was 24*s.* a cwt., while that on foreign sugar was 63*s.* He proposed to reduce the duty on the latter to 36*s.*, which would still leave a protection of 50 per cent. to the former. He expected that these alterations would yield him at least £1,300,000. After making provision for pressing demands by an issue of Exchequer bills and the loan of Savings Bank funds, a deficiency of £400,000 would still require to be provided for; but the resolution, of which Lord John Russell had that evening given notice, to submit the question of the corn trade to the consideration of the House, would, he believed, make arrangements for the supply of that amount. During the course of the discussion which ensued, Lord Sandon demanded that the Government should state in explicit terms their intentions with regard to the Corn Laws; and Russell announced that he should propose a moderate fixed duty—a principle which he had already supported—and that the proposal would be brought forward as a measure of the Government united on the subject. On the 7th of May he made the additional intimation, that the duties which he intended to propose on the importation of corn were, on wheat 8*s.* per quarter, on rye 5*s.*, on barley 4*s.* 6*d.*, and on oats 3*s.* 4*d.*

This announcement produced a great excitement among the classes most deeply interested, either in the abolition or the

maintenance of the existing protective duties. The Anti-Corn Law League, which was rapidly becoming a power in the country, saw clearly that, although the proposals of the Government fell short of their demands, a moderate fixed duty would remove not a few of the evils of the present system, and was a great step towards the total abolition of the duties on corn, with which alone they would be satisfied. They, therefore, set to work with great activity to organize meetings in the principal towns, and to stimulate the public to petition on behalf of the Ministerial scheme. On the other hand, the agricultural party were indignant at the proposed abolition of protective duties, which they regarded as essential to the prosperity and even existence of the landed interest, and vehemently protested against the Ministerial measures. Meetings were also convened of the persons engaged in the colonial timber trade, and of the planters, merchants, and others interested in the West Indian Colonies. And to crown all, the Anti-slavery societies throughout the country took the alarm at a scheme which they believed, by throwing open our markets to slave-grown sugar, would give an impulse to slavery in Cuba and Brazil. While these powerful bodies were uniting in their opposition to the Ministerial proposals, the people at large were not yet aware of the magnitude of the interests at stake, and put forth no general or earnest efforts in their support. The conversion, too, of the majority of the members of the Cabinet to free-trade principles was regarded as too sudden to be altogether sincere; and the scheme was believed by not a few to be intended rather to keep the Ministry in office than to promote the general welfare of the community.

On the 7th of May, when the House went into the Committee of Ways and Means, Lord Sandon proposed 'that considering the efforts and sacrifices which Parliament and the country have made for the abolition of the slave trade and of

slavery, with the earnest hope that their exertions and examples might lead to a mitigation and final extinction of these evils in other countries, this House is not prepared (especially with the present prospects of the supply of sugar from the British possessions) to adopt the measure proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar.' The motion was dexterously drawn up in such terms as to secure the support both of the West Indian and planter interests, and of the men who had brought about the abolition of slavery; and after a keen debate which extended over eight nights, the Ministry were defeated by a majority of 36 in a House of 598—there being 281 in their favour and 317 against them.

It was generally expected that, as a matter of course after this decisive defeat, which in addition virtually rejected Baring's budget, the Ministers would either immediately resign their offices or appeal to the country. But to the surprise of the public, and the indignation of the victorious Conservatives, the Chancellor of the Exchequer quietly gave notice that on the following Monday he should move the usual sugar duties; and Lord John Russell announced that he intended to bring forward the corn question on the 4th of June. The tide, however, was now running so strongly against the Government, that Sir Robert Peel resolved to forestall the discussion on the corn laws by a direct vote of want of confidence, and thus to compel the Ministry either to resign or to dissolve Parliament at once. Accordingly, on the 29th of May, the Conservative leader moved 'that Her Majesty's Ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the House measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare; and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the Constitution.' The debate on this motion lasted four nights, and after a

splendid display of parliamentary eloquence, it terminated in the defeat of the Government by a majority of one in a House of 623 members. The Cabinet had already, on their defeat on the question of the sugar duties, considered what course they should take. Melbourne, Lansdowne, and Labouchere were for resigning at once. But Lord John Russell and the majority were in favour of an appeal to the country. Melbourne, on being outvoted on the question, submitted to the decision of his colleagues. On communicating the result of their deliberations to the Queen, he said, 'Of course I felt I could but go with them; so we shall go on, bring in the old sugar duties, and then if things are in a pretty good state dissolve.' The result showed that it would have been well for the party if the Cabinet had followed the advice of the Premier, and resigned at once after their defeat on the sugar duties. On the Monday after the vote of no-confidence was carried, Russell announced that no time would be lost in dissolving Parliament and summoning another without delay. The business of the session was accordingly wound up as quickly as possible. On the 22nd of June Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person, and on the 23rd it was dissolved by royal proclamation. The writs for the new Parliament were made returnable on the 29th of August.

The most strenuous efforts were made by both parties to obtain a majority in this election. The Conservatives, however, had been much more attentive to the registration than their opponents; and from the first it was evident that the Ministry were to meet with a signal defeat. Their supporters could only appeal to what they intended to do in the way of promoting free trade; but their opponents did not allow it to be forgotten that only a short time before, the Prime Minister had declared that the man must be mad who would propose to abolish the corn laws; and that Lord John Russell had pronounced such a measure mischievous, absurd, impracticable,

and unnecessary. As yet public opinion was divided on the question of free trade. The great body even of the commercial and manufacturing classes were not alive to its importance, and were consequently not prepared to make any great sacrifices or any vigorous effort for its attainment. On the other hand, a most formidable array of the most powerful interests in the country were bent on the expulsion of the Whigs from office. The agricultural party cherished towards them a bitter grudge for their refusal to abolish the malt tax, or to grant their demands for the redress of what they regarded as their peculiar grievances; and the proposal to reduce the duty on foreign corn had thrown them into a frenzy of alarm. The clergy regarded as sacrilege the proposal to appropriate any part of the revenues of the Irish Church to secular purposes; while Dissenters and Radicals blamed the Government for abandoning the appropriation clause. The unsatisfactory state of the revenue, and the increase of the national debt, had raised distrust among the moneyed interest; and the proposal to alter the timber and sugar duties had excited the hostility of the colonial and shipping interests. The Chartists had been alienated by the refusal of the Ministry to support the reduction of the franchise and other points of the Charter; and many of the manufacturing operatives were induced to believe that cheap bread would inevitably be followed by low wages. The Conservative journals and platform orators rung the changes on the Bedchamber manœuvre; the presentation, to the Queen, of Robert Owen the Socialist by Lord Melbourne himself; and the patronage which for their own purposes O'Connell and the Irish Repealers had extended to the Ministry. The impotent condition into which the Government had fallen, and their inability to carry any of their measures except by the sufferance of the Opposition, made candid and impartial onlookers come to the conclusion that the welfare of the country would be

promoted by the transference of the management of public affairs, and the transaction of the daily business of the nation, to other and more competent hands. In addition to all this, immense sums of money were spent by the Tory candidates to secure the support of the freemen and other venal electors; and there was good reason to believe that such an amount of bribery had never been known at any previous election. The result was that the Conservative gain, on this appeal to the constituencies, exceeded even their most sanguine expectations.

The election in the city of London, as usual, led the way. It had returned four Whigs to the last Parliament; but it sent two Conservatives to the new House of Commons, one of whom headed the poll, while Lord John Russell, who had been one of its previous representatives, was at the bottom of it, only escaping defeat by seven votes. This result was significant of the issue of the elections throughout England. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lords Morpeth and Milton were defeated by two Conservatives. Lord Howick was rejected by Northumberland, O'Connell by the Irish metropolis, and Sir De Lacy Evans by Westminster. The defeat of the Liberals was most signal in the English counties, which returned 136 Conservatives and only twenty-three supporters of the Government. They lost seven seats even in the boroughs; seven in Scotland, counterbalanced by a gain of only one; and ten in Ireland, with a gain of two. The total result of the contest was a Liberal majority of nine in Scotland and nineteen in Ireland, and a Conservative majority of 104 in England and Wales, leaving the Government in a minority of seventy-six. On the 15th of July, while the elections were still incomplete, Lord Melbourne reported to the Queen that the Conservatives would have a majority of seventy. 'I knew,' he said, 'at least I thought that it would be so.'

On the 19th of August, Parliament met;

and on the motion of the Earl of Ripon, an amendment on the address in answer to the speech was carried against the Government, on the 24th of August, by a majority of seventy-two.

In the House of Commons an amendment to the address was moved (August 24) by Mr. Stuart Wortley, who had been returned for the West Riding of Yorkshire, proposing among other matters that the House should 'respectfully represent to Her Majesty the necessity that her Ministers should enjoy the confidence of the country, which the present Administration does not possess.' After a debate which lasted till Friday the 28th, the Government, in a House of 629 members, were defeated by a majority of 91, the votes for the address being 269, and for the amendment 360. On the evening of Monday the 30th, Lord Melbourne in the one House, and Lord John Russell in the other, intimated the resignation of the Ministry; and the Queen, in her reply to the address of the Commons, declared that she would take immediate measures for the formation of a new Administration.

It was the conviction at the time of some of the most enlightened and zealous Liberals, and the opinion is now universally entertained, that Lord Melbourne's Cabinet ought to have resigned long before they were compelled to take that step. The Premier himself evidently sympathized with this feeling, but he pleaded his unwillingness to blight the prospects of his followers as his apology for resigning office in 1839. 'I counted up more than 200 of my intimate acquaintances or their families who would have been half-ruined or heart-broken by my going out.' The excuse says more for his Lordship's disinterestedness and kindness of heart than for his regard for the public welfare, or even for his own political reputation.

The Whig Ministry, which, with the exception of Sir Robert Peel's brief Administration in 1834-35, had managed the affairs of the nation since 1830, was thus

at length brought to a close. They had fallen into such disrepute during the last years of Lord Melbourne's premiership, that the great benefits they had conferred upon the country were for a time to some extent overlooked. But it should not be forgotten that under their sway the representation of the people had been placed on a sound and popular basis; the blot of slavery effaced from the British empire; the abuses of the Poor Law system, which threatened the ruin both of landed property and industry, swept away; the municipal corporations in the three kingdoms reformed; tithes commuted both in England and Ireland; the incessant disputes between the clergy and the Dissenters terminated by the registration of births, deaths, and marriages; provision made for the destitute poor in Ireland; the cheap postage system established; the savage criminal code ameliorated, and the punishment of death for numerous minor offences abolished; the union of the two Canadas effected; and the first solemn recognition made by the State of the great principle of national education in Ireland and in England, with-

out violence to religious opinions. In addition to these measures, all of the most important kind, mention should be made of the East India Charter, the opening of the China trade, the reduction of the newspaper duty, the simplification of the Public Accounts, and the abolition of numerous taxes which pressed heavily on the working classes. All these and other important reforms were accomplished in the face of an unfriendly sovereign and a hostile House of Lords. And even with regard to their financial scheme, which failed to obtain the approval of the country and the Parliament, in no long time the memorable words with which Lord Palmerston concluded his powerful speech on Sir Robert Peel's motion proved true. 'I will venture to predict,' he said, 'that although our opponents may resist these measures to-night for the sake of obtaining a majority in the division, yet, if they should come into office, these are the measures which a just regard for the finances and commerce of the country will compel them themselves to propose.'

CHAPTER XVII.

State of affairs between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali—The policy of France in regard to Egypt—Desire of the five Powers to maintain the *status quo*—Views of the Sultan and the Pasha—The Battle of Nezib, and defeat of the Turks—Death of the Sultan—The Turkish fleet delivered up to Mehemet Ali—Lord Palmerston's proposals for peace—Crooked policy of the French Ministry—Alienation of Lord Palmerston—Offers of the Russian Czar—Their rejection by France—Schemes of M. Thiers—Action taken by the Pasha—Renewed proposals of the four Powers declined by the French Government and Mehemet Ali—Treaty signed by Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—Mortification and anger of France—Coercive measures adopted by the four Powers—Fall of Acre—Settlement of the Turkish Question—Project of France to seize the Balearic Isles—State of trade with China—Opium smuggling—The traffic prohibited by the Chinese Government—Opium delivered up and destroyed—Position of Captain Elliot, the British Superintendent—Neglect of the Government to give him instructions—His Support of the Opium smugglers—Prohibition of trade with Britain—Commencement of hostilities between the British and the Chinese—Unjustifiable conduct of the Superintendent—Debate on the Chinese question in the House of Commons—Progress of hostilities—Capture of Chusan—Treaty made by Captain Elliot—Disallowed by the Government—Renewal of hostilities—Captain Elliot superseded—Appointment of Sir Henry Pottinger—His vigorous proceedings—The Chinese sue for peace—Terms of the Peace—Compensation paid to the Opium smugglers—Real character of the war.

WHILE the Melbourne Ministry were struggling for existence in the face of a powerful and aggressive Opposition, they were involved in a series of difficult and complicated negotiations, respecting the relations between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, which had nearly led to a European war. The arrangement made at Kutaieh, which left Egypt and Syria under the government of Mehemet Ali as the vassal of the Sultan, had secured a truce between the two that was manifestly not likely to be permanent. 'More than once during the six years that it continued,' says Guizot, 'this peace was menaced by both parties. The Pasha and the Sultan had both the wish to break it; the Pasha from a desire of independence, the Sultan from hopes of regaining the territory he had lost.' The treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which Russia had extorted from the Porte in the day of its extremity, made the Czar the formal protector of Turkey, and laid open to him the passage of the Bosphorus, which it had so long been the policy of the Porte to keep shut to the fleets of the North. To counteract the influence which Russia had thus obtained at Constantinople, France and England had deemed it necessary to maintain a large fleet in the Mediterranean, stationed near the Dardanelles. Mehemet Ali, on his part, was obliged to seek foreign protection in order to enable him to assert his independence against Russia and the Porte, and France was the quarter to which he naturally turned for assistance. His army was trained by French officers; his fleet was formed and commanded by a Frenchman; his physician, a most influential person in every Eastern country, was a native of France. A portion of the French press eulogized his administration, and advocated the necessity of protecting it for the sake of French interests. The traditional policy of France led that country, under every form of government, to aspire either to the possession or the protectorship of Egypt. Louis XIV. had formed some project of this kind. Prince Potemkin proposed to the French ambassador, M. de Segur, to seize Egypt while Russia took possession of Constantinople; and Napoleon attempted to carry that scheme into effect. The position to which Mehemet Ali had attained, and the success which had so far attended his ambitious schemes, revived among the French politicians the old ideas with respect to Egypt; and they began to think that through an alliance with the Pasha they might obtain powerful if not preponderating influence in the Mediterranean. In this way they imagined that France might be at Alexandria what Russia then was at Constantinople. Thus the

whole Mediterranean coast, from Alexandria to Constantinople, would in time become subject to France and Russia. An alliance between these two Powers on this very basis had been projected and proposed by Napoleon, and had since been repeatedly entertained by French statesmen, with the view of bringing under their control the road to our Indian dominions. It was a policy, as Lord Dalling remarks, natural to France, if France was the enemy of England; but it was a policy impossible for France if there was to be a sincere alliance and friendship between the two countries, because the mistress of India cannot permit France to be mistress, directly or indirectly, of the road to her Indian dominions.

The French Government did not wish to quarrel with England, nor yet to relinquish the notion which had become to a certain extent national with France. The other European Governments were anxious, for very different reasons, to keep the peace between the Sultan and his powerful vassal. They saw that if Ibrahim defeated the Turkish army, and obtained possession of Constantinople, Russia would at once interfere in terms of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi; and the last thing Britain, France, and Austria wished to see, was the establishment of Russia as the protector of Turkey. They were reluctant to prevent this by force, and it was not easy to do so by arrangement. They were therefore desirous to keep matters in their existing state. They told Sultan Mahmoud that they would not allow Mehemet Ali to cross the Syrian boundary if he was not attacked by the Turkish army, which had established itself on the right bank of the Euphrates; and they informed Mehemet Ali that he would incur the displeasure of all the European powers if he attempted to cross the line of his present boundary.

The European powers, and especially France, were anxious for the reasons mentioned to maintain matters in their existing position. But those who had

an opportunity of forming on the spot a careful and unbiassed opinion, were convinced that 'the *status quo* would be the ruin of all parties—of Mehemet Ali and that portion of the empire he governed, of the Sultan, and of that portion of the empire he ruled.' The Sultan himself entertained the same opinion. 'The *status quo*,' as Lord Dalling remarked, 'was not only the surrender of a large portion of the empire from his authority; it was the destruction of the prestige by which he held the rest.' He continued therefore to augment the army, which he had stationed on the Syrian frontier in such a position as to threaten Ibrahim Pacha's communications. In spite of the earnest remonstrances of the European powers, the Sultan at length determined to make an effort to expel his formidable vassal from Syria; and on the 9th of June, 1839, he ordered his general, Hafiz Pacha, to advance against Ibrahim's forces. On the 24th a great battle was fought at Nezib, which terminated in the complete overthrow of the Turkish army; and their camp, guns, and stores fell into the hands of the victorious Egyptian commander. Five days later the Sultan died at Constantinople; and it was strongly suspected that he had been murdered by some of the officials of his court. Almost immediately after this event Achmet-Pasha, the Turkish Grand Admiral, went off with the fleet, and delivered it up to Mehemet Ali at Alexandria.

In this desperate extremity, army and fleet both lost, with a boy of sixteen years of age upon the throne, Turkey was apparently on the eve of dissolution. The new Vizier, Khodzrew Pasha, sent with all speed a letter to Mehemet Ali, offering him the hereditary succession of Egypt on condition that he would consent to remain a faithful vassal of the Porte. But Mehemet refused to enter into negotiations, except on the understanding that he was to be secured in the permanent possession of Syria as well as of Egypt. The five

Powers, however, were not inclined to look on with indifference while the Turkish empire was thus dismembered. Their ambassadors at Constantinople at once prepared a joint note, in which they pledged themselves to protect the young Sultan, and recommended his Ministers to accept no terms offered by the Egyptian Pasha without their concurrence.

Lord Palmerston had always been of opinion that the most effectual mode of getting rid of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was to merge it in a more extensive agreement; and the other Powers, Russia included, concurred in the proposal of the British Minister. He was of opinion that decisive measures should at once be taken to bring about an amicable arrangement between the Sultan and his vassal, and that recourse should be had to coercion should negotiations fail to secure this end. France was bound in honour to co-operate in these measures; and Marshal Soult, who had just been appointed Prime Minister in place of M. Molé, readily agreed in principle to everything that Palmerston suggested. 'Soult is a jewel,' wrote the British Foreign Minister to Lord Granville, our Minister at Paris; 'nothing can be more satisfactory than his course with regard to us, and the union of England and France upon these Turkish affairs will embolden Metternich and save Europe.' Lord Palmerston, however, speedily found that though Soult was quite willing to talk about an agreement, and to express his cordial approval of united action, he would do nothing. He expressed an apparent acquiescence in Lord Palmerston's proposals; but he would not take the slightest step to coerce Mehemet Ali either to restore the Turkish fleet or to enforce any arrangement which the five Powers might agree to lay before the two parties. 'Nothing could be more miserable,' Lord Palmerston said, 'than the shifts and changes in the opinions and schemes of the French Government; and it is evident that they have wishes and objects at bottom which they are ashamed of confessing—

that, in short, their great and only aim is to do as much as they possibly can for Mehemet Ali, without caring a pin for the Sultan, or having the least regard for their declarations and pledges.' The object of the French Government in short was to support, by every means in their power, the demands of the Pasha, with the hope that through him they might establish paramount and permanent influence in Egypt. With regard to Louis Philippe himself, Lord Granville—our representative at the French Court—said, 'The King does not want to quarrel with us; but neither does he want to quarrel with the French press and the French Chambers. He has fixed no greedy eyes on Egypt; but he does not want to quarrel with those who have.' This was no doubt true; but Palmerston remarked in reply, 'I can't enter into motives, I must look to acts; and if a reputed friend will not act as a friend, I must consider he is not one.'

The insincere and selfish policy of the French Government at length had the effect of alienating the British Foreign Secretary, and inducing him to adopt a new line of policy. Since France would not support the measures which he had proposed, he resolved to try to induce the other four Powers to unite with him in demanding that Mehemet Ali should restore the Turkish fleet; and in the event of his refusal, that the allied fleets should blockade the coasts of Egypt and Syria, and seize Candia. The Russian Czar eagerly caught at a proposal which would have the effect of separating Britain from France. There had for some years been a coldness between the Russian Government and our own. The refusal to receive Sir Stratford Canning as ambassador; the occupation of Poland, and the shocking cruelties inflicted on the Polish patriots; the underhand signature of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi; the seizure of the *Vixen*, a British merchant vessel, by the Russian authorities on the coast of Circassia; and the intrigues at Herat and Cabul—had greatly strengthened the un-

friendly feeling in Great Britain against the Russian court, and even threatened to bring about a hostile collision. Nicholas was anxious to remove this unfavourable impression; and he immediately sent Baron de Brunnow to London, to inform the British Government that he was willing to agree entirely to their views respecting Turkey and Egypt, and was ready to join in whatever measures might be necessary to carry these views into effect; that he would unite with Britain, Austria, and Prussia, either with or without France; and that, though politically speaking he saw the advantage of having the co-operation of France, he would prefer to dispense with her assistance. Brunnow was instructed to propose that if Ibrahim should advance with his army on Constantinople, Russia should march her forces to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus in order to protect the Turkish capital; and to promise that if Britain and Russia should come to an agreement for the protection and defence of Turkey, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi would not be renewed, and that in time of peace both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should be closed to the ships of war of every Power.

The proposals of the Russian Cabinet were at once communicated to General Sebastiani, the French ambassador in London. That astute diplomatist saw clearly that the evasions and finessing of his court had completely failed, and that the wisest course for France to pursue was to connect herself more closely with England, and to make an arrangement on the most favourable terms he could obtain. He therefore proposed, on his own responsibility, that Syria should be divided by a line drawn east and west from Beyrout to Damascus, that all the country to the south of that line should be allotted to the Pasha, and that all to the north should belong to the Sultan. The French Ministers, however, at this juncture, sent off in all haste a different proposition, which they were well aware would be rejected, and proposed

that Mehemet Ali should be made hereditary ruler of Egypt and Syria, with the exception of the outlying district of Adana, and that Candia should be given to him for life. Soult was particularly indignant at the proposition, that if Constantinople were threatened, a Russian force should advance to the Bosphorus. 'If a Russian fleet,' he said, 'arrive on the Bosphorus, a French fleet shall appear there also.' In order to conciliate the French Government, the Czar was induced by Palmerston to agree that, in the event of a Russian fleet entering the Bosphorus, a British and French fleet should simultaneously enter the Dardanelles.

This concession obviated all the professed objections of the French Ministry; and Soult was compelled to admit that Russia had removed 'the great obstacle to the satisfactory solution of the Eastern question.' He and his colleagues praised the decision of Russia, acknowledged its importance and the good faith it evinced, and declared that they had no predilection in favour of Mehemet Ali; but added that all they demanded for him was such conditions as he would be willing to accept, as there existed no means of forcing him to comply with any others. So strong, however, was the desire of the other Powers, and especially of Britain, not to separate from the French Government, that in order if possible to bring the two Cabinets together Lord Palmerston proposed that the Pashalic of Acre, but without the fortress, should be added to the hereditary grant of Egypt. This proposition, however, was declared by the French Ministers to be inadmissible on the same grounds as the original one—that it was certain to be rejected by the Pasha.

At this juncture Soult resigned his office, and M. Thiers was appointed President of the Council, while Guizot had shortly before replaced Sebastiani as Minister at London. This change of Ministry afforded France an opportunity of retreating from the untenable position which she had assumed. But

the new Prime Minister was vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous, and was not possessed of the moral courage, even if he had cherished the desire, to resist the popular feeling in Paris and the Chambers in favour of a union between France and Egypt. Soult, indeed, had placed him in a situation from which in fact there was no safe and scarcely any creditable escape. He could not venture to propose that the whole of Syria should be permanently annexed to Mehemet Ali's pashalic; he therefore resolved, as he said, to 'temporize,' and had recourse to the same sort of evasions and subterfuges as had characterized the policy of his predecessor. Palmerston was induced, by the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, to offer the southern half of Syria to Mehemet on condition of his abandoning the remainder to the Sultan; but nothing would content the ambitious and grasping Pasha except the whole, and his demand was, as usual, supported by the French Ministry. At this crisis a Ministerial revolution took place at Constantinople through an intrigue of the old fanatical party, headed by Valide the Sultan's mother, and aided by Egyptian gold. Old Khodzrev the Seraskier, Mehemet Ali's bitter enemy, was ejected from his office, and Valide's party became influential in the Divan. The Pasha dexterously availed himself of the opportunity to open direct negotiations with the Sultan, with the hope of inducing him to consent to an arrangement which would have brought great discredit on the allies and injury to their interests, especially to those of Great Britain. Lord Palmerston believed that this step was taken at the instigation of the French Ministry; and though this was denied, Thiers was undoubtedly made aware of the attempt, and despatched with all haste a special messenger to Egypt, with instructions to follow it up till it was completed, but insisting that information as to what was going on should not be communicated to the British Ministry. The British and Russian Governments

had by this time been induced, by the intercession of Austria, to offer to concede not only the pashalic, but the fortress of Acre, which was regarded as the key to Syria; but France would make no concessions for the common good. She would not listen to the proposition in question, unless the pashalic and fortress were to be hereditary. The French Ministers were asked whether, if the whole of Syria were conferred on Mehemet for life, they would make common cause with the other Governments; but even to this question they could receive no definite answer.

M. Guizot had foreseen from the first what would be the result of this temporizing, shifty, double-dealing policy; and had pointed out to the French Cabinet that the time was most opportune for them to propose some judicious and practicable arrangement; but warned them that the British and other Powers, though 'preferring an arrangement with France,' and offering various concessions in order to attain that end, seeing that 'nothing positive arrived from the French Ministry,' and that 'all difficulties were made impossibilities,' would some day take a sudden resolution of acting without France, and carry through by themselves the policy they had settled. This event, which M. Guizot 'had foreseen with sagacity and stated with moderation,' at last took place. The four Powers, finding that the policy of France was not regulated by a regard to the interests of Europe, but by a selfish interest of her own, to which she tenaciously clung in spite of all their remonstrances and concessions and warnings, determined to settle the question by themselves; and on the 15th of July, 1840, their representatives signed a treaty with the Turkish ambassador, setting forth the terms which were to be granted to Mehemet, and pledging the four Powers to use force, if necessary, to carry them into effect. The Pasha was informed that he should receive the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt and the pashalic of Acre for life,

provided that he agreed within ten days to accept these terms; but that if he refused to do so, the offer would be modified and his rule limited to Egypt alone.

The French Ministry were very angry on learning that, without their knowledge, a treaty had at last been signed by the four Powers. M. Thiers spoke very indignantly about the insult offered to France, and threatened war. A great European question, he said, had been settled without her and in spite of her; the position of Mehemet Ali was now a secondary affair; French honour was a primary one, and France when prepared should demand, and if necessary, insist in arms on some satisfaction. But Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction that the French Government, and especially the King, would be too wise and prudent to resort to hostilities in support of Mehemet Ali's demands. Thiers, however, despatched Count Walewski to Alexandria to obtain from the Pasha some concessions which they might submit to the other Powers as the basis of a new treaty to be negotiated through the mediation of France. Mehemet declared that although he would yield nothing to the other Powers, he would, out of friendship to the French, resign the two districts of Adana and Maratch, together with Candia, and accept the sovereignty of Syria for life. But the allied Powers having bound themselves by treaty to carry out the arrangement which France had admitted to be the best, were resolved to go through with it at all hazards. 'The fact is,' said Lord Palmerston, 'that when four Powers make a treaty, they intend to execute it; and as we made our whole extent of possible concession to France before the treaty, by offering to let Mehemet keep St. Jean d'Acre, there is nothing more left that we can consider. If the four Powers were to give way to the menaces of France, they would soon be compelled to go to war with her to resist her further encroachments, or they must be prepared to submit patiently to a succession of aggressions and insults. But as far as

we are concerned, we should be disgraced as a Ministry, and our country would be dishonoured by our means.' In fact, it was soon after avowed by M. Remusat, one of the French Ministers, that France in protecting Mehemet Ali meant to establish a new second-rate maritime power in the Mediterranean, whose fleet might unite with that of France for the purpose of serving as a counterpoise to the English fleet. It was the being baffled in this scheme when it seemed on the eve of being accomplished, that excited the fierce anger of the French Ministry and journalists, which was all the more intense and ungovernable because its real cause could not be avowed.

As Mehemet peremptorily refused to accept the terms offered him by the allied Powers, a joint British, Austrian, and Turkish squadron blockaded the coasts of Syria and Egypt. Beyrout was bombarded by the fleet on the 10th of September, and on the 26th of that month Saida, the ancient Sidon, was stormed and taken by a body of troops under the command of Commodore Napier. Ibrahim experienced a serious defeat on the 10th of October; and on the 3rd of November the British fleet advanced to the attack of St. Jean d'Acre, a fortress which had arrested Napoleon's career of victory in the East after the conquest of Egypt. It was so vigorously defended by the Turkish garrison, assisted by a British detachment under Sir Sydney Smith, that after spending nearly two months before it, and delivering five unsuccessful assaults, he was forced to raise the siege. It cost Ibrahim six months time and a large expenditure of life to wrest it from the Turks in 1831. Soult declared in 1839 that 'there was no Power in Europe capable of taking St. Jean d'Acre.' But in three hours its fortifications were battered to pieces by the British cannon, and it was captured with a loss of only twelve men killed and forty-two wounded. The fall of this renowned fortress produced the strongest impression throughout Europe,

and especially in France, where it had been deemed impregnable; and as its capture pierced Ibrahim's communications with Egypt, he was compelled to evacuate Syria with all possible speed, and Mehemet had now no alternative but to accept the terms imposed upon him by the allies. The Porte, with equal arrogance and folly, had shortly before this decreed the Pasha's deposition; but the British Government adopted a wiser and more moderate course, and recommended the youthful Sultan and his Ministers to withdraw this decree of dismissal, and to leave Mehemet in possession of the hereditary pashalic of Egypt, if he made his submission in due time.

The speedy and signal overthrow of Mehemet's forces in Syria brought matters to an extremity between Louis Philippe and his ambitious Minister. M. Thiers was unwilling to lose his popularity; the sovereign did not choose to risk his crown. The struggle terminated in the overthrow of the Ministry. Thiers declared to the British envoy, 'The king is much more warlike than I am;' but Louis Philippe said to him, 'M. Thiers is furious with me because I would not make war. He says, I talked of making war; but talking of making war and making war Mr. Bulwer, are two things very different.' It did not seem to have occurred to the astute, but not high-principled monarch, that to threaten a course of action which there is no real intention to undertake, is not a very honest or dignified proceeding.

M. Thiers, finding that he had completely outmanœuvred and outwitted himself in his intrigues respecting the Eastern question, sought to recover his popularity by means of a singular project, which, as Lord Dalling remarked, betokened that restless desire to do something when it cannot do the thing it wants, which has often characterized the French Government. The British envoy learned that a French fleet was collected at Toulon for the purpose of seizing the Balearic Islands which belonged to Spain, partly as a protest against English

action or supposed action in the affairs of the Spanish Peninsula, and partly because if a war in the Mediterranean should eventually take place, it would be of great importance to have these islands, with reference to their connection with Algeria, in their power. The seizure of islands belonging to Spain, because Mehemet Ali was driven out of Syria, seemed to be a proceeding which had so little connection with its cause, that the correctness of the information conveyed to Mr. Bulwer was very naturally called in question; but all doubt on the subject was dispelled by the explicit statement of M. Joubert, who was a member of M. Thiers' Cabinet at the time. Shortly after, however, M. Thiers went out of office, and was succeeded by Soult, with Guizot as his Foreign Minister, in consequence, as he erroneously alleged, of an intrigue for his dismissal. The truth is, that a mutual dissatisfaction had grown up between him and Guizot after the signature of the secret treaty by the four Powers in London. Thiers directly accused Guizot of having been duped and deceived. Guizot, on the other hand, declared justly that Thiers had been deaf to his reiterated and urgent warnings that if France did not come to the views of the British Ministry, they would infallibly go on with the four Powers and without France. But as soon as Louis Philippe determined on peace instead of war, the retirement of Thiers followed as a matter of course. The new French Cabinet were fully alive to the importance of the British alliance, and laboured to preserve it. After a brief interval they resumed co-operation with the allies in the ultimate arrangements respecting Egypt, and in the treaty by which Turkey consented in time of peace to close the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the ships of war of all Powers. The clamours of the war party afforded the King and his Ministers a plausible excuse for pressing on the fortifications of Paris, which had previously been very unpopular among the

citizens; and money was now voted for that purpose by the Chamber, which under Soult's former administration had been refused by a large majority.

The success of Lord Palmerston's Eastern policy, and the renown acquired by the British seamen at the capture of Acre, obtained great applause at the time, and contributed for a little to sustain Lord Melbourne's feeble administration; but the soundness of the policy, even in the midst of the popular enthusiasm which it elicited, was questioned by some shrewd and far-seeing statesmen, and subsequent events have produced a general conviction that the attempt to bolster up the decaying and barbarous rule of the Turks in Europe was a mistake.

When the monopoly of the East India Company came to an end in 1834, and their right even of trading with China was abolished, the authorities at Canton were informed that a royal officer would be sent out to superintend the British trade. The Chinese, however, expected that the only chief who would be appointed would be a commercial superintendent, and that, as heretofore, he would communicate with their officers by petition, and through the established medium of the Hong-Kong merchants. The British Government, however, appointed three superintendents, who were also to act as political agents. Lord Napier, a captain in the royal navy, was the first superintendent; Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Davis was the second; and Sir George Robinson the third. The Chinese, who knew nothing of the real nature of these appointments, were in a state of great excitement when their arrival was announced, in terms of Lord Napier's instructions, by letter to the viceroy (15th July, 1834). Every effort his lordship made to establish a direct official communication with the Chinese authorities at Canton completely failed; and worn out with his exertions and anxieties, he died at Macao on the 11th of October, 1834.

Matters proceeded for some time smoothly under the charge of Sir George Robinson (Mr. Davis having returned to England), and he sent home agreeable accounts of a quiet and prosperous routine of trade, 'due to his perfectly quiescent line of policy.' But for some reason or another, which was never avowed, his office was abolished about the close of 1836; and Captain Elliot, R.N., who had been first, secretary to the Commission and then superintendent, assumed the title of chief commissioner, and renewed the attempt to establish an official connection with the Chinese, but failed as completely as Lord Napier had done.

The opening of the Chinese trade in 1834 gave an immediate stimulus to all kinds of smuggling, and especially in the article of opium. The importation of this drug into China had always been illegal, but had been connived at by the Chinese authorities. The imperial Government, however, had long desired to put a stop to the opium trade, partly there is reason to believe because the use of this drug was most injurious to the people, partly because it was supposed that the constant and increasing drain which it caused of the silver currency seriously affected the national revenue. They therefore determined now to enforce with the utmost rigour the laws against the importation of opium. Captain Elliot had repeatedly warned the Government that the enormous increase of the contraband traffic in opium would compel the Chinese Government to adopt some violent measures against the importers of this contraband article, who had the audacity to carry the prohibited drug up the Canton rivers in their own boats. As the *Colonial Gazette* pointed out, it was as if—the growth of tobacco being prohibited in the British islands—the merchants of France should steal into our county of Kent, establish tobacco-growing, sell the produce freely among our people, and fix an agent at Dover to superintend the affair.

In March, 1839, an imperial commis-

sioner, named Lin, was sent to Canton furnished with instructions and summary powers to abolish the opium traffic. He immediately issued an edict enjoining the foreigners to deliver up to him the whole of the opium on board the ships in the river, in order that it might be destroyed; and at the same time requiring that bonds should be given by the traders that their ships would never again bring any opium, on pain of forfeiture of the goods and death to the importer. In order to enforce this edict the British factories were blockaded by boats on the river and by soldiers in front and rear. The servants were called out, and provisions were not allowed to enter. In these circumstances Captain Elliot proceeded to Canton, where he found the British community in a state of great excitement and distress. Seeing no alternative, he issued a circular letter to the merchants, requiring them to surrender the whole opium on the coast into his hands, in order that he might deliver it to the Chinese authorities, and holding himself responsible for all consequences. On the 21st of May, the whole of the opium, to the amount of 20,283 chests, was given up to the commissioner, and was immediately destroyed. The blockade then terminated, and all the British residents who had been imprisoned at Canton were allowed to depart, with the exception of sixteen individuals; but they were ultimately permitted to leave with injunctions never to return. The Chinese authorities, however, were still not satisfied, for on the 26th of November Commissioner Lin issued an edict ordering the cessation of all trade with British ships after the 6th of December; and in January, 1840, this was followed by an imperial edict directing all trade with Britain to cease for ever.

Meanwhile Captain Elliot had repeatedly written home, warning the Government that matters were in a critical state, and requesting instructions; but no attention was paid to his entreaties. He had the semblance of authority, without any power

to suppress the illicit traffic or to enforce his orders on the British merchants, who persisted in carrying on the opium trade in direct violation of the laws of the country. The Government were certainly very much to blame in neglecting to give to their superintendent powers which were essential to the discharge of his duties—powers, which by the Act of Parliament they were fully entitled to confer upon him, and which, if they had been intrusted to him, might have materially contributed to arrest the calamitous result of a war between the two countries. Captain Elliot's most pressing and anxious letters were received by the Government on the 17th of July, 1837; but it was not until the 2nd of November that the Foreign Secretary sent a reply, which after all conveyed no instructions or guidance to the anxious and harassed superintendent. Seven months elapsed before Lord Palmerston sent a second despatch, intimating that the Ministry had at last come to a decision on the subject. 'With respect to the smuggling trade in opium,' it said, 'I have to state 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.'

If this just and proper intimation had been sent at an earlier period, it might have prevented all the mischief that now ensued; but unfortunately before its arrival Captain Elliot had taken the side of the opium smugglers, and he disregarded the whole spirit and purpose of the instructions which he now received. He wrote to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, setting forth that the Chinese Government had adopted a 'course of violation and spoliation which had broken up the foundations of this great trade, as far as Canton is concerned, perhaps for

ever;' and requesting that as many ships of war and armed vessels as could be spared from India should be despatched to China to defend the lives and property of the British merchants.

This step no doubt exasperated the Chinese authorities, and made them more determined to adhere to their resolution to abolish the opium traffic. In the month of August, 1839, an affray took place at Macao between some English sailors and Chinese villagers, in which one of the latter unfortunately lost his life. Commissioner Lin immediately demanded that the British sailor who had killed the Chinaman should be given up; and on Captain Elliot's refusal to comply with this demand, Lin issued an edict prohibiting any provisions or other articles being supplied to the British at Macao. The *Black Joke*, a British schooner, while on her passage from Macao to Hong-Kong was attacked by a fleet of Chinese junks and boarded; several of the Lascars, who manned the vessel, were cut down and thrown overboard, and Mr. Moss, a young Englishman who happened to be on board, was most barbarously maltreated. Luckily another schooner came up at this critical moment, and the assailants fled in their boats. Captain Elliot, in these circumstances, left Macao for Hong-Kong on the 23rd of August, and invited all the British merchants who wished to leave that place to accompany him.

About the end of the year Lin issued an edict against the importation of any British goods; prohibiting the transshipment of them into any other foreign vessel for the purpose of being conveyed into Canton, under the penalty of confiscation of the ship and cargo should any British goods be discovered on board. In these circumstances Captain Elliot stooped to petition Lin for the restoration of the trade with Canton in accordance with the laws of both countries, until he could receive instructions from home; but his petition was contemptuously rejected by the Commissioner,

who declared that, until the person who killed the Chinaman in August was given up, no intercourse could be allowed between the two nations. However, Lin so far relented as to allow trade to be carried on in the meantime below Bocca Tigris, at the mouth of the Canton river; and he was willing to permit vessels to go up the Canton, if the captains would sign a bond agreeing that any person guilty of smuggling opium should be punished according to the laws of China—in other words, should be liable to capital punishment at the discretion of the Chinese mandarins. Captain Elliot, as might have been expected, returned a peremptory refusal to comply with this demand.

At this juncture a Mr. Warner, master of a ship called the *Thomas Coutts*, signed the bond to the great annoyance of the British merchants, and in direct violation of the orders of the superintendent. His compliance delighted the Chinese Commissioner, who immediately caused his ship to be carried up to Whampoa, and insisted that all British vessels should enter only on the same terms as the *Thomas Coutts*, or depart within three days. The superintendent believed that the Chinese also intended to attack the British frigates, the *Volage* and the *Hyacinth*, which were stationed in the river. A fleet of twenty-nine sail of war junks and five vessels anchored close to the British ships on the 3rd of November, and the demand for the delivery of the English sailor was peremptorily renewed. It was, of course, rejected; and as the Chinese refused to return to their former anchorage, the frigates poured in a destructive fire upon them and destroyed a number of the war junks with considerable loss of life. They seem to have consoled themselves with the notion that the British must have suffered equal loss in the encounter, in consequence of the frigates having retreated to Macao to protect the merchant ships there, and to cover the embarkation of the British residents.

The war having thus begun, the British Government judged it difficult to put a stop to it without producing an impression on the minds of the Chinese which would have led to future collisions. On grounds of political expediency, therefore, but in flagrant violation of the plainest laws of morality, they sanctioned the continuance of hostilities with a people who had done us no wrong, and had merely exercised their undoubted right to forbid the importation of a pernicious drug that was eating into the vitals of their national prosperity. The Chinese authorities no doubt, after the quarrel began, conducted matters with a high hand, and were guilty of various indefensible acts; but the British merchants were the aggressors, and should have been left to reap what they had sown. The opium traffic deserved no protection, and the opium smugglers ought to have been informed by the Government from the first that they would receive none. But the British superintendent, on the contrary, identified himself with the traders, and had recourse to arms in their behalf; and the Ministry, who had left him for many months without instructions or adequate authority to restrain and punish the opium smugglers, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to carry on the war which he had commenced.

The great majority of the British nation had a very imperfect and indeed erroneous idea of the Chinese character, and knew very little of the real nature of the points at issue. The matter was taken up in the House of Commons, but more as a party question, which afforded an opportunity of assailing the Government, than as a subject to be discussed fairly and impartially on its merits. The motion of censure, which was moved by Sir James Graham, pronounced no condemnation on the opium trade, or of the conduct of the traders who persisted in forcing the importation of that drug into China in flagrant violation of the laws of that country, and in direct opposition to the wishes and efforts of the Chinese

authorities. It merely set forth that 'the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of Her Majesty's present advisers in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the superintendent was placed.' The defence of the Government, though intrusted to Macaulay, Charles Buller, Lushington, Hobhouse, and Palmerston, was exceedingly lame, and was more like an apology than a vindication; and the Opposition speakers, especially Follett, Sydney Herbert, Gladstone, and Peel, had by much the best of the argument. After a debate, which lasted three nights, the Ministry, notwithstanding all their efforts, were only able to command a majority of nine—Graham's motion being supported by 262 votes against 271.

Meanwhile the Ministry had despatched to China a fleet of eight ships of war, with two steamers and a number of transports, under the command of Admiral Elliot, to carry on the hostilities which Captain Elliot had so needlessly and rashly commenced. The Chinese, on their part, were said to have sent a boat-load of poisoned tea to be sold to the British sailors; but it had been captured by some Chinese pirates, who sold the cargo to their own countrymen, many of whom died in consequence of partaking of the poisoned article of food. They were also alleged to have poisoned the wells. It is certain that they made many attempts to burn the ships of their assailants by means of fire-rafts, which entirely failed. With a simplicity which is at once ludicrous and pathetic, they offered a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars for the capture of an English man-of-war carrying eighty great guns; 5000 dollars for taking

alive a foreign 'mandarin,' or chief officer of a man-of-war, and a corresponding reward for taking prisoner officers of inferior rank; and for 'killing foreign mandarins or officers, substantial evidence being produced of the same, one-third of the proportioned reward for taking such alive shall be awarded.' Fishermen and other seafaring people are called on to go out and destroy foreign vessels; and whilst thus engaged, are promised that their families will be housed, clothed, and fed in the public offices and at the public expense. The proof required of the destruction of a ship was the board with her name; the production of the head of an Englishman was sufficient evidence that he had been killed; and on either of these being delivered to any district magistrate the bearer would be entitled to the promised reward. 'Honours, rewards, and happiness will be the lot of him who kills an Englishman.' 'It is no longer possible,' said the Emperor, 'to bear with the English; gods and men are indignant at their conduct.'

The Chinese authorities displayed great activity and energy in their preparations to defend their country against the attacks of the British forces, and the people fought with indomitable courage; but they never had a chance of success. The island of Chusan, which lies about midway on the east coast of China proper, was the first conquest of the invaders. On the 4th of July, a British fleet anchored in Chusan harbour; and a summons was sent to the Chinese admiral, who was also governor of the group of Chusan islands, calling upon him to surrender the island. This official, who was entirely taken by surprise, immediately went on board the *Wellesley*, the flag ship, accompanied by two mandarins. He admitted that he was quite unprepared for resistance, but endeavoured by various devices and evasions to gain time. He was made aware, however, that if he was not prepared to give up the island before daybreak next morning, it would be taken

from him by force. In the morning a large body of troops were seen drawn up on the shore, and on the walls of Ting-haen, the chief city, distant about a mile from the beach. Several war junks had also been brought to assist in repelling the invaders. The British troops landed in two divisions under cover of the broadsides from their ships of war, which speedily silenced the fire of the batteries and junks. They took possession of a hill about 1500 yards distant from Ting-haen, which they cannonaded during the whole day and up to midnight, receiving in return a fire from the walls of the city, which, however, did them little or no injury. During the night the assailants placed ten guns within 400 yards of the fortifications. At daybreak the flags were seen flying from the walls as they were on the preceding evening; but as no person was visible, and no sound was heard, the British sent forward a reconnoitring party, who discovered that the city had been evacuated. Only two or three unarmed Chinamen were left, who hung a placard over the wall, on which was inscribed, 'Save us for the sake of our wives and children.'* The possession of Chusan proved disastrous to our troops. The climate was unhealthy, provisions were scarce and bad, and the soldiers drank so freely of a spirit distilled from rice, that they became mutinous and sick; and in a short time, out of 3650 men, only 2035 were fit for duty.

Admiral Elliot, who arrived at Chusan on the same day on which it was taken, sailed northwards on the 9th of August with a part of the squadron, accompanied by Captain Elliot; and on reaching the bay, into which the Peho or river of Pekin flows, the superintendent went up the river with the boats of all the men-of-war manned and armed, and after six days' delay was informed that the Emperor

* H. B. made use of this incident during the discussion on the Bedchamber question, representing the Melbourne Ministry in a fort about to be stormed by the Conservatives, led by Wellington and Peel, hanging out a placard, 'Spare us for the sake of our women.'

required time to consider what answer should be given. The squadron availed themselves of the opportunity to lay in supplies of provisions and water. On their return to the anchorage Captain Elliot obtained an interview with Keshen, the Imperial Commissioner, the third man in the empire. Negotiations, which commenced on the 30th of August, were protracted until the 15th of September; and then, by some unaccountable means, the admiral was induced to transfer the scene of the negotiations from the vicinity of the capital to Canton, a distant spot, where it had hitherto been found impossible to come to any definite conclusion. The Emperor, however, had meanwhile superseded Lin, and ordered an inquiry to be made into his conduct, and Keshen was appointed in his room. Keshen's object was to protract the negotiations as long as possible, in order to provide defences for the Canton river. Besides levying troops, he caused new batteries to be erected at the Bogue, boats laden with stones to be sunk at the bars, and breast-works to be thrown up near the city. Captain Elliot's patience was at length exhausted by Keshen's interminable delays. As the British admiral had resigned and returned home on the ground of illness, the task of compelling the Chinese to submit to our demands was intrusted to Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer. He opened his fire upon the Bogue forts on the 7th of January, 1841, and speedily took two of them. Next morning, when he was preparing to attack the principal fort, a flag of truce arrived, along with a promise from Keshen to adjust matters without further delay. Upon the 20th of January, Captain Elliot issued a circular announcing that the preliminaries of a treaty had been agreed to by the Chinese commissioner, in which it was stipulated that the island of Hong-Kong, situated at the mouth of the bay of Canton, was to be ceded to Britain instead of Chusan, which was to be restored to China; that the Chinese Government should pay

6,000,000 dollars (£1,250,000) as compensation to the British merchants; that the trade should be resumed within ten days; and that there should be direct official communication between the two Governments on equal terms.

The terms of the treaty were disapproved by the Ministry; and general surprise was expressed that it contained no mention whatever of the opium traffic, the sole cause of the war. Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons that the treaty was to be disallowed, Captain Elliot recalled, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed in his stead. Meanwhile, however, Sir Gordon Bremer, taking it for granted that the treaty was to be fulfilled, had sent orders to the British troops to evacuate Chusan; and he took formal possession, in the name of the Queen, of the island of Hong-Kong.

Hostilities were, however, renewed on the 19th of February, in consequence of a shot having been fired from one of the islands at the boat of the *Nemesis* steamer. The British vessels went up the river again on the 26th. One detachment made themselves master of the island of Wantag in the course of a few minutes, without the loss of a single man. Another attacked and captured the strong fort of Anunghoy, with only five men slightly wounded, though the Chinese lost a considerable number of men, including their admiral, Kwan, and several other mandarins of high rank. On the 27th the light squadron proceeded up the river; and though the left bank was strongly fortified, and a number of vessels had been sunk in the channel, they forced a passage, and silenced the batteries in the course of an hour, while a detachment of marines landed and stormed the works of the fort in spite of a brave and determined resistance on the part of the defenders, of whom 300 were killed. Next day the advanced squadron pushed forward, and for the first time the British ships were visible from the walls of Canton. Sir G. Bremer and Major-General Gough, who now arrived and assumed the command of the land

forces, were preparing to attack the remaining defences of the city, when the Prefect, accompanied by the Hong-Kong merchants, came down and informed the British commanders that Keshien had been degraded; and that, as his successor had not yet arrived, there were no officials in Canton empowered to treat with them. The naval and military commanders wished to settle the matter at once, and to compel the surrender of the city; but Captain Elliot requested them to wait until it should be seen how the provincial authorities at Canton were disposed to act. Sir Gordon Bremer, in his despatch, expressed his apprehension that this forbearance would be misunderstood; and so it proved. A flag of truce was fired on upon the 17th of March; and in retaliation next day the forts which protected the city were carried in succession, the Chinese flotilla was destroyed, and the Union-jack was hoisted on the walls of the British factory at Canton. It was then discovered that Keshien had delayed the execution of the treaty which he had concluded with Captain Elliot, until it should receive the sanction of the Imperial Government; but that it had been rejected by the Emperor, who had resolved on war. Sir Gordon Bremer immediately started for Calcutta to obtain reinforcements, and Admiral Senhouse assumed the command in China. In the meantime a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon between Captain Elliot and the Imperial Commissioner, Yang, which was to continue until advices came from the court at Peking.

Although the trade was partially reopened during six weeks, large bodies of Tartar troops continued to arrive at Canton, and the British commanders were satisfied that the Chinese intended to renew hostilities at the first favourable moment. They resolved, therefore, to renew the attack on the city on the 24th of May; and after a sharp conflict, in which the British troops had fifteen killed and 112 wounded, Canton lay completely in their power. Sir Hugh Gough was about to make an assault on a

strong fortified height of considerable extent within the city walls, when Captain Elliot requested him to suspend hostilities while another treaty was negotiated. The British general made no secret of his dissatisfaction with this countermand, by which he said the 'feelings' of the Chinese were spared. 'He would have been responsible that Canton should be equally spared, with the exception of its defences, and that not a soldier should have entered the town further than the fortified heights within its walls.'

The terms agreed on between Captain Elliot and the Chinese authorities were, that the Imperial Commissioner and all the troops were to quit the city within six days, and remove to a distance of sixty miles; that 6,000,000 dollars were to be paid down within a week; the British troops to remain in their present position until the whole amount was paid, and then, along with the ships, to withdraw to Bocca Tigris; the losses occasioned by the destruction of the factories and the burning of the Spanish brig *Bilbaino* to be repaid within a week.

Admiral Senhouse died on the 14th of June of fever, brought on by his great labours and exposure to the sun; aggravated, it is alleged, by disappointment and mortification at the mismanagement of affairs. Four days later Sir Gordon Bremer returned from Calcutta, and his appointment as joint-superintendent was announced to the Chinese. But on the 9th of August Sir Henry Pottinger arrived, and took the entire charge into his own hands. On the 24th the two displaced superintendents sailed for Bombay.

Sir Henry Pottinger at once expressed his determination to bring the war to a speedy close, and on the 12th of August he sent a messenger to the Governor of Canton, assuring him that the existing truce would be observed as long as the Chinese should not arm their forts or impede the regular trade which had been re-established, or molest the merchants residing in the factories. He then proceeded northwards on the 21st, having with him 3500 soldiers

under Major-General Gough, and a fleet, consisting of two 74-gunships, seven other ships of war, and a number of transports and other vessels, under the command of Sir William Parker. Amoy was taken on the 27th, with 500 guns and large quantities of arms and public stores, and a garrison was left on an island in the harbour. Chusan and its chief city was next taken, after a spirited defence. On the 13th of October the large city of Ningpo, fifteen miles inland, fell undefended into the hands of the invaders, and became their headquarters during the winter. These successes so alarmed the court of Peking, that they issued an edict urging the extermination of the British, and ordering vigorous preparations to be made for the defence of the country. The courage of the Chinese seemed to have revived during the winter, and in March a large body of them scaled the walls of Ningpo and made an attempt to recover that city. They were allowed without hindrance to crowd the marketplace, and then the British opened fire upon them with murderous effect. In the month of May the invaders took the city of Chapor. Woosang was taken on the 16th of June, and Shanghai on the 19th. On the 21st of July the city of Chin-kiang was stormed, after a gallant defence and a frightful loss of life on the part of the inhabitants. The Chinese, indeed, helpless as they were, fought with the most desperate courage; and when beaten, in many instances could not bear to survive their defeat. When the mandarin who was second in command in Amoy saw that all was lost, he rushed into the sea and drowned himself; and another destroyed himself, like Saul the Israelitish king, on the battle-field. On the capture of another city the Tartar general went into his house and made his servants set fire to the building, and calmly sat on his chair until he was burned to death. 'When they found they could no longer stand against us,' wrote one of the British officers, 'they cut the throats of their wives and children, or

drove them into wells and ponds, and then destroyed themselves. In many houses there were from eight to twelve dead bodies, and I myself saw a dozen women and children drowning themselves in a small pond the day after the fight.' Even the common soldiers, fresh from the battle-field, could not behold unmoved the spectacle of the Chinese destroying themselves and their wives and children, rather than allow them to fall into the hands of those hated foreigners.

At length, the appearance of the British army before Nankin on the 12th of August, 1842, compelled the Chinese to sue for peace on any terms we chose to grant them; and on the 26th a treaty was finally concluded between the British plenipotentiary and three Chinese commissioners.

The most important provisions of the treaty were, authority to the British merchants to trade freely at the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and to establish consuls there; the cession of the island of Hong-Kong in perpetuity to Her Britannic Majesty and her successors; the establishment of regular and just tariffs of import and export, and of inland transit duties; correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of the two governments; and the sum of 21,000,000 dollars (£4,375,000) to be paid by the Chinese to the British by instalments, in addition to the 6,000,000 dollars already paid by the authorities at Canton as compensation for the opium destroyed. The Emperor signified his assent to this treaty on the 8th of September, and on the 31st of December it was ratified by the British Government.

The war was declared in Parliament to have been 'just, necessary, and honourable;' and on the motion of the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, and of Lord Stanley in the Commons, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the fleet and army that had been engaged in these operations. But it is impossible for any right-thinking person to reflect on the origin,

progress, and result of the war, without mingled feelings of shame and indignation.

The last stage of this discreditable business was a squabble between the Conservative Government and the Canton merchants who had been engaged in this contraband trade. The traders pleaded that, on the requisition of Captain Elliot they gave up the opium, as he said, for Her Majesty's service, and on his express assurance that they should be repaid the value of it; and this value they estimated at the invoice price, with the addition of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for interest and other charges. Sir Robert Peel, however, as the representative of the Government, took his stand on Lord Pal-

merston's declaration in 1838, that any loss which the opium smugglers might suffer in carrying on this illegal traffic, in consequence of the more effectual execution of the laws against it, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts. The merchants declared, that taking the price of opium at the lowest during the season when it was seized, the value of the 20,283 chests was £2,042,000; but the Government could not be induced to give them more than 6,000,000 dollars, or £1,250,000, which had been paid under the treaty as compensation for the opium that had been destroyed by the Chinese.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Position and importance of Afghanistan—Character of the Afghans—Ahmed Shah—Character and career of Dost Mahomed—Russian intrigues—Siege of Herat by the Persian Shah—Mission of Captain Burnes to Cabul—Gallant conduct of Lieutenant Pottinger—The siege of Herat raised—Dishonesty of the Russian Ministers—Policy of Lord Auckland regarding Afghanistan—Disapproval of the policy of Captain Burnes—Garbling of his despatches—Treaty to expel Dost Mahomed and restore Shah Soojah—Invasion of Cabul—Capture of Candahar and Ghuznee—Flight of Dost Mahomed—Shah Soojah's reception at Cabul—Last Struggles of the Ameer—His Surrender—Critical state of affairs at Cabul—General Elphinstone—Delusion of the British authorities—Outbreak at Cabul—Murder of Sir Alexander Burnes—Progress of the Insurrection—Loss of the Commissariat Fort—Negotiations with the Afghans—Arrival of Mahomed Akbar Khan—Renewal of the negotiations—Murder of Sir William Macnaghton—Depression of the Garrison—Incapacity of the authorities—The Capitulation—Retreat from Cabul—State of the Troops—Passage of the Koord-Cabul Pass—Sufferings of the Force—Jugdulluck—Negotiations with Akbar Khan—The Ladies and married Officers intrusted to him—General Elphinstone and other two officers seized—Massacre at Gundamuck—Sale's Brigade—March to Jellalabad—Skirmishes with the Afghans—The occupation of Jellalabad—State of the Defences—Successful sallies—Siege of the Town—Bad news—Arrival of Dr Bryden—Earthquake—Battle of the 7th of April—Fall of Colonel Dennie—Arrival of Pollock's army—Its advance to Cabul—Rescue of Lady Sale and the other prisoners—Flight of Akbar Khan—Destruction of Cabul—Evacuation of Afghanistan.

THE war in Afghanistan, which was undertaken during the closing year of Lord Melbourne's administration, was a much more serious affair than the hostilities with China. At this time the north-western frontier of our possessions in India was an extensive sandy desert, extending from the jungles of the hill-states of Gurhwal to the sea. Beyond this desert region lay the Punjaub, with its five great rivers, of which Runjeet Singh, the 'Old Lion of Lahore,' was the ruler. Beyond the Punjaub, farther to the west, lies Afghanistan—a country which from time immemorial has served as the great highway from western to eastern Asia. Lying directly between Persia and the Punjaub, it has been traversed by all the invaders that ever penetrated to India from the Mediterranean, the Black, and the Caspian Seas. 'An old Indian proverb runs that he alone can be Emperor of Hindostan who is first Lord of Cabul. Alexander of Macedon had to fight his way through, capturing Herat as he went, ere he met and defeated Porus, discoursed with the sacred Gymnosophistæ, and founded a city in honour of his steed, Bucephalus, on the shores of the Hydaspes. Timour Bec Mahmoud, the founder of the Mahometan dynasty in India, Nadir, and Baber, all conducted their mighty hordes to India by

the same route. It was and is the key to India from the north-west.'

The ruling race in this region are the Afghans, Mahometans of the Shunite sect, though Hindoos, and even Persians of the heretical and obnoxious Mahometan sect of the Shiites, have been allowed to settle in the country, and even to attain power and influence. There are few towns in Afghanistan, and the region is sparsely peopled. The Afghans are a race of hardy mountaineers, brave, strong, active, independent, but turbulent, passionate, and vindictive. Their feuds are numerous and interminable; revenge is regarded as a sacred duty, and they may be said to live in a state of chronic warfare. They are excellent horsemen, and are early trained to the use of arms. Like the Scottish Highlanders of former days, whom in many respects they closely resemble, they have a great contempt for trade, and indeed for most peaceful pursuits; and like the Celtic clansmen, they are generous and hospitable to strangers, and even to their enemies, who are safe beneath an Afghan roof. The country had been parcelled out by Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Afghan empire, among the various military chiefs, who held their lands by the tenure that for every plough in

cultivation they should furnish a horse-man for the public service, though this proportion between the ploughs and the horsemen seems afterwards not to have been strictly observed.

Ahmed Shah was a sagacious and energetic ruler, who united courage and activity with high military talents. He established his authority over the extensive region which stretches from Herat on the west, and Sirhind on the east, and from the Oxus and Cashmere on the north, to the Arabian Sea and the mouths of the Indus on the south. He repeatedly invaded Hindostan; and in the memorable battle of Paniput, fought in 1761, he inflicted a decisive defeat on the Mahratta power. He died in 1773, and was succeeded by his son, Timour Shah, on whose death in 1792 his dominions were divided between his two sons, Homa-yon and Zemaun Shah. War soon broke out between the two brothers, and the elder being defeated, the whole kingdom acknowledged the authority of Zemaun Shah. He was in turn overthrown and deprived of his sight, in 1800, by his brother Mahmoud. Three years later Mahmoud was expelled by his brother, Shah Soojah, but the latter was ultimately driven by him out of the country, and found refuge in the British territory. In the course of events Mahmoud also was deprived of his kingdom. The descendants of the illustrious Ahmed Shah were thus dispossessed of the throne of Afghanistan. The principality of Herat was the only part of their great inheritance which still remained with them.

The government of the country was now in the hands of the chiefs of a powerful tribe, the Barukzyes, the most influential of whom was Dost Mahomed, one of the youngest of the twenty brothers of the celebrated Barukzye Sirdar Futteh Khan, who brought about the first downfall of Shah Soojah, and reigned in his stead as the vizier of his feeble successor, Shah Mahmoud. Dost Mahomed soon became conspicuous in consequence of the energy and courage with which he took vengeance for the death

of his brother, the powerful vizier, who was cruelly murdered by his perfidious master, Shah Mahmoud. After a series of sanguinary wars and revolutions, Afghanistan was divided among the Barukzye brothers, and Dost Mahomed was eventually, in 1826, firmly seated on the throne of Cabul. A great change now took place in his character. During his infancy he had been totally neglected, and his youth was stained with many crimes and excesses; but he was handsome and graceful in his person, with a prepossessing countenance and a bold frank manner. He had shown that, in an eminent degree, he possessed courage and resolution, combined with unusual sagacity and great influence over his family and tribe. As soon as he became undisputed ruler of Cabul, he set himself industriously to acquire the requisite qualifications for his high and responsible position. He exerted himself zealously to repair the deficiencies of his neglected education. He learned to read and write; he studied the Koran; he gave up the use of wine and strong drink; he made a public acknowledgment of contrition for the past, and performed the *Toba*, which is a solemn and sacred promise of reformation in reference to every accustomed moral crime or habit of depravity. He became at the same time plain in his attire, assiduous in his attention to business, affable in his manner, and courteous to all persons of every degree. He took means to secure that order should be maintained in his dominions, and that justice should be done without respect of persons. The humblest peasant who had a complaint to make had access to the presence of his ruler, and an attentive consideration of his grievance. So widely known was his determination to administer impartial justice, and to give relief to the injured or distressed, that when any grievous wrong was not redressed, people said, 'Is Dost Mahomed dead that there is no justice?'

Dost Mahomed exercised vigorous authority over Cabul for twelve years, and

inflicted a severe defeat on Shah Soojah, who, with the assistance of Runjeet Singh, attempted to regain the kingdom he had lost. But in 1837 a new and unexpected source of trouble and anxiety arose. A British envoy arrived at his capital, and a Persian army laid siege to Herat on the Afghan frontier.

The fact cannot be denied that at this time the Russians had obtained a footing in Persia, and that the young Shah, though he had been seated peaceably on the Persian throne by the assistance of British officers and of British money, had lent himself to the promotion of Russian policy. The alliance between Russia and Persia seemed to threaten the security of our Indian empire, as it left only Cabul and the Punjaub between the Russian armies and our frontier. The apprehensions of our rulers were strengthened by the information which reached them in 1835, that the Shah was preparing to make war on Shah Kamran, the Prince of Herat, the last representative of the family of Ahmed Shah the founder of the Afghan empire, and thus to obtain a footing in the Cabul territory. They were also made aware that the Ministers of the Persian monarch made no secret of their intentions to claim supremacy also over Ghuznee and Candahar, which would have brought their rule almost to the frontier of the Punjaub, with Russian consular agents established in all the great towns.

There can be no reasonable doubt that, although the Shah had good cause for complaint against Shah Kamran, the expedition against Herat was instigated and supported by the Russian Government. They furnished both the sinews of war and the counsel; they despatched a general to direct its operations; they even allowed one or two of their regiments, under the guise of Polish deserters, to serve in the ranks of the invading army; they deputed an agent for the express purpose of thwarting the efforts of the British ambassador to bring about an accommoda-

tion between the besiegers and the besieged; and so eager was the Russian envoy for the reduction of Herat, that he even offered his own military services in the expedition.

Herat, as both our friends and foes well knew, is a place of primary importance for the protection of our Indian possessions. Its position at that point of the range of mountains bounding the whole of our northern frontier, where alone there are facilities for the transport of a train of heavy artillery, has obtained for the city the designation of the Gate of India. All the great roads leading on Indian territory converge within the limits of its territory; and it is by Herat alone that a fully-equipped army could make its way from the north-west upon our Indian frontier. The importance of its situation, said Sir Alexander Burnes, is very great, and it has always exercised considerable influence over the affairs of Central Asia; and a special Russian agent at Bokhara continually dwelt, he says, on the position of Herat being such that it was through it alone that the Emperor hoped to realize his wishes, for it was the entrepôt of Persia, India, Cabul, and Turkestan. Kohun Dil Khan, the ruler of Candahar, one of Dost Mahomed's brothers, cherished an intense hatred of Shah Kamran, the ruler of Herat, whom he regarded as the murderer of his elder brother, Futteh Khan. He and his other Candahar brothers hoped that the Persian army would overthrow Shah Kamran, and transfer the principality of Herat to themselves; and both the Persian monarch and the Russian agent strove to encourage them in this expectation, assuring the Sirdar that his serving the Shah would turn out every way to his advantage. Dost Mahomed, however, entirely disapproved of this movement, and warned his brothers that, in the event of their not attending to his advice, such circumstances would happen as would make them bite the finger of repentance.

At this stage Lord Auckland, who, as we have seen, had been appointed Governor-

General of India in 1835, when the Melbourne Ministry returned to office, received a congratulatory letter from Dost Mahomed, evidently intended to conciliate the British representative and to secure his friendship and protection. In his reply the Viceroy hinted that he should probably soon 'depute some gentleman' to the Ameer's court, to discuss with him certain commercial topics. The project of a commercial mission to Afghanistan had been previously suggested to Lord William Bentinck by Sir John Malcolm; and there is no reason to suppose that Lord Auckland, in carrying the proposal into effect, had any idea of employing it for any other than commercial purposes. He selected, as the commercial agent to be despatched to Cabul, a young Scotsman named Alexander Burnes, a member of the family from which Robert Burns the Scottish poet sprung, and who seems to have possessed no inconsiderable share of the talents, along with some of the most conspicuous failings, of his illustrious kinsman. Possessed of an eager and enterprising spirit, he had already acquired no small celebrity by his expedition to Central Asia, during the course of which he had travelled across the Punjaub to the Indus, and proceeded through Peshawur to Cabul, where he was cordially received by Dost Mahomed. He formed at that early period a highly favourable opinion of the Ameer, both as regarded his personal integrity and ability, and the vigour and justice of his government. From Cabul, Burnes journeyed over the Hindoo Coosh to Kindoosy, Balkh, and Bokhara, and thence passed westward to the Persian frontier, returning through Teheran, Ispahan, and Shiraz to Bushire, where he embarked for India. He was shortly after despatched to England to communicate to the Government the important information he had thus acquired. He returned to India in the spring of 1836, and in the following autumn was sent to the court of the Ameer of Scinde, on a mission which he performed with judgment and ability. He was next appointed to

take charge of the 'commercial' mission to Afghanistan; and on the 26th of November he sailed from Bombay, to 'work out the policy of opening the river Indus to commerce.'

On his arrival at Cabul Burnes was received with the greatest cordiality by the Afghan chief; indeed, as he says, 'with great pomp and splendour.' Mr. Tucker, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, had declined when Burnes was in England to concur in his appointment to a commercial agency in Cabul, feeling, as he said, perfectly assured that it must soon degenerate into a political agency, and that we should, as a necessary consequence, be involved in all the entanglements of Afghan politics. So it proved. The notion of a commercial mission was soon laid aside, and Burnes, with all the ardour of his eager and impulsive temperament, plunged into the complications and intricacies of Afghan politics. At this time Russian agents were visiting Central Asia, and striving to gain over the native rulers to promote the insidious designs of their Government. One of them, an officer named Vicovich, came to Cabul about three months after the arrival of Burnes. He was secretly authorized to make the most splendid offers to the Ameer of money and assistance in his schemes; and he assured Dost that all the Afghan merchants should be well received in the capital of Russia, that justice and protection should be extended towards them, and that their intercourse would cause their respective states to flourish.

While the Russian and Persian envoys were contending for supremacy at Cabul, the Persian Shah was prosecuting the siege of Herat. That city was defended by a wet ditch and an earthen wall, with five gates, each protected by a small outwork. The citadel, which was constructed of brick masonry, with lofty ramparts and numerous towers, had at one time been a place of considerable strength; but its defences had been allowed to fall into a state of complete

disrepair, and the whole fortifications of the city were crumbling into decay. The besieging army was well supplied with artillery and other materials for the siege, and its operations were aided by the skill of Russian engineers. The Russian Minister, Count Simonich, advanced 50,000 tomauns to the Shah to encourage and assist him in carrying on the siege, and promised that if he took Herat the balance of the debt due by Persia to Russia should be remitted. So zealous, indeed, was the Count in promoting the enterprise, that he personally took the command of the Persian troops in the trenches, and a regiment of Russian deserters were allowed to take part in the siege. There can be no doubt that Herat would have fallen into the hands of Mahomed Shah, had it not been for the heroism of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, a young British officer who happened to be in Herat when the Persian army sat down before it. 'The spirit of adventure,' says Sir John Kaye, 'was strong in Eldred Pottinger. It had brought him to the gates of Herat, and now it kept him there, eager to take a part in the coming struggle between the Heratees and their Persian invaders. And when the day of trial came, when the enemy were under the walls of the city, he threw himself into the contest not merely in the spirit of adventure, as a young soldier rejoicing in the opportunity afforded him of taking part in the stirring scenes of active warfare, but as one profoundly impressed with the conviction that his duty to his country called upon him, in such a crisis, to put forth all his energies in aid of those who were striving to arrest a movement threatening not only the independence of Herat, but the stability of the British Empire in the East.'

The siege lasted ten months; the defences crumbled to pieces under the fire of the Persian batteries, the old walls sliding into masses at every round; and numerous attempts were made to carry the city by storm, one of which, guided by the Russian Minister, Count Simonich, in person, had

nearly been successful. The protracted siege inflicted the severest privations and sufferings on the wretched inhabitants, and the garrison were reduced to the greatest straits; but encouraged by the young English officer, they still resolutely held out against the assaults of the besiegers. It is possible, and indeed probable, that they might have been compelled to succumb in the end by the pressure of famine, had not the British Government actively interposed in their behalf. Two steamers and some vessels of war were deputed at this juncture from Bombay, with a small detachment of troops, to take possession of the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf. The demonstration was in itself insignificant, but it served the purpose. The most exaggerated reports regarding the expedition reached the Persian army before Herat, and the camp was 'all alive with stories of the powerful British fleet that had sailed into the Gulf, had destroyed Bunder-Abbas and all the ports on the coast, taken Bushire and landed there a large army, which was advancing upon Shiraz, and had already taken divers towns in the province of Fars.' At this critical moment Mr. M'Neill, our Envoy in Persia (now Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B.), was making his way towards the frontier when intelligence of the Karrack expedition met him. About the same time he received letters from the Foreign Office instructing him what steps to take, in the event of the refusal of the Shah to desist from the siege of Herat. The Envoy immediately despatched Colonel Stoddart to the Persian camp to inform the Shah that 'the occupation of Herat, or of any part of Afghanistan by the Persians, would be considered in the light of a hostile demonstration against England; that already had a naval armament arrived in the Persian Gulf, and troops been landed on Karrack; and that if the Shah desired the British Government to suspend the measures in progress for the vindication of its honour, he must at once retire from Herat.' On receiving this message (11th August) the

Shah said, 'The fact is, if I don't leave Herat there will be war; is not that it?' 'It is war,' returned Stoddart; 'all depends upon your Majesty's answer.' After two days' consideration the Persian monarch said to Stoddart, 'We consent to the whole demands of the British Government. We will not go to war. Were it not for the sake of their friendship, we should not return from before Herat. Had we known that our coming here might risk the loss of their friendship, we certainly would not have come at all.' On the 9th of September, 1838, the Shah broke up his camp and commenced his retrograde march to his own country.

The failure of this enterprise was deeply mortifying both to the Persian monarch and to his advisers, the Russian Cabinet. It was notorious that Russia had prompted the Shah to undertake the siege of Herat, and had furnished both men and money to enable him to carry it to a successful issue; that Russian officers aided the operations of the siege, and that Russian gold had been distributed among the Persian troops; that, as it was said in a note presented by the British ambassador to the Russian Prime Minister, while the British envoy, Mr. McNeill, 'was appealing to the prudence and the reason of the Shah, Count Simonich was exciting the ambition and inflaming the passions of that sovereign; whilst the one was preaching moderation and peace, the other was inciting to war and conquest; and whilst the one pointed out the difficulties and expense of the enterprise, the other inspired hopes of money and assistance.' No reasonable man could doubt that in thus encouraging and aiding the Persian Shah in his expedition against Herat—the Gate of India—the Russian Government had in view ulterior designs of some sort against the British possessions in Hindostan. Of course, now that the enterprise had failed, Russia was eager to disavow all connection with it. Nesselrode affirmed that 'not upon Russia can fall the reproach of

having encouraged or suggested that fatal enterprise.' With their characteristic duplicity and falsehood, the Russian Ministry declared that Vicovich had been despatched to Cabul on a 'commercial mission;' that if he had treated of anything but commerce he had exceeded his instructions; and that Count Simonich had been instructed, not only to discourage Mahomed Shah from prosecuting the expedition against Herat, but to withdraw the Russian deserters' regiment which formed no insignificant portion of the invading army. Nesselrode was quite well aware that the British Government were fully cognisant of the real facts of the case; but the disavowal of the Russian agents served its purpose. When Vicovich, full of hope, as Sir John Kaye says, for he had discharged the duty intrusted to him with admirable address, returned to St. Petersburg, he was at once repudiated by the Russian Minister, who refused to see him, and sent him a message to the effect that Count Nesselrode 'knew no Captain Vicovich except an adventurer of that name, who, it was reported, had been lately engaged in some unauthorized intrigues at Cabul and Candahar.' Vicovich was aware of the recent expostulations of Great Britain and saw at once that he was to be sacrificed, and he blew out his brains.

The mission of Captain Burnes to Cabul proved a failure, but not owing to any fault either on his part or on that of the Ameer. Dost Mahomed was eager to secure the friendship of Britain; and Burnes, on his part, saw clearly that an alliance with the ruler of Cabul would contribute not a little to the safety and peace of our possessions in the East. The Candahar Sirdars, the brothers of Dost Mahomed, as we have seen, had thrown themselves into the arms of Persia and Russia. Burnes strove to detach them from this hostile alliance. 'I offered them,' he said, 'British protection *and cash* if they would recede, and if Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so, but am I to stand by and see us ruined

at Candahar?' He therefore wrote to the Sirdar, Kohun Dil Khan, stating that if the Persian monarch threatened to attack him he would go at once to Candahar, accompanied by Dost Mahomed, and assist him by every means in his power, even to the extent of paying his troops.

Burnes was severely censured by Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, for thus exceeding his instructions; though the Viceroy subsequently with praiseworthy candour admitted that the highest authorities at home were of opinion, that the measure which had evoked the displeasure of his lordship was the very best that could have been adopted. On its repudiation by Lord Auckland, the Candahar chiefs threw themselves again into the Persian alliance, and entered into a formal treaty with the Shah under a Russian guarantee.

The attempt of Captain Burnes to secure the amity of Dost Mahomed was thwarted by the same inauspicious influence. He was instructed to inform the Ameer 'that neither he nor his brothers were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Government.' But notwithstanding this discouragement, Dost Mahomed still expressed his eagerness to secure an alliance. 'Russia,' Burnes wrote to Mr. Macnaghton, 'has come forward with offers which are certainly substantial; Persia has been lavish in her promises; and Bokhara and other states have not been backward. Yet in all that has passed, or is daily transpiring, the chief of Cabul declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all these offers, however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the Emperor.*

Dost Mahomed had been long exposed to the attacks of the crafty Sikh ruler,

Runjeet Singh, who had availed himself of a favourable opportunity for his purpose to seize the important town of Peshawur, which properly belonged to Afghanistan. The Ameer naturally wished to obtain the restitution of this place; but Lord Auckland declined to support his claims, and recommended him to be content with such arrangements as Runjeet Singh might be inclined to enter into with Sultan Mahomed, the Ameer's brother. But it was well known that the Sultan was the bitter enemy of the ruler of Cabul; and as the latter alleged, 'with Sultan Mahomed at Peshawur he would not be safe for a day.' 'Peshawur,' he said, 'has been conquered by the Sikhs; it belongs to them; they may give it to whomsoever they please; if to Sultan Mahomed Khan, they place it in the hands of one who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return.' 'Sultan Mahomed Khan,' he added, 'has just sent an agent to the ex-King of Loodhianah (Shah Soojah) to offer his services to combine against me, and to secure my brothers at Candahar in support of this coalition.' 'What security,' he asked, 'am I to receive against a recurrence of such practices?' Burnes had none to offer. He was instructed to ask for everything, but to promise nothing in return, while at the same moment the Russian agent was promising everything that Dost Mahomed wanted. Captain Burnes, indeed, assured the Ameer that the British Government entertained the most friendly feelings towards him; but when some proof of this was asked, none was forthcoming. 'Our Government,' wrote Burnes, 'would do nothing; but the Secretary of the Russian

* This passage and every other in Burnes' official correspondence favourable to Dost Mahomed were cut out before publication, and his letters were so garbled as to make it appear that his sentiments were exactly the opposite of those which he really held and reported to the Government. The object of this infamous conduct was, of course, to justify the proceedings of the authorities in regard to the

Ameer. In consequence of this glaring and deliberate falsification of official documents, 'the character of Dost Mahomed,' as Kaye says, 'has been lied away, the character of Burnes has been lied away. Both, by the mutilation of the correspondence of the latter, have been fearfully misrepresented; both have been set forth as doing what they did not, and omitting to do what they did.'

Legation came with the most direct offers of assistance and money; and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wiggled for talking of it at a time when it would have been merely a dead letter to say Afghanistan is under our protection, I was obliged of course to give in.'

The British authorities both at home and in India had cherished a profound distrust of Dost Mahomed, and regarded him as a treacherous enemy who, notwithstanding his professions of amity, was in reality promoting the intrigues of Persia and Russia. Burnes believed that he was sincerely desirous to cultivate the friendship of Britain, as it was manifestly his interest to do; but his superiors were utterly incredulous on this point, and instructed him to treat the Ameer as an enemy, and they ended by making him an enemy. He could not abstain from connecting himself with any other state, as the British Government called upon him to do. It was not possible for him, with a due regard to his own safety, to hold himself aloof from all the Powers that were courting his alliance; and since the British Government treated him with contempt, and peremptorily refused to give him any support, he was driven to listen with some favour to the flattering propositions made to him by Persia and Russia, though there is no evidence that he ever took any active measures to promote their schemes, or to injure the British interests. Dost Mahomed, says Sir John Kaye, 'desired, in the first instance, the absolute possession of Peshawur on his own account. He subsequently consented to hold it conjointly with Sultan Mahomed, in vassalage to Runjeet Singh. Had the British Government endeavoured to effect an amicable arrangement between the Ameer and the Maharajah, there is no room to doubt that Dost Mahomed would have rejected all overtures from the westward, and proved to us a firm and faithful ally. But instead of this, we offered him nothing but our

sympathy; and Dost Mahomed, with all respect to the British Government, looked for something more substantial than mere meaningless words.'

The Governor-General had now resolved to treat Dost Mahomed as an enemy, and to expel him from Cabul. Lord Auckland was at Simla, at a distance from his Council and surrounded by irresponsible advisers, when this fatal and most unjustifiable resolution was adopted. The Viceroy was regarded as a calm, sensible, honest man, of respectable talents, but wanting in decision of character, and prone to yield his assent to the counsels of men rash, adventurous, and less single-minded and sagacious than himself. It is generally understood that Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghton, Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. Henry Torrens the Assistant-Secretary, and Mr. John Colvin, Lord Auckland's private secretary—all three ardent, impulsive, and ambitious young men—were mainly instrumental in persuading the Governor-General to enter upon an intrigue most perilous in itself, and quite unlike the character of the cautious and peace-loving statesman.

It was at first proposed that an alliance should be formed between Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah, the exiled ruler of Cabul, guaranteed by the British Government for the expulsion of Dost Mahomed and the restoration of Shah Soojah to his throne. A joint expedition into Afghanistan was to be undertaken by the two principal parties to the treaty; and the British Government, keeping in the back ground, was to furnish the necessary funds. But under the influence of Torrens and Colvin, who remained at Simla with Lord Auckland while Macnaghton was negotiating the tripartite treaty at Lahore and Loodhianah, the scheme gradually expanded, and it was at length determined to send a British army to depose Dost Mahomed and place Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul.

The project of sending a strong body of troops into Afghanistan to repel the Persia-

Russian invasion had been under consideration when Herat was invested and in danger of falling into the hands of Shah Mahomed. But every valid pretext for the advance of our army beyond the Indus had been removed by the retreat of the Persian army from Herat. The scheme, however, was not laid aside. The British authorities in India, supported, it is alleged, by the Home Government, and especially by Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, resolved to undertake the desperate experiment of obtaining a faithful ally, or rather a subservient tool in Afghanistan, by expelling an able and successful ruler to whose authority the people were accustomed and obedient, if not attached, and of placing in his seat the feeble, luckless representative of the old dynasty, who had been living in exile in our dominions for nearly thirty years. The sole, ostensible object of the expedition was to substitute a monarch who had been tried and rejected by the Afghans, for a chief who had shown his fitness to rule by his having maintained himself in security and his country in peace. In the words of the proclamation issued on the 8th of November, 1838, intimating the raising of the siege of Herat, the Government of India would 'still continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our north-west frontier.'

Even if this scheme had been certain of success, it would have been both impolitic and unjust; but the probability of failure greatly preponderated over the chances of success. The policy of intervention for the purpose of restoring a deposed and expelled sovereign had been repeatedly tried, and had always sooner or later signally failed. As might have been foreseen, the restoration of a monarch by foreign arms made him odious to his own subjects, and thus destroyed his usefulness as an ally. All the

older and more sagacious Indian politicians, such as the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, were of opinion that the contemplated expedition to Cabul, though it might be attended at the outset with delusive success, would terminate with disaster and disgrace. Mr. St. George Tucker, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, expressed in the most decided terms his opposition to the policy now adopted by the Viceroy; and the Court of Directors themselves, in a despatch dated 20th September, 1839, warned the Governor-General to have no political connection with any state or party in those regions; to take no part in their quarrels; but to maintain so far as possible a friendly connection with all of them.' And the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the very highest of all authorities on Indian matters, in a letter to Captain Burnes expressed his entire concurrence in the opinion that the proposed expedition was unwise and unsafe.

'You will guess,' he says, 'what I think of affairs in Cabul. You remember when I used to dispute with you against having even an agent in Cabul; and now we have assumed the protection of the state as much as if it were one of the subsidiary allies in India. If you send 27,000 men up the Durra-i-Bolan to Candahar (as we hear is intended) and can feed them, I have no doubt you will take Candahar and Cabul and set up Soojah; but for maintaining him in a poor, cold, strong and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans, I own it seems to me hopeless. If you succeed, I fear you will weaken the position against Russia. The Afghans were neutral, and would have received your aid against invaders; they will now be disaffected, and glad to join any invader to drive you out. I never knew a close alliance between a civilized and an uncivilized state, that did not end in mutual hatred in three years. If the restraint of a close connection with us were not enough to make us unpopular, the connection with Runjeet, and our

guarantee of his conquests, must make us detested.'

In a short space of time these predictions of Mr. Elphinstone were fulfilled to the very letter. But Lord Auckland had now intrusted himself entirely to the guidance of his rash and adventurous advisers; and encouraged by the cordial approval of Sir John Hobhouse, to whom, indeed, he was mainly indebted for his appointment to the office of Governor-General, he persisted in carrying out the scheme of intervention.

All requisite preparations for the expedition having been made, the famous Simla Manifesto was issued (October 1, 1838), setting forth elaborately and at full length, for the information of the world in general and the countries of the East in particular, the reasons why the Honourable East India Company deemed it necessary to depose the present ruler of Cabul, and restore to the throne of his ancestors Shah Soojah, 'whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to the Governor-General by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities.' The principal reasons alleged in this document to justify the expedition were, that Herat was besieged by a Persian army; that Dost Mahomed had made an uproved attack upon our ancient ally, Runjeet Singh; that relying on Persian encouragement, he had urged the most unreasonable pretensions upon the Maharajah; that he avowed schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he had given his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Afghanistan—all of them either greatly exaggerated or unfounded. An army of 10,000 men, composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, had been assembled in Bengal for the enterprise, and another corps, consisting of 6000 troops, was gathering in Bombay, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane. Shah Soojah was also enrolling wandering Belooches, Sikhs, and men of every tribe under his standard, in order that, for the sake of his dignity, he

might have an army of his own to aid him in asserting his rights. About 8000 men, tolerably well armed but altogether undisciplined, had been got together and placed nominally under the command of the eldest son of the Shah, Prince Timour; but they were, in point of fact, under the charge of Colonel Simpson of the 19th Native Infantry. Though ostensibly declared to be Shah Soojah's troops, the whole cost and care of paying, feeding, and transporting this mongrel force devolved upon British agents and the British treasury. Mr. Macnaghton was appointed envoy and minister on the part of the Government of India at the court of Shah Soojah-oot-Moolk; and Sir Alex. Burnes, who had been recalled from the court of Dost Mahomed, and knighted for his services, though his advice was rejected, was to be employed under Mr. Macnaghton's direction as 'Envoy to the Chief of Kelat or other States.'

At this critical juncture the Governor-General received authentic intelligence that the siege of Herat had been raised. There no longer remained, therefore, any valid or plausible excuse for an expedition across the Indus, and it was generally expected that the army assembling on the north-western frontier would be broken up. Unfortunately, Lord Auckland's irresponsible advisers urged him to persevere in their unprincipled and unwise policy; and the Viceroy, distrusting his own judgment, most imprudently yielded to their representations. It was not deemed requisite, however, to send forward the whole force, now that the siege of Herat was abandoned, as 'a part only would be equal to effecting the future objects in view.' Instead of two divisions, one only (consisting of 9,500 men, with 38,000 camp followers) was to be sent; and as Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, declined to take the command of the reduced force, it was placed under the charge of Sir John Keane, Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

Advancing with a detachment from his own Presidency, Sir John met the Bengal

column in Upper Scinde, and thence led the united army up the Bolan Pass to Candahar. The Bengal column threaded their way through this perilous defile, sixty miles in length, in six days, no enemy having resisted their march, though abundant indications had been given of the unfriendly feelings of the natives; and they were followed by the Bombay force and the Shah's contingent. The hostile disposition of the natives began to make itself more manifest every day. Nobody brought supplies, and all the efforts of the officials failed to procure them. The troops had to be put on half rations, and the cavalry and artillery horses suffered severely for the want of forage. On the 26th of April they reached Candahar, the ancient capital of the Douranee empire, which, much to their surprise, was surrendered to them without a shot being fired. Shah Soojah caused himself to be proclaimed there, and met with a welcome which seemed to justify the belief that he still retained some hold on the affections of his countrymen. But it was 'the last gleam of popularity that shone upon the poor puppet king, whom the Afghans even then began to say, that the British carried about with them like a corpse in a coffin.'

After staying two months at Candahar for rest and refreshment, of which both men and horses stood greatly in need, Sir John Keane on the 27th of June began his march upon Cabul. Right in the way, however, stood the fortress of Ghuznee, where two of Dost Mahomed's sons commanded, and which was defended by a strong garrison. A battery train had been brought up with great labour and at great expense to Candahar; and now that it was about to be required, Sir John Keane, with unaccountable infatuation, left it at Candahar. Ghuznee was a place of great strength. The Afghans regarded it as impregnable; and the first sight of the fortress as it burst suddenly on the view of the invading army, satisfied the officers that it could not be taken by the light guns which

they had brought with them. A deserter, however, from the Ghuznee garrison, Abdool Reshid Khan, a nephew of Dost Mahomed, gave important information respecting the fortifications, and Major Thomson, the chief engineer, resolved to blow open one of the gates with gunpowder. The requisite preparations were made, and three hours after midnight everything was ready for the assault. In order to divert the attention of the garrison, the guns began to play upon the fortifications, and called forth a responsive fire from the crowd of Afghan soldiers who manned the walls. Under cover of the noise of the cannonade the powder bags were arranged without observation, and exploded. The gate was blown open, along with part of the wall, and the storming party, commanded by the gallant Colonel Dennie, rushed in, and after a brief but severe struggle the fortress was captured, with a loss of only seventeen killed and sixty-five wounded; but of these last eighteen were officers. The carnage among the garrison was very great, but the number who fell in the struggle could not be accurately ascertained: 1600 were taken prisoners, among whom was a brother of Dost Mahomed. Immense stores of provisions fell into the hands of the victors, and a large and most acceptable stock of horses and other beasts of burden. It was justly remarked by Mr. Gleig, that it was well for the reputation of the General and the safety of the army that the desperate throw proved successful; for there was not a gun within reach wherewith to batter, and long ere the train could be brought up from Candahar, the failure of supplies must have occasioned the dissolution of a force on which, by open attack, all the armed men in the province could have made no impression.

The British soldiers conducted themselves with great moderation and propriety towards the inhabitants of the captured city, as well as towards the garrison, when resistance was over. But they were greatly shocked at the conduct of Shah Soojah, who caused

fifty prisoners—Ghazees—to be put to death in cold blood.

The moral effect of the capture of Ghuznee on the minds of the Afghans was quite decisive. As soon as the intelligence of this event reached them, they regarded the cause of the Ameer as hopeless, and hastened to give in their submission to the triumphant Shah Soojah. Dost Mahomed, though astounded at the fall of his chief fortress, which he ascribed to treachery, was determined to continue the struggle; but his people would not stand by him. He parked his guns and drew up his troops at Urghundeh, intending to have made his last stand at Maidan on the Cabul river, which afforded great natural advantages for opposing the invading army; but he speedily became aware that he could place no reliance, either on the venal Kuzzilbashes who were in his pay, or on the Afghan chiefs, some of the most trusted of whom had already, indeed, gone over to the enemy. He made a last appeal to his followers, with the Koran in his hand, in the names of God and the Prophet, to fight like true men for their country and their religion; but he met with no response. Turning away from the traitors and cowards by whom he was surrounded, he commenced a retreat (August 2), accompanied by a small body of followers, towards the Hindoo Coosh.

On the following day the tidings of the Dost's flight reached the British army, and Captain Outram, along with a few other volunteers, at the head of 500 Afghan horsemen and British cavalry, were despatched in pursuit. But Hadjee Khan Khaukar, a renegade Afghan chief who knew the country well, was sent along with them as their guide. He contrived so artfully to interpose delays, that the Ameer was not overtaken; and he managed with his sick son, Akbar Khan, to pass the frontiers and to penetrate into the recesses of the mountains.*

* Hadjee Khan, whose desertion of the Dost was peculiarly base and heartless, was punished for his double treachery, by being confined as a State prisoner at Chunar.

On the 7th of August Shah Soojah, escorted by his British protectors, entered the capital of Afghanistan. But he was not cheered by the slightest semblance of homage or congratulation from the inhabitants. As he rode through the streets of Cabul to the Balla Hissar on a white horse, his gorgeous regal apparel sparkling with jewels, the people looked with curiosity on the pageant, but—

‘No man cried God save him;

No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home.’

It was more like a funeral procession, it was said, than the entry of a king into the capital of his restored dominions. The Shah himself, however, does not seem to have noticed or regretted the absence of popular enthusiasm; and the British commander and officers, though they could not but observe the coldness with which their protege was received by the people of Cabul, apparently did not regard it with any apprehension. Thus far everything had apparently gone well. The Douranee monarchy was restored, Dost Mahomed was a fugitive, and Shah Soojah-ool Moolk sat on the throne of his ancestors. Macnaghton evidently believed that the work was done. The Bengal corps, consisting of three brigades of infantry, with the 2nd regiment of Light Cavalry and Artillery in proportion, were left to occupy Afghanistan, and the remainder of the invading force, under Sir John Keane and Sir Thomas Wiltshire, returned in two divisions to Hindoostan. The Home Government and the people, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the merits of the case, were delighted with the result; and the general unpopularity of the Melbourne administration was to some extent, for a brief space, redeemed by the *éclat* of the campaign. Honours were showered down upon the organizers and leaders of the enterprise. Lord Auckland was advanced two steps in the peerage, and was created an Earl. Sir John Keane was made Baron Keane of Ghuznee. Mr. Macnaghton received a baronetcy and Colonel Wade a

knighthood; and lesser honours were bestowed in abundance on the subordinate officers, to whom indeed the success of the enterprise was mainly due.

The troops left to keep the country in military occupation amounted to about 20,000 men, of whom the Shah's contingent were estimated at 13,000, and a corps of Sikhs at 3500. They were distributed among the principal strongholds—Cabul, Ghuznee, Jellalabad, Candahar, and Khelat-i-Ghilzee. But it soon became evident that the contest was not at an end. The Ghilzies rose in arms. Dost Mahomed raised his standard in Koliistan, and was joined at once by a large body of adherents. He was defeated, however, after a smart action, at a place called Sygken, and was forced to retreat into Bokhara, where the Khan treated him after the usual fashion, with blandishments first, and then with imprisonment, which would have terminated in his murder if he had not contrived to make his escape. After a series of romantic adventures, he reappeared in Afghanistan at the head of a considerable force. The tidings of the Ameer's escape from Bokhara (July, 1840) were followed by reports respecting the rising of the Belooches, disturbances on the Bameean frontier, hostile movements in Candahar, and ominous indications of an unfriendly temper among the Sikhs—all indicating that the army of occupation was encamped upon a volcano. On the 6th of September it was ascertained that Dost Mahomed was advancing upon Bameean; on the 18th he suddenly attacked the British forces under Colonel Dennie, but was defeated with the loss of his tents, baggage, and standards. He speedily recovered, however, from this reverse; and on the 2nd of November, 1840, he encountered the British forces at Purwandurrah. The 2nd Bengal Cavalry being threatened by about 200 of Dost Mahomed's horse, at once took to flight, leaving their officers to be cut to pieces by the enemy; and the Afghan horsemen drove the British cavalry before them, until they

found shelter under the protection of the artillery.

The news of this untoward event was communicated to the Envoy by Sir Alexander Burnes, who thought there was nothing left for the forces but to fall back upon Cabul. The Ameer, however, was quite well aware that he could not cherish the hope that he would long be able to hold out against British power, and that the victory which he had so unexpectedly gained could not prevent his final overthrow. He had gallantly led the charge of horse which had been so successful; but while his men were marching back towards the Nijrow valley he stole away from them with a single attendant, and pushed for Cabul. On the day after the battle, when Sir William Macnaghton was taking his usual evening ride in the outskirts of the city, a horseman suddenly rode up to him and announced that his master, the Ameer, was at hand. Dost Mahomed himself immediately approached and saluted the British Minister, and placing his sword in Macnaghton's hand, claimed his protection. The redoubtable chief then accompanied the Envoy into the city, where he was treated with great respect and kindness. During the two days he remained in Cabul the Ameer was visited by all the leading officers of the garrison, who paid him the most marked attention, and could not help observing the contrast between their gallant adversary, who had so resolutely fought for his country, and the puppet king whom British policy and arms had placed on the throne in his stead. On the 12th of November, 1840, Dost Mahomed, accompanied by his family under a strong escort, commenced his journey by Jellalabad and through the Khyber Pass into the Punjaub, and thence to Loodhianah, the place appointed for his residence, and the Governor-General allotted him a pension of two lacs of rupees.

The success which had thus far attended our Afghan policy misled not only the Governor-General and his trusted coun-

sellors, but the British Ministry also. It did not, however, delude the Court of Directors, who persisted in their strong disapprobation of the attempt to maintain, by means of British arms and gold, the Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul, which was costing the Treasury of India £1,250,000 a year. On the 31st of December, 1840, they wrote out to the Supreme Government—'We pronounce our decided opinion that for many years to come the restored monarchy will have need of a British force, in order to maintain peace in its own territory and prevent aggression from without. To whatever quarter we direct our attention, we behold the restored monarchy menaced by dangers which cannot possibly be encountered by the military means at the disposal of the Minister at the court of Shah Soojah; and we again desire, you seriously to consider which of the two alternatives (a speedy retreat from Afghanistan, or a considerable increase of the military force in that country) you may feel it your duty to adopt. We are convinced that you have no middle course to pursue with safety or with honour.' Six months afterwards the Court again wrote (June 2nd, 1841), 'The surrender of Dost Mahomed does not alter the views contained in our late letter; and we hope that advantage will be taken of it to settle affairs in Afghanistan according to those views.'

Nothing that the Court of Directors could say, however, had the effect of dispelling the strange delusion which had fallen on the envoy and his subordinates at Cabul, and on the supreme authorities at Calcutta. They cherished a confident and sincere belief that the majority of the people of Afghanistan entertained the most friendly feelings towards Shah Soojah, and the British soldiers by whose bayonets his throne was hedged about and supported; and they could not be induced to believe that there was any danger to an army separated by nearly forty marches, by five broad rivers, and an independent state of

an unreliable character, from every means of support. But, strange to say, Shah Soojah himself had no such confident belief in the permanence of his authority. He is said to have declared, in a metaphor at once ludicrous and pathetic, that unsupported by the British Government he would and could be nothing but a radish—the least rooted of plants. In truth, the Shah was detested as a traitor who had sold his country to the infidel Feringhees. It had been a comparatively easy task to reinstate him on the throne; but it proved very difficult to maintain him upon it. The policy was inherently bad, and nothing that we could have done could convert wrong into right; but the catastrophe was hastened by a number of serious mistakes, brought about by ignorance or reckless disregard of the character and feelings of the Afghan people. The Barakzye Sirdars were indignant at the deposition of their chief; the Douranees, though gratified at the restoration of the leader of their order to the throne of his ancestors, were grievously disappointed at finding that they no longer possessed a dominant voice in the royal councils, which were guided and governed by the hated foreigners. The Ghilzyes had been rendered hostile by the reduction of their subsidies to one half of the original amount; and the same cause of complaint had led to the formation of an extensive conspiracy among the Kohistanees. Above all these was the hatred which the various tribes and all classes cherished against the British as foreigners, and against the puppet king who owed his throne to their bayonets and their gold. Strange to say, Sir William Macnaghton the envoy, and General Elphinstone who commanded the troops, were utterly unconscious of the real state of affairs, and turned a deaf ear to all the warnings they received of their danger.

On the retirement of Sir Willoughby Cotton, on the ground of ill health, General Elphinstone, an old officer of the Queen's service, had been appointed to succeed

him. He at one time held the command of Meerut, the most important division in Upper India, and was distinguished by his judicious firmness in maintaining the moral discipline of the troops under his command. His gentlemanly manners made him popular among his brother officers; but he had little Indian experience, he knew nothing of the native army, and was so afflicted with gout as to render active movement in a hilly country an impossibility. 'Disease had broken down his physical strength,' says Sir John Kaye, 'and enfeebled his understanding. He had almost lost the use of his limbs; he could not walk, he could hardly ride. The gout had crippled him in a manner that it was painful to contemplate.' The Commander-in-chief, and the Governor of Agra remonstrated against the appointment of an officer whose bodily frame was enfeebled by disease, and his mind clouded by suffering, to a position requiring the greatest amount of energy and activity; but Lord Auckland seems to have imagined that Afghanistan was as tranquil as any province in our empire, and, therefore, the first officer upon the roster was preferred to the hale and able generals who were at hand for the duty.

General Shelton was the second in command. 'They were both of them brave men,' Sir John adds. 'In any other situation (though the physical infirmities of the one, and the cankered vanity, the dogmatical perverseness of the other, might have in some measure detracted from their efficiency as military commanders) I believe that they would have exhibited sufficient constancy and courage to rescue an army from utter destruction and the British name from indelible reproach. But in the Cabul cantonments they were miserably out of place. They seem to have been sent there by superhuman invention, to work out the utter ruin and prostration of an unholy policy by ordinary human means. Elphinstone knew nothing of the native army; Shelton was violently prejudiced against it. Elphinstone in a new and untried

position had no opinion of his own; Shelton, on the other hand, was proud of his experience, and obstinately wedded to his own opinions. It would have been impossible, indeed, to have brought together two men so individually disqualified for their positions, so inefficient in themselves, and so doubly inefficient in combination. Each made the other worse. The only point on which they agreed, was unhappily the one on which it would have been well if they had differed. They agreed in urging the Envoy to capitulate.'

The troops were quartered in cantonments outside the city, and at some little distance from it. The camp was nearly a mile in extent, and the ramparts by which it was defended were simply contemptible. One of the officers, mounted on a small pony, scrambled down the ditch and over the works. Adjoining the cantonments were the Mission compound; and both were surrounded with villages, houses, and gardens, and commanded on every side. The troops could neither enter nor leave the camp without being exposed to a raking fire. To crown the stupendous and almost incredible folly of placing our men in a position which was utterly indefensible, the commissariat supplies were stored in a small fort outside the cantonments, which was still less defensible. The necessity of posting our troops in the Balla Hissar was pointed out and strongly urged by the engineer officers. But Shah Soojah objected, and the barracks were given up for the occupation of his harem. Brigadier Roberts subsequently remonstrated against this arrangement, but in vain. The infatuation which had seized on the Envoy and the military authorities made them apparently fancy that the troops were as safe in Cabul as they would have been in London, and that precautions were as needless in the one case as they would have been in the other. 'Our prospects,' wrote the Envoy, 'are brightening in every direction;' while Major Pottinger was informing him that 'every hour brought rumours of the

formation of an extensive conspiracy against our rule.'

At length on the 2nd of November, 1841, the explosion came. Some of the Afghan chiefs had noticed the unpardonable blunders of the British military authorities, and resolved, with characteristic cunning and treachery, to take advantage of them. 'The immediate cause of this outbreak in the capital,' said Sir William Macnaghton in a memorandum which has been preserved, 'was a seditious letter addressed by Abdoolah Khan to several chiefs of influence at Cabul, stating that it was the design of the Envoy to seize and send them all to London. The principal rebels met on the previous night; and relying on the inflammable feelings of the people of Cabul, they pretended that the king had issued an order to put all infidels to death, having previously forged an order from him for our destruction, by the common process of washing out the contents of a genuine paper, with the exception of the seal, and substituting their own wicked inventions.'

The outbreak commenced with an attack on the house of Sir Alexander Burnes, who lived in the city itself. Though his advice had been neglected, and a policy of which he disapproved had been adopted, he had waited on in the expectation of obtaining the position he had long coveted. Sir William Macnaghton was about to retire from his post, in order to become Governor of Bombay, and it was understood that Burnes was to be his successor. He had evidently no suspicion that he was especially obnoxious to the fanatical Afghans, both because, like many of the English officers, he was an object of jealousy on account of his intercourse with the women of Cabul, and because he was believed, while professing to be the friend of Dost Mahomed, to have brought the British army into the country. He was repeatedly warned of his danger, and informed that the chiefs were contriving plans against British rule, and therefore it would not be safe for him to remain in the city without

a sufficient guard. But so obstinately blind was he to the ominous indications of danger, that on the evening before the insurrection occurred, he congratulated Macnaghton on his approaching departure at a season of such profound tranquillity. He was soon to be fatally undeceived.

At break of day the Envoy received information that an insurrection had broken out in the city; but he treated the news lightly, as a matter of no importance. A note was soon after received from Burnes himself, conveying similar intelligence, but speaking slightly of the disturbance, though asking military support. If it had been sent at once, the riot might have been quelled; but with the infatuation which marked every step taken by the authorities, assistance was delayed until it was too late. The house which Burnes occupied in the city was by this time surrounded by an infuriated mob. Before daylight that fatal morning he was warned by a friendly Afghan of the danger to which he was exposed; but he was quite incredulous on that point. Oosman Khan, the Afghan Wuzeer, next came with the same evil tidings, and entreated Sir Alexander, before it was too late, to take refuge in the Balla Hissar or in the cantonments; but he obstinately refused to leave his post. He had always, he said, been a friend to the Afghans, and he could not be made to believe that they regarded him as their enemy. He harangued the mob from a gallery in the upper part of the house; but 'he might as well have addressed himself to a herd of savage beasts.' Finding the mob increasing in numbers and becoming more and more outrageous, he disguised himself in some articles of native attire and attempted to make his way through the garden, but was discovered and cut to pieces. His brother, Captain Charles Burnes, shared his fate, as did Lieutenant William Broadfoot, 'an officer of rare merit,' who was to have been his military secretary; he killed six of the Afghans with his own hand before he fell. These



C A B U L ,
FROM THE BALA HISSAR

cruel murders did not satiate the thirst of the mob for blood; nor did the plunder of the houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnson, the Shah's paymaster, which stood contiguous to each other, assuage their thirst for plunder. They slaughtered the guards and the servants, men, women, and children alike; they then gutted the shops in the city, burned the houses, and put to death all whom they found in the residences of the British officers. And while these savage deeds were being perpetrated, 6000 of our soldiers were lying inactive within half an hour's march of the horrid scene.

It is the unhesitating opinion of all who were conversant with the position of affairs that a very small force, vigorously employed, would have quelled the first outbreak of the insurrection. 'Not only I, but several of the officers,' says Captain Johnson, 'have spoken to Afghans on the subject; there never has been one dissenting voice, that had a small party gone into the town prior to the plunder of my treasury and the murder of Burnes, the insurrection would have been instantly quashed.' And Captain Mackenzie states, that in his frequent communications at a subsequent period with the chiefs of the Kuzzilbash faction, 'all the circumstances of the late insurrection were over and over again recapitulated—one and all declaring positively that the slightest exhibition of energy on our part in the first instance, more especially in reinforcing my post and that of Trevor, would at once have decided the Kuzzilbashes and all over whom they possessed any influence in our favour.' The Envoy and General Elphinstone must share the responsibility between them of this stupendous blunder—the former from humanity carried to a point of weakness; the latter from indecision and incapacity, largely due to his physical infirmities. Instead of directing their thoughts to the one great object of promptly suppressing the disturbance, the Envoy thought about the wishes of the Shah and the comforts of the people;

whilst the General, too glad to be saved the trouble of thinking at all, readily adopted Macnaghton's opinions, and believed that the fires which had broken out in the city might be left to die out by themselves.'

The other proceedings of the British authorities were in perfect keeping with this wretched commencement. The commissariat stores, as we have seen, were placed in a fort without the cantonments, and beyond the reach of protection. The Envoy was 'very urgently' pressed to repair this gross blunder, 'but without avail.' The fort in which the stores were placed was left under the guard of an ensign with 100 Sepoys. On the 1st of November he reported that 'he was very hard pressed by the enemy, and in danger of being completely cut off.' Mahomed Shereef's fort, which lay between the cantonment and the depot of supplies, was now taken possession of by the Afghans. General Elphinstone had on the preceding day expressed his desire to garrison this fort with our own troops, but Sir William Macnaghton declared that it would not be politic to do so, and the General, as usual, acquiesced in this opinion. The enemy posted in this fort inflicted severe loss on two companies sent to reinforce the garrison of the Commissariat fort; and a slight detachment, consisting mainly of cavalry despatched to enable the guard to evacuate the fort, suffered still more severely from the Afghan marksmen sheltered by Mahomed Shereef's fort and the trees in the Shah's garden, and had to retreat without accomplishing their object. The resolution of the General to abandon the fort, in which not only our grain but our hospital stores had been deposited, excited the utmost consternation; and Captain Boyd, the chief commissariat officer, remonstrated warmly against this insane proposal, and recommended that the guard should be reinforced. The poor General assented to this advice, and promised to follow it, but nothing was done. A second remonstrance was made in the most emphatic language by Captain Boyd

and Captain Johnson, with the same result. A letter was received at this juncture from Ensign Warren, who commanded the garrison, imploring assistance, and declaring that unless reinforcements were speedily sent, he would be compelled to abandon his post. Once more General Elphinstone promised that troops should be sent, soon after midnight, to take the Mahomed Shereef's fort; but some of those about the poor old man recommended him to delay carrying out this resolution till an early hour in the morning. Before that period arrived Ensign Warren appeared in the cantonments with his garrison, having, as he forewarned the General, been compelled to evacuate the fort. The enemy were mining under the walls, and had actually set fire to the gate. The Sepoys lost heart; and Warren, seeing no prospect of a reinforcement, and expecting the enemy every moment to rush in, led out his men through a hole which he had made underneath the walls. 'It is beyond a doubt,' says Lieutenant Eyre, 'that our feeble and ineffectual defence of this fort, and the valuable booty it yielded, was the first *fatal* blow to our supremacy at Cabul, and at once determined those chiefs—and more particularly the Knzzilbashs—who had hitherto remained neutral, to join in the general combination to drive us from the country.'

The imbecility through which our army, 5000 strong at least, suffered all its provisions to be carried off after being three days in a state of siege, from a post guarded by an ensign and 100 Sepoys, was certainly well fitted to strengthen the cause of the insurgents; but even this loss might have been retrieved, if prompt and vigorous measures had been adopted. Lieutenant Eyre says, that when the loss of the Commissariat fort was known, 'one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison nor can I describe the impatience of the troops, but especially the native portion, to be led out for its recapture.' But there was no one to lead them. The Commis-

sariat fort on the outskirts of the city, in which the supplies of the Shah's troops were stored, had through the same unpardonable negligence and want of foresight and decision been also allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy. There was one resource more in this hour of need; there was an ample force under the General's command to have stormed the city of Cabul, and taken all its abundant stock of winter provisions. But instead of this vigorous course time and blood were wasted in miserable skirmishes, giving every advantage to the enemy, who were formidable only as marksmen behind walls; and our soldiers were penned up in their cantonments until physical privation and mental depression under such unwonted discomfort and disgrace had done their work, and they became no longer willing, or perhaps even able to face the enemy, whom, if they had been properly led, they could have easily routed.

Affairs rapidly became worse. A limited supply of provisions had been obtained by purchase from the inhabitants of the adjoining villages, but the troops had to be put on half rations. The General and Brigadier Shelton could not agree on any step; and it was mainly in consequence of the perverse obstinacy of the latter that the proposal to remove to the Balla Hissar, 'the only measure which could have saved the British force from destruction and the British name from degradation, was rejected in this conjuncture.' Several movements undertaken at this crisis to drive back the enemy were so badly planned or feebly carried out, that they either wholly failed, or were attended with very imperfect success. At length, on the 23rd of November, an attempt was made by Shelton to dislodge the Afghans from a position which enabled them to inflict great annoyance and loss on our troops. The arrangements were made, as Sir John Kaye says, 'with a fatuity only to be accounted for by the belief that the curse of God was upon these unhappy people.' The movement ended in a total

defeat; the Sepoys became panic-struck and refused to charge the enemy, and, in one confused mass of infantry and cavalry, of European and native soldiers, they sought refuge within the walls of the cantonment.

'Our troops,' wrote Macnaghton, 'are behaving like a pack of despicable cowards, and there is no spirit or enterprise left among us. The military authorities want me to capitulate, but this I am anxious to put off till the last moment. In the meantime we shall soon have to come to some decision, as we have only three days' provision for our troops, and nothing for our cattle.'

All hope of successful resistance was now at an end; and as the military authorities still set their faces against removal into the Balla Hissar, nothing remained but to open negotiations with the Afghans and endeavour to obtain from them the most favourable terms they could be induced to grant. Three days after the insurrection broke out, the General first hinted at the necessity of treating with the enemy. Next day (November 6) he again wrote to the Envoy, suggesting the expediency of making terms with the least possible delay; and Macnaghton made an attempt through the agency of the Moonshee, Mohun Lal, to buy off the enemy. It appears that a British officer, who was in the Balla Hissar with the Shah, offered through the same agent to pay 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs. The Envoy, however, knew nothing of this most discreditable proposal. His object was to gain the Ghilzyes, and he offered their chiefs two lacs of rupees; but before the bargain was concluded he broke off the negotiation, and thus gave them mortal offence. Now, however, the negotiations were resumed; but the terms proposed by the Afghan chiefs were so insolent and dishonourable, that they were at once peremptorily rejected.

At this critical stage Mahomed Akbar Khan appeared upon the scene. He was the favourite son of Dost Mahomed.

According to all accounts he was a courageous, energetic, unscrupulous person—impetuous and passionate, burning with the desire to take vengeance on those who had dethroned his father, and for two years made himself an outcast and a fugitive from his native country. He speedily became the leader of the insurrection against Shah Soojah and his British protectors. The Envoy having received a formal official intimation from the General, signed also by the three senior officers under his command, that it was impossible any longer to hold out against the enemy, agreed to enter into negotiations with the leading chiefs for the safe retreat of the army out of the country. After a conference of two hours it was agreed that the British troops should evacuate their cantonments within three days, and that the chiefs should in the meantime supply them with provisions. The march of the army was, however, delayed for a week, for reasons which cannot be accurately ascertained. Some allege that the delay was owing to the bad faith of the chiefs; others ascribe it to the reluctance of the Envoy to carry out such a humiliating arrangement. Whatever was the cause, the result was ruinous. Snow began to fall heavily; and the severity of the weather destroyed the last hope that the British army, encumbered with women and children, and baggage, and a multitude of camp followers, would ever reach their destination in safety.

As difficulties increased and dangers threatened, the chiefs rose in their demands; and, on the other hand, Macnaghton began an underhand intrigue with the Ghilzyes, while openly negotiating with the Barukzyes and Akbar Khan. An offer was made by the Sirdar, which was so tempting, yet so manifestly unattainable, that it ought to have excited the suspicions of the Envoy. But he caught eagerly at the proposal; and accompanied by the officers of his staff, Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, he went to a conference

with the wily and treacherous Afghan chief. The conference had scarcely begun when the Envoy and his companions were suddenly seized from behind. A violent struggle ensued; and Akbar Khan, enraged at Macnaghton's resistance, shot him through the body with one of a pair of pistols which he had presented to the Sirdar on the previous day. Trevor was killed, and the other two officers were carried off prisoners. The seizure of Macnaghton was an act of base and deliberate treachery; but it is alleged that the murder was unpremeditated, and was the result of a sudden gust of passion on the part of the impulsive chief. It is believed that it was Akbar Khan's intention merely to have seized the person of the Envoy, and to have held him as a hostage to secure both the evacuation of Afghanistan and the restoration of Dost Mahomed. But hearing a cry of alarm that the English were coming out of the cantonments to rescue the Envoy, he was roused to fury, and suddenly drew out his pistol and fired.

In spite of this proof of the treachery of the Afghans, the military authorities still considered it necessary to complete the negotiations which the late Envoy had commenced. Major Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, had some weeks before arrived at Cabul, suffering from a severe wound which had confined him to his bed. He was now called into council, and intrusted with the painful task of arranging the terms of a treaty which he regarded with mingled indignation and disgust. He strove to rouse the military chiefs from the slough of humiliation into which they had sunk, and pointed out that both duty and wise policy dictated their rejection of the degrading terms which their treacherous and cruel enemies sought to impose upon them. It was all in vain. He had nothing for it but to consent to the conditions which the Afghans thought fit to prescribe. Cabul, Candahar, Ghuznee, and Jellalabad were to be immediately evacuated. Dost Mahomed was to be restored, along with

the other Afghan prisoners, to his own country. All the coin in the public treasury was to be given up to the chiefs. All the guns but six, and all the spare muskets, were to be left behind. And finally, certain officers were to remain with the Afghans as hostages for the complete fulfilment of the treaty. On these terms the chiefs granted the army a safe-conduct to Peshawur; and the garrison, with a security of the most imperfect and precarious kind, agreed to abandon their encampments and to set out on their march to Hindostan.

On the 6th of January this disastrous retreat commenced. The snow was lying deep on the ground, and the cold was intense. Several precious hours were, as usual, lost before the advanced guard moved out of the cantonments; and yet after all they commenced their march without the strong escort which had been promised for their protection from the fanatical and ferocious Ghazees and the plundering Afghan bandits. Delays occurred at every stage, and ample time was thus afforded to the enemy for preparation to assail the dispirited struggling mass at every obstruction. It was two o'clock in the morning before the last portion of the force came up; and yet the distance traversed on the first day of the retreat was only five miles. Already the feebler members, the women and young children, and a number of the Sepoys, were sinking under the cold and fatigue. At every stage suffering, sickness, and deaths increased. The camp followers died by hundreds, and officers and soldiers sank down on the snow, or were destroyed in detail by the Afghan horsemen. The doomed host struggled on without guidance, or help, or hope. On the second night, without shelter, or firewood, or food, they were huddled together, and lay down on the ground to sleep, many of them never to awake. Akbar Khan now appeared upon the scene with a body of 600 horsemen, and demanded and obtained three

additional hostages—Major Pottinger, and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie—as security that Sale would evacuate Jellalabad. The retreating force, having accomplished a distance of only ten miles in two days, now entered the tremendous pass of Koord Cabul, which for five miles runs between precipitous mountain ranges so narrow and lofty that in winter the sun rarely penetrates its dark recesses. In this terrible defile 3000 men are said to have been massacred by the Ghilzies, who poured down from the hills on the struggling and helpless rabble. Here Akbar Khan offered to protect the ladies and children if they were committed to his charge. His proposal was accepted, and Lady Macnaghton, widow of the murdered Envoy; Lady Sale, whose gallant husband was holding Jellalabad at the mouth of the Khyber Pass; Mrs. Sturt, her daughter, whose youthful husband, Lieutenant Sturt of the Engineers, was mortally wounded in the Pass; Mrs. Trevor, widow of the officer who was killed along with Sir William Macnaghton, and a number of other ladies—were placed under the charge of the Afghan chief; and on the recommendation of General Elphinstone the husbands of the married ladies were made to accompany them. It was fortunate for them that this step was taken. ‘The women and children could not long have survived the horrors of that perilous march. They had hitherto escaped almost by a miracle the assaults of the cruel climate and the inexorable foe; they were insufficiently clad; they had no servants to attend upon them; they had scarcely tasted food since they left Cabul; they had no shelter during the frosty night season. Some had just become, or were about soon to become mothers; and yet they had been compelled to ride in jolting camel panniers or on the backs of stumbling baggage-ponies.’ In the position in which the army was placed, to have left the women and children to pursue their march would have been to have left them to inevitable destruction. There is no reason to doubt

that Akbar Khan, violent and ferocious as he was, feeling that he was helpless to prevent the butchery of the troops by the Afghan tribes, really wished to protect the women and children. At the same time there can be as little doubt that he intended them as hostages for the delivery of his father and the women of his family, who were in the hands of the British Government in Hindostan.

Next morning (January 10) the remnant of the force resumed its march towards Jellalabad. On reaching a narrow gorge between two precipitous hills, the Afghans poured down in irresistible numbers on the helpless mass and slaughtered them like sheep. Not a single Sepoy was left, and only about 450 British soldiers, whose movements were unhappily encumbered, and indeed paralyzed by the camp followers. They fought their way inch by inch to the Pass of Jugdulluck, where they were obliged to halt. Akbar Khan had repeatedly made overtures to them that they should lay down their arms and place themselves under his protection, which were at once rejected. But now he invited the General, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson to a conference, and detained them as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. He promised, however, to exert his authority to restrain the tribes from massacre and plunder; but they were not to be restrained. Even the offer of large sums of money was unavailing, to induce these savages to desist from their murderous attacks. On the evening of the 12th there remained only about 120 men of the 44th, and twenty-five artillery men. On reaching the Pass of Jugdulluck—a dark, precipitous, narrow defile—they found that a barricade of bushes and the branches of trees had been erected near the summit, and blocked up the mouth of the Pass. In the conflict which ensued in the attempt to surmount this barrier, nearly the whole of our officers and troops perished, including Brigadier Anquetel, upon whom the command had devolved after the capture of Elphinstone

and Shelton, and Colonel Chambers, who had commanded the cavalry at Cabul. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers cleared the barricade, and reached Gundamuk about daybreak, but there they were overwhelmed by a host of enemies. A few privates were taken prisoners; but the greater part—officers and men—were massacred. A handful had pushed on in advance of the column, but they were cut off one by one, until when they reached Futehabad, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, their number was reduced to six. Five of these were killed by the Afghans on the way; and one alone, Dr. Bryden—out of 4500 soldiers and 12,000 camp followers—reached the city of refuge to tell the tale. In the annals of our country there is happily no other instance of an enterprise, so unrighteous in its origin and object, so badly contrived, organized, and conducted, and so ruinous in its results, as this Cabul tragedy.

There is one minor episode in the expedition of a different character—the operation of Sale's brigade. About the beginning of October, 1841, Sir Robert Sale, who commanded a brigade at Cabul, consisting of the 13th Light Infantry and the 35th Native Infantry, received orders to return to India. Their arms were of a very inferior description, and their old flint and steel muskets had become, through much use, almost unserviceable. There were at that time in store 4000 new muskets, constructed on the detonating principle, and Sir Robert Sale begged permission to arm his regiment from that large stock; but General Elphinstone would not listen to the suggestion. The new and excellent weapons were in consequence left to become the spoil of the Afghans. The brigade before starting was reinforced by 100 men of the Shah's sappers and miners, with Captain Broadfoot at their head, two 6-pounders, and a squadron of the 5th regiment Bengal Light Infantry. Altogether, they amounted to 1000 men, encumbered as usual with a vast multitude

of camp followers, and an enormous mass of baggage. Immediately on starting they were annoyed by the desultory attacks of the Afghans, and at the Boothak gorge they had to carry a stone barricade which had been thrown up to arrest their progress. Sir Robert Sale himself received a musket ball in the ankle just as he entered the Pass; but a few casualties among the rank and file of the men engaged in the conflict did not hinder the advance of the brigade. The Afghans were driven off whenever they ventured to assail our men in force, but the treachery of a body of the natives, who professed to be friendly, and were permitted to pitch their tents within the encampment, cost the force the lives of Captain Jenkins and thirty spahis, and eighty camels laden with baggage. Having cleared the gorge the brigade halted for nine or ten days until a sufficient supply of camels had been sent from Cabul to carry their baggage, including tents, hospital stores, and ammunition; and on the 22nd of October they resumed their march. They were assailed by the Afghans at every stage; and though the natives seldom ventured to encounter our men either in a stand-up fight upon the plain or in a smart skirmish, they were most skilful in taking advantage of the cover afforded them by the numerous rocks and crags which skirted the road, and they turned to account every opportunity afforded them to attack the rear-guard at a disadvantage and seize the baggage. A sharp encounter took place in the valley of Tizeen, which cost the British troops several valuable lives, though the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss. Sir Robert Sale took every precaution to protect his men from sudden attacks, never for a single moment relaxing his vigilance; and it was to his judicious arrangements that the safety of the brigade was in a great measure due. They had to fight their way at almost every step of their perilous march, especially when entangled in narrow passes inclosed on both sides for many miles by precipitous rocks, and were repeatedly

Donald Ross



R. Moseley

E. Hodart

GENERAL SIR ROBERT SALE.

exposed to still more serious annoyance and danger by the treachery of the Douranees and other tribes, who had given in their adherence to Shah Soojah, and professed to be friendly to the British. On the 3rd of November the brigade reached the valley of Gundamuk, a fertile strath of considerable extent, studded with towns and hamlets, and abounding in forest trees of different kinds, with a sufficient supply of water. 'For eighteen successive days,' says Mr. Gleig, 'they had toiled through the heart of bleak and arid mountains. Beneath their feet lay a loose shingle intermixed with large stones such as torrents roll onwards in their course and leave high and dry when the strength of the water recedes, while above and around them uprose walls of granite, surmounted by jagged peaks or broken cliffs, on which not so much as a blade of grass grew. The contrast was therefore exceeding striking, and the travellers relished it the more that there seemed some prospect of obtaining here the rest of which they stood in need; while the addition of fruit and vegetables to their diet promised as much to benefit the health of the men as it conduced in every possible way to gratify their tastes.'

Shah Soojah had made this valley one of his military posts; and two of his own regiments, one of cavalry the other of infantry, were stationed in a cantonment built for their accommodation on the summit of an extensive table-land about the centre of the valley. The tents of Sale's brigade were pitched close to this cantonment; and in this place of comparative security they remained for eight days, to recruit their energies and to prepare for the struggle which they were well aware awaited them before they could reach their destination.

Sale had now been nearly three weeks without any news from Cabul; but at this stage vague rumours spread through the camp that affairs were not going well at the capital, and that there had been a

rising of the native tribes and much hard fighting. The question has been frequently discussed by military critics, whether General Sale ought not at this point to have retraced his steps to Cabul, or if such a movement were impossible, to have stood his ground at Gundamuk. It is the general opinion that the appearance of his brigade at Cabul would have changed the aspect of affairs at that place, and in all probability have rescued Elphinstone's force from destruction. On the 10th of November, Captain Macgregor, the political agent accompanying the troops, received a letter from Sir William Macnaghton, giving him authentic intelligence of the outbreak, and urgently requesting him to bring back Sale's brigade to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. But Sale was of opinion that it would be impossible for him to reach Cabul. A council of war was held to consider the letter of the Envoy; the members of it were divided in opinion, but the majority were opposed to the movement for the rescue of Elphinstone's force. The reasons which determined them to pursue their march to Jellalabad were stated by Sale himself in a letter written from that place on the 15th of November. 'I have to acknowledge,' he said, 'the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, requiring the force under my command to move again upon Cabul. In reply, I beg to represent that the whole of my camp equipage has been destroyed; that the wounded and sick have increased to upwards of 300; that there is no longer a single depot of provisions on the route; and that the carriage of the force is not sufficient to bring on one day's rations with it. I have at the same time positive information that the whole country is in arms, and ready to oppose us in the defiles between this city and Cabul, whilst my ammunition is insufficient for more than two such contests as I should assuredly have to maintain for six days at least. With my present means I could not force the passes of either Jugdulluck or Koord

Cabul; and even if the *debris* of my brigade did reach Cabul, I am given to understand that I should find the troops now garrisoning it without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances a regard for the honour and interests of our Government compels me to adhere to my plan already formed of putting this place into a state of defence, and holding it if possible until the Cabul force falls back upon me, or succours arrive from Peshawur or India.'

Sir John Kaye seems to be of opinion that Sale might have adopted a middle course, and have retained his position at Gundamuk; and if he had done so, he might have saved Elphinstone's army from annihilation on its fatal January retreat. As long as it was encamped there the tendency of the Ghilzie chiefs was towards the establishment of friendly relations with the British; but no sooner had the brigade abandoned this position than the whole country broke out into hostility, and the passes were sealed. But very little reliance could have been placed on the friendly feeling or even neutrality of the Ghilzies when they had been informed of the disasters at Cabul; and Sale explicitly stated that at Gundamuk he could not absolutely command a day's provisions or even water, and should have been hemmed in on every side by hostile tribes amounting to 30,000 or 40,000 men, part of whom might have seized Jellalabad and reduced it to ashes, or holding it, have left him no alternative but a disastrous retreat to Peshawur. He therefore came to the resolution of anticipating any movement of this kind, and by possessing himself of Jellalabad establishing a point on which the force at Cabul might retire if hardly pressed, and restoring a link in the chain of communication with our provinces.

On the 11th of November the brigade commenced its march towards Jellalabad. The greater part of the camels and other baggage animals had been stolen by the drivers, who had led them out under the pretext of feeding, and had disappeared

with them among the hills. Sir Robert was therefore compelled to leave behind him the camp equipage and the private baggage of the officers, which was consigned to the care of the Shah's irregulars posted in the cantonment. The animals that were left, however, were found sufficient to carry the ammunition, and the hospital and commissariat stores, which were indispensably necessary for the safety of the troops. At the end of their first day's march—a distance of fourteen miles—tidings reached them that immediately after their departure from Gundamuk, the Shah's Janbazees (cavalry) had joined the enemy, and after seizing all the property which they cared to appropriate, had set fire to the cantonment and burned it to the ground along with the remainder of the heavy baggage.

The whole surrounding country immediately rose in open revolt. Next morning the hills bordering the line of march were covered with Afghans, who poured a storm of fire upon the comparative handful of British troops in the valley below; but by their combined skill and courage they kept the enemy at bay. 'A running skirmish which lasted for some miles, and brought out the fine qualities of our troops, their admirable discipline and steadiness under fire, the gallantry of their bearing, and the rapidity of their movements, ended in the dispersion of the depredators who strove to sweep off the baggage, and secured the safety of the remainder of their march.' Colonel Dennie, by a dexterous manœuvre, contrived to lead the enemy into an ambush, where vast numbers of them were cut off. At a point where the hills closed in on either side, leaving only a narrow gorge between, he drew up his cavalry out of sight under cover of a shoulder of one of the hills. He then ordered the infantry to charge the Afghans who were following in their rear, and after putting them to flight, to wheel round and run as if panic-stricken through the gorge. The result which Colonel Dennie anticipated took place.

The Afghans, imagining that the 'Fer-inghees' were fleeing from them in terror, set up a fiendish howl and rushed after them in wild hurry and confusion, confidently expecting that they would now at last be able to seize the coveted baggage. As soon as they had passed through the gorge of the pass and reached the open valley, the cavalry rushed at them with sudden fury, while at the same time a body of irregular horse, which Sir Robert Sale, observing the nature of the country as he passed, had sent back, fell upon them from the opposite side. The slaughter was tremendous, and the masses of the Afghans were scattered like chaff. It was said of the British horsemen that day, that 'their right arms were wearied with the blows which they struck; and the quantity of dead that might be seen scattered over the face of the valley proved that they had not struck at random.' This sanguinary overthrow had the effect of deterring the enemy from any further attempt to molest the rearguard, on their march to join their comrades who had preceded them to Jellalabad.

Jellalabad, the winter residence of the kings of Cabul, is situated in a fertile valley about twenty-eight miles in length and three or four in breadth. It had been originally a place of considerable importance, but from various causes had fallen into complete decay. The Afghans were under the impression that the British troops intended to proceed at once to Hindostan; and they were taken completely by surprise when, on the 13th of November, the brigade turned towards the town and entered it by the nearest gate. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of great alarm, and as many of them as could get away made their escape by the opposite gates without even a show of resistance, leaving behind their stores of provisions and effects of every kind. The British troops thus obtained possession of the town without requiring to fire a shot or to draw a sabre.

The Afghans, however, speedily recovered

from their panic; and Sale had scarcely made himself master of the place when it was surrounded by swarms of the natives, uttering the most discordant yells and cries, and threatening vengeance on the intruders unless they immediately abandoned the town. The gallant little force who held it were placed in very perilous circumstances. Their stock of provisions would only suffice for two days' consumption. The city walls were dilapidated and full of breaches, and the ditches had been filled up, so that it was without any real defence. Sale was apprehensive that, under cover of the darkness, the Afghans might force their way into the town by mere weight of numbers. Every precaution was therefore taken to guard against a surprise. Guards were placed at each of the gates, and sentries stationed at intervals round the whole of the circuit. A strong picket was planted in a kind of square in the centre of the town, in readiness to send support to any point where firing might be heard. The remainder of the troops lay down to rest with their weapons beside them, ready to turn out at a moment's notice.

As there was not an hour to lose in deciding what course to follow, a council of war was at once held to determine whether they should attempt to hold the town or concentrate the troops in the Balla Hissar or citadel which stood in the midst of it, and was sufficiently extensive to contain the whole force without inconvenience. After a good deal of discussion it was ultimately resolved to keep possession of the whole of the town, mainly through the urgent recommendation of Colonel Dennie, who pointed out that the abandonment of the city would be a virtual acknowledgment of weakness which would greatly encourage the enemy, who would besides attack the citadel to great advantage under cover of the houses and narrow lanes in its vicinity.

Having come to this conclusion it became absolutely necessary that the defences of the city should be at once repaired. They

were in a most ruinous condition. 'I found the walls of Jellalabad,' Sale said, 'in a state which might have justified despair as to the possibility of defending them. The *enceinte* was far too extensive for my small force, embracing a circumference of 2300 yards. Its tracing was vicious in the extreme; it had no parapet excepting for a few hundred yards, while this was not more than two feet high; earth and rubbish had accumulated to such an extent about the ramparts that there were roads in various directions across and over them into the country. There was a space of 400 yards together on which none of the garrison could show themselves excepting at one spot; the population within was disaffected; and the whole *enceinte* was surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which a fire could be opened upon the defenders at twenty and thirty yards.'

It was impossible to carry through the work of repairing defences so dilapidated, as long as the Afghan hordes were swarming around the place. It was therefore resolved to make a sally and drive them to a distance. On the morning of the 16th of November a body of 1100 men, consisting of 700 infantry and the whole of the cavalry, along with two guns and a body of Jezalchees, marched out under the command of Colonel Monteith of the 35th Bengal Infantry, to attack the enemy, who were about 5000 in number. They offered a stout resistance, but in the end were defeated with great slaughter, especially of the Janbazees, who had betrayed their trust and gone over to the insurgents at Gundamuk. The victors returned to the city greatly elated by their success; and the Afghans did not venture for a whole fortnight to make any serious attack upon the garrison.

The work of repairing and strengthening the fortifications of the town was now, with little or no interruption, carried on vigorously under the charge of Captain Broadfoot, a most energetic and skilful officer, who commanded the corps of sappers.

Foraging parties were sent out by Captain Macgregor, who took charge of the commissariat, and brought in large quantities of grain and flocks of sheep sufficient to victual the garrison for a month. The men were placed on half rations; but they discharged their duties cheerfully as well as diligently. 'Cheerfully too,' says Kaye, 'worked the Europeans without their accustomed drams. There were no ardent liquors in Jellalabad; and the consequence was that the men enjoyed, even on half rations, an amount of health, and strength, and elasticity, and preserved a regularity of discipline unknown to even the 13th when the fire water was served out to them.'

It was not until the beginning of December that it became necessary for the defenders to give their assailants another lesson to keep at a distance. For several days previous large parties of the enemy, numbering from 4000 to 5000 men, were hovering about, firing at the sentinels and interrupting the operations of the working parties. The garrison were obliged to husband their ammunition; and as long as no direct assault was made upon the town, they reserved their musketry fire, and contented themselves with directing an occasional cannon shot at the Afghans, who had assembled in a body on a rocky hill to the south of the town. The enemy, encouraged by this mode of procedure, became more bold and menacing; and their skirmishers, coming up almost close to the walls, compelled the sappers to desist from their work. Sir Robert Sale therefore found it necessary to chastise them. About mid-day on the 1st of December, the cavalry, along with a detachment of the infantry, with two nine-pounder guns, marched out of the town under the command of Colonel Dennie, and fell upon the enemy, whom they scattered in all directions. About 150 of the Afghans fell in this encounter, while the British troops did not lose a single man.

This successful sortie gained for the garrison several weeks of comparative

repose, during which they prosecuted with the utmost assiduity the work of strengthening the defences of the town and increasing their stock of provisions. But distressing rumours now reached them respecting the disasters at Cabul; and on the second day of January, 1842, a letter was received from Eldred Pottinger, conveying the sad intelligence of the murder of the Envoy, and that negotiations had commenced for the capitulation of General Elphinstone's force. A despatch from Akbar Khan to one of the chiefs in the vicinity of Jellalabad was intercepted, and made the garrison aware that a holy war had been proclaimed, and that all the faithful were adjured in the name of the Prophet to rise against the infidels, 'whose chief,' said the writer, 'I have slain with my own hand, as you, I trust, will in like manner slay the chief of the Feringhees in Jellalabad.' On the 9th of January a small band of horsemen appeared under the walls of the town with a flag of truce, one of whom was the bearer of a letter, dated the 29th of December, from Eldred Pottinger and General Elphinstone to Captain Macgregor, intimating that the general, in terms of a convention with Akbar Khan, had agreed to evacuate the country, and giving instructions that the troops garrisoning Jellalabad should march immediately, with their arms, stores, and ammunition, for Peshawur. A council of war was held to consider what should be done in these circumstances; and it was unanimously resolved that it would not be prudent to act upon such a document, and that the garrison should therefore abide where it was till further orders. 'I felt convinced,' said Captain Macgregor, 'that treachery was intended by the Afghan chiefs, in which case our retaining possession of the fortress of Jellalabad became of incalculable advantage to the retreating force; and if it succeeded in reaching Jellalabad, strengthened as it would be by the garrison, we might yet have upheld our authority in Ningrahar until an opportunity would have

been afforded to the British Government to reinforce us so as to commence operations for the recapture of Cabul.' Besides, the letter did not reach Captain Macgregor until eleven days after it was written, and the fate of the Cabul troops was sealed by that period. 'Had the requisition been complied with,' he adds, 'Government would most undoubtedly have had to lament the destruction of the Jellalabad garrison as well as that of the Cabul force; the wishes of the enemy evidently being to inveigle us into their power, and then to do their worst towards us.'

Four days after the receipt of the orders to evacuate Jellalabad, when the garrison were busily engaged on the works, with their arms piled close at hand, a sentry on the ramparts, looking out towards Gundamuk and the Cabul road, called out that he saw a solitary horseman riding slowly towards the town. The officers hastened to the ramparts, and directing their telescopes in the direction intimated, perceived sure enough a European leaning rather than sitting upon a wretched weary pony, evidently either sick or wounded, and scarcely able to retain his seat. No one doubted that he was the bearer of evil tidings from the Cabul army. 'Strange as it may appear,' says Mr. Gleig, 'it was nevertheless true that from the first Colonel Dennie had boded ill of the force left in Cabul, and had repeatedly declared his conviction that to a man the army would be destroyed. His words were, "You'll see. Not a soul will escape from Cabul except one man; and he will come to tell us that the rest are destroyed." Under such circumstances it is very little to be wondered at if men's blood curdled while they watched the advance of the solitary horseman; and the voice of Dennie sounded like the response of an oracle when he exclaimed, "Did I not say so? Here comes the messenger."'

A party of cavalry was promptly sent out to meet the traveller, and brought him in wounded, faint, and half dead. He

proved to be Dr. Bryden, who believed himself to be the sole survivor of the 16,000 men who seven days before had set out on their ill-fated retreat from Cabul. As soon as care and refreshment had in some degree recovered his strength, he related to the officers of the garrison the unparalleled tale of imbecility, mismanagement, and suffering—how the Cabul force had been destroyed in detail by the frost and snow, the guns and knives of the Afghans; and how a few of the officers who were better mounted than the rest had pushed on in advance of the column, but had fallen one by one until six only remained. These had halted for a few minutes at Futtehabad, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, to eat a morsel of bread treacherously offered them by some peasants there. While thus engaged a party of armed ruffians rushed out upon them and cut two of them down. The other four galloped off, but three of them were overtaken and killed; and Dr. Bryden alone, after a perilous encounter with an Afghan horseman, in which he was wounded, escaped to Jellalabad.

These dreadful tidings made the garrison feel that their safety must now, under divine Providence, depend exclusively on their own exertions. They therefore prosecuted with indomitable perseverance the task of strengthening the defences of the town. The spade and the pick-axe were plied with unwearied assiduity until, as Broadfoot states, 'by the middle of January, the commencement of the rainy season, a parapet nowhere less than six feet high, with a banquette as wide as the nature of the rampart allowed, was completed entirely round the place. The gates were repaired and strengthened by buttresses. Two of them were retrenched, and a ditch carried round the north-west angle, while some of the most dangerous ravines were laid open to our force, and roads were

opened into the low ground on the north side.'* A most seasonable supply of money had also been sent from Peshawur through the agency of the friendly chief of Lalpoora; and as the cupidity of the Afghans, even in existing circumstances, was not proof against English gold, the garrison succeeded in bribing some of the chiefs and heads of villages in the districts around to send in large supplies of grain, and sheep, and cattle. An interesting and gratifying incident is mentioned by Mr. Gleig, that, 'regularly as the Lord's day came round, brigade orders called both officers and men together, that, in his own name and in the names of his comrades, one of themselves might present to their Father which is in heaven their common sacrifice of prayer and praise. It was a righteous custom, and produced upon all concerned the happiest effect. It sobered while it encouraged all, from the highest to the lowest, teaching them to feel that the lives of the brave are in the hands of Him who gave them, and that the best preparation which men can make for battle and for death comes out of a humble yet hopeful reliance on the mercy as well as on the power of the Most High.'

On the 21st of January the political agent received a letter from Shah Soojah stating that the British authorities at Cabul had consented to leave the country, and inquiring what were the intentions of the force holding Jellalabad. A council of war was summoned to consider what answer should be returned to this letter. A long and vehement discussion ensued. The members, consisting of the commanding officers of the various bodies of troops composing the brigade, were under the impression that they had been abandoned to their fate by the Government, and, with one exception, were of opinion that they should intimate to the Shah their willingness, on certain specified conditions, to

* The work of Jellalabad garrison was not confined to the strengthening of their own defences; no small part of their labour consisted in the destruction of all

the adjoining cover for the enemy, the demolishing of forts and old walls, filling up ravines, destroying gardens, cutting down groves, &c.

evacuate the country. Captain Broadfoot, however, was of a different opinion, and opposed with the utmost vehemence the proposal to capitulate as both ignominious and perilous. After repeated meetings the majority adhered to their resolution, and negotiations were actually commenced with the Shah for the surrender of Jellalabad, and the retreat of the brigade to Peshawur. The negotiations were fortunately protracted, and Broadfoot's views having been ultimately adopted by Colonel Dennie and several other officers, the proposal to withdraw was thrown aside.

The operations of the working parties were nearly completed when, on the 19th of February, the shock of a tremendous earthquake 'undid in an hour all that it had taken the garrison of Jellalabad three months to accomplish. The whole of the parapets, which had been constructed with so much skill and diligence, were thrown down with a fearful crash into heaps of ruins. In the walls breaches were made more accessible than any which the troops found when they first entered the place, and the entire circuit was more or less shaken.' Happily very few lives were lost, and the stores, both of ammunition and salted provisions, sustained no damage.

Akbar Khan had for some weeks previous to this disaster been mustering his followers for the purpose of attacking the town. Great numbers of men had been seen marching from various quarters towards his camp, about six miles distant from Jellalabad; and as he must have speedily received information respecting the havoc which the earthquake had made on the defences, the garrison expected an immediate attack. No man's heart, however, failed him in this extremity; and while taking every precaution against a surprise, they began at once to clear away the rubbish and to fill up the breaches. Such was the energy and perseverance with which they set to work that by the end of the month the parapets were entirely restored, and every battery re-established. The

breaches, too, were built up with the rampart doubled in thickness, and the whole of the gates retrenched. Nearly a hundred other shocks took place subsequently, but none inflicted any serious injury on the defences.

For some unexplained reason Akbar Khan did not take advantage of the damage done by the earthquake; he seemed, indeed, to have a great reluctance to run the risk of a hand-to-hand fight with the garrison, and instead of assaulting the town he tried to win it by a blockade. He moved his troops nearer to the place, harassing the foraging parties, and cutting off all communication with the district from which supplies had chiefly been drawn. It was reported that he was attempting to mine the place, and on the morning of the 10th it was discovered that during the night the Afghans had thrown up a number of *sungahs* or breastworks within 200 yards of the ditch, from which a heavy fire of musketry was opened on the garrison. In these circumstances Sale thought it expedient to make a sortie, for the purpose both of ascertaining what the enemy were doing and of destroying their breastworks. Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, he sent out a strong party of infantry and cavalry, commanded by Colonel Dennie, under cover of the artillery on the ramparts, which inflicted severe loss on the masses of the enemy whenever they attempted to advance. The infantry meanwhile destroyed the *sungahs*, and ascertained that no attempt at mining had been made. As soon as our men prepared to charge the Afghans took to flight, but when the British troops were falling back upon their works, they turned and began to press upon their footsteps. This occurred repeatedly, and in these skirmishes several of our men were wounded, including Captain Broadfoot, who received a musket ball through the thigh; but not a single life was lost on their part, while a considerable number of the enemy were killed.

Skirmishes of this kind were renewed

day by day, with very few casualties among the garrison, who, owing to the scarcity of musket ammunition, were obliged to restrict their operations mainly to the discharges of their artillery, which, however, inflicted great loss on their assailants. Reinforcements continued to pour into Akbar Khan's camp, and in spite of the defeats which his forces sustained in every encounter, they seemed to grow continually bolder in their assaults. Meanwhile provisions began to fail, and forage could not be obtained without the greatest difficulty. No supplies of grain had been received for several weeks, and it was found necessary to put the soldiers on quarter allowance. Sale and Macgregor sent urgent letters to General Pollock, who was stationed at Peshawur, stating the circumstances in which they were placed, and entreating him to advance for their succour. But Pollock was obliged to wait the arrival of the European regiments on their way to Peshawur before he could venture to enter the Khyber Pass. On the 1st of April a gallant sortie made by the garrison had enabled them, besides killing and wounding great numbers of the enemy, with the loss of only one man to themselves, to capture a flock of 500 sheep and goats, which secured them a supply of meat sufficient for ten days. A disquieting rumour, however, reached them on the 5th, that General Pollock had been repulsed with great loss in the Khyber Pass, which seemed to be confirmed by a royal salute fired next day by Akbar Khan's guns in honour of a reported victory.

A council of war was immediately summoned to decide on the course which should be adopted in these circumstances. It was evident that, as both their ammunition and their provisions were nearly exhausted, they could not much longer remain in their present position. It was therefore resolved, mainly by the advice of Captain Havelock—a soldier of pre-eminent abilities and daring—that they should march out next morning and give battle to the enemy. Orders were accordingly issued to pack up

baggage, stores, and ammunition, and to keep everything in readiness to move as soon as the way should be cleared by the defeat of the enemy.

The infantry were arranged in three divisions, each consisting of about 500 men. The centre was commanded by Colonel Dennie, the right wing by Captain Havelock, and the left by Lieutenant-colonel Monteith. They were supported by the small cavalry force under Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Mayne, and by six nine-pounders under the charge of Captain Abbot. Only twelve men were left as a guard at each of the gates, and the camp followers, who in the course of the siege had received some training, were appointed to man the walls.

At daybreak on the morning of the 7th this small but indomitable band marched out of the city by the western gate, to encounter a force of at least 6000 men, who were drawn up in front of their intrenched camp, protected by two or three forts, which constituted their advanced posts. The plan agreed on, as suggested by Havelock, was to pass by these forts in the first instance, and to make a vigorous assault on the Sirdar's camp, and drive its defenders into the Cabul river, which was on the left of his position, and was at the time unfordable. But a flanking fire from one of the forts, in which the enemy were strongly posted, so harassed the 13th Light Infantry that Sir Robert Sale ordered Colonel Dennie to attack it. The breach in the outer wall was practicable, but on rushing through it Dennie, who was leading, was mortally wounded by a musket ball from the inner keep. The loss of this gallant soldier and skilful officer, one of the noblest the British army ever produced, was deeply lamented, and the mistake made by this deviation from the original plan of action had well-nigh lost the battle. Havelock's division, while sweeping round by the river in order to turn the enemy's position, were impetuously assailed by the Afghan horsemen, and more than once were obliged

to form square in order to repel their charge.

The 13th, finding that they had no means of carrying the inner keep of the fort, emerged into the open plain, fortunately in time to join the other divisions in a united and successful attack on the Sirdar's camp. 'The artillery advanced at a gallop,' wrote the general in his despatch, 'and directed a heavy fire upon the Afghan centre, whilst two of the columns of infantry penetrated the line near the same point, and the third forced back its left from its support on the river, into the stream of which some of his horse and foot were driven. The Afghans made repeated attempts to check our advance by a smart fire of musketry, by throwing forward heavy bodies of horse, which twice threatened the detachments of foot under Captain Havelock, and by opening upon us three guns from a battery screened by a garden wall, said to have been served under the personal superintendence of the Sirdar. But in a short time they were dislodged from every point of their position, their cannon taken, and their camp involved in a general conflagration. The battle was over and the enemy in full retreat in the direction of Lughman by about 7 a.m. We have made ourselves masters of two cavalry standards, recaptured four guns lost by the Cabul and Gundamuk forces, the restoration of which to our government is matter of much honest exultation among our troops, seized and destroyed a great quantity of material and ordnance stores, and burnt the whole of the enemy's tents. In short, the defeat of Mahomed Akbar in open field by the troops whom he had boasted of blockading has been complete and signal.' Great multitudes of the fugitives rushed madly into the river and were drowned, and if the British cavalry had been stronger, few would have escaped to tell the tale of that day's overthrow. The British troops lost only three officers and ten men, belonging to the 13th and the 35th Infantry, killed, and about fifty men wounded. But the loss of

Colonel Dennie in the prime of life was regarded as irreparable.

The victory of the 7th of April at once raised the siege of Jellalabad, and placed the 'illustrious garrison,' as Lord Ellenborough termed it, in a position of security and comfort. A market was opened outside the gates, and an abundant supply of grain and other provisions was brought in by the country people and disposed of at moderate prices. Meanwhile Pollock was forcing his way from Peshawur through the Khyber Pass, and on the 15th of April his vanguard was at Alee Bogham, within seven miles of the lately beleaguered city, and there he encamped for the night. On the following day the band of the 13th went forth to meet the strangers, and, according to immemorial custom, to play them in. Mr. Gleig says the relieving force marched the last two or three miles towards Jellalabad to the cadence of the Jacobite air, beautiful in itself and full of meaning, and most appropriate for the occasion, 'Oh, but ye've been lang o' comin'!'

During the five months in which Sir Robert Sale and his gallant brigade were keeping the enemy at bay at Jellalabad, various unfortunate and distressing incidents were taking place in other parts of Afghanistan. Colonel Maclaren's brigade had been ordered by General Elphinstone to march at once from Candahar to Cabul, which was then in a state of insurrection. It set out, avowedly against the opinion of General Nott, who commanded at Candahar; but when the snow began to fall Maclaren came to the conclusion that it would be impracticable to force his way to the capital, and ordered the brigade to retrace its steps. The propriety of this step has been questioned on apparently good grounds. There can be no doubt that Maclaren could have forced his way to Cabul, if he had wished to do so. It is possible that the arrival of his force might have saved Elphinstone's army from ruin; but in any case it would have relieved Ghuznee, and have opened the road between

that place and the capital, which would have determined many waverers to side with the British.

Treason and disaffection soon prevailed on every side, and the whole country rose in arms against the detested Feringhees. The Douranee tribes assembled in great numbers in the neighbourhood of Candahar, under the command of Meerza Ahmed, an Afghan chief of rare ability, who alone, says Major Rawlinson, could have so long preserved union among the discordant elements of which his camp was composed. Major Rawlinson, the political agent, and General Nott, were, however, continually on the alert in laying in an ample stock of supplies for the troops in Candahar, in repairing the fortifications, and vigilantly watching the movements of the tribes who were either hostile or of doubtful fidelity.

An order, written nearly two months before, arrived from General Elphinstone on the 21st of February, for the evacuation of Candahar and Khelat-i-Ghilzye, which they at once refused to obey. On the 3rd of March Major Rawlinson expelled the Afghan inhabitants from the city, with the exception of a few peaceful citizens, merchants and tradesmen, who were permitted to remain, but were deprived of their arms. General Nott then marched out (7th of March) with a strong body of troops to give battle to the Douranee tribes, who had for many weeks threatened Candahar. They fell back as he advanced, and thus gradually drew him a considerable distance from the city. They then gave him the slip, and doubling back upon Candahar, made a desperate attack upon the place during the night of the 10th, and had nearly succeeded in carrying it. After a fierce and sanguinary struggle they were at length repulsed, and the return of Nott's forces on the 12th made Candahar secure against any repetition of the assault.

On the 31st of March tidings reached Candahar of the surrender of Ghuznee, the garrison of which had been reduced to great straits; but its fall was largely to be

attributed to want of decision on the part of its commandant, Colonel Palmer, and was regarded both as a great disaster and a great discredit. Khelat-i-Ghilzye, however, held bravely out under Captain John Halkett Craigie; and General Nott and Major Rawlinson continued gallantly and successfully to maintain their ground against the insurgent tribes of Western Afghanistan.

Nott became impatient for assistance from Hindostan, and General England, whose incapacity and want of energy fitted him for the company of the military authorities at Cabul, received orders to march to Candahar with a strong force, composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, carrying with him an ample supply of money, ammunition, and medicine. He left Quettah on the 22nd of March, but on reaching, on the 28th, the entrance of a defile which leads to the village of Hykulzye, a body of the enemy disputed his progress, and repulsed the troops sent forward to clear the way. They soon rallied, and were eager again to be led to the attack, but the general at once determined to retreat, and led back his force to Quettah. This retrograde movement was productive of serious mischief, and tended greatly to encourage the enemy. England remained a whole month at Quettah, dwelling on the difficulties and dangers of a forward movement, until at last an imperious and indignant mandate from Nott compelled the sluggish and incompetent general once more to make a forward movement. The enemy had taken up the position which they had previously occupied before Hykulzye, apparently confident of another success; but they were driven from it on the 28th of April with great ease by the British infantry, supported by artillery. At the entrance of the Kojuk Pass, on the 30th, General England halted his brigade, dismounted from his horse, called for a chair, and sat himself down. The urgent remonstrances of his officers utterly failed to induce him to move. Meanwhile the Candahar troops,

under Colonel Wymer, were assailing at the other end the enemy who held the pass on that side; and it was not until they had completely cleared the way and crowned the heights with their bayonets, that the Quettah brigade was allowed to move on. The junction of the two brigades kept the Afghans in subjection and the country quiet, and indeed a number of the chiefs were now eager to make terms with the British.

The tidings of the terrible disasters which had overtaken our troops at Cabul appear to have completely overwhelmed the Governor-general. He seems to have previously had misgivings as to the policy of the course he had been induced to pursue; but he now became fully alive to its folly and injustice, when the edifice which he had striven to rear, and for which he had been honoured and rewarded, fell in hopeless ruin to the ground. He was well aware that his occupation of Afghanistan had met with the strong disapproval throughout of the Directors of the East India Company, and had been most oppressive to the people of India. His political friends who had appointed him to the position of Viceroy were now out of office, and the Conservative party, who had assumed the reins of government, had declared themselves hostile to his Afghan policy. He was now awaiting the arrival of his successor, who had intimated before leaving England that he would not be disposed to carry out any of Lord Auckland's plans. These considerations seem to have completely bewildered and paralyzed the Governor-general, and he could not make up his mind to follow any well-defined and resolute policy, or to take any adequate measures for the relief of Sale's brigade and the rescue of the captives who were in the hands of Akbar Khan. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, and he differed in opinion respecting the proper person to take the command of the relieving army. Lord Auckland proposed to appoint Major-general Lumley, who wanted physical health and strength necessary for such a

trying service, and his medical advisers declared that he was totally unequal to 'meet the required exertion and exposure' demanded by such a campaign. The Commander-in-chief on this at once determined to nominate General George Pollock, an old and distinguished Company's officer, to the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur. The appointment of this experienced, sagacious, and conscientious soldier to this critical post gave universal satisfaction, and the result fully vindicated the sound judgment displayed by Sir Jasper Nicolls in selecting him for this service.

Meanwhile a detachment of native infantry, consisting of four regiments, with a single troop of irregulars, but without any artillery, under Brigadier Wild, had been sent forward to Peshawur, and were instructed to borrow half a dozen guns from the Sikhs. Wild's difficulties were as formidable as his means were slender. His orders were to force the Khyber Pass, but the Sikh soldiers mutinied and marched back to Peshawur; and the Sepoys, demoralized by their intercourse with these mutineers, lost heart, and when met by the Afghans at the entrance of the pass, huddled together in confusion and dismay, and refused to advance. To crown this disaster, the fort of Ali-Musjid, which lies five miles within the entrance, and has always been regarded as the key to the pass, was abandoned by the garrison, composed of a detachment of a local corps who had been left without an adequate supply of provisions and water, and without bedding or tools; and this important post was allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy. The blame of this mismanaged and dispiriting affair seems to have mainly rested with Mr. George Clerk, one of the political officials, and the Commander-in-chief. General Pollock, however, on his arrival at Peshawur, by a union of kindness and firmness, gradually restored the courage and confidence of the Sepoys, and made them willing to follow him in the most difficult and daring enterprises. But he was compelled,

most reluctantly, to wait inactive for several months, until the requisite reinforcements from the Punjaub had joined him; and though Sale and Macgregor were writing urgent letters, calling upon him to push on without delay, he was still unable to move.

Lord Ellenborough, the new Governor-general, landed at Calcutta on the 28th of February, 1842. He found that the last letter written to General Pollock, four days before, by the administration of his predecessor, had given clear and positive directions that our troops should be withdrawn from Jellalabad. Lord Ellenborough's first public document of any importance was a letter to the Commander-in-chief, dated the 15th of March, in which he declared that the British Government was no longer compelled 'to peril its armies, and with its armies the Indian empire,' in support of the Tripartite Treaty. Its efforts should, in the first instance, be directed to secure the safety of its troops now in the field, and then to the re-establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans. On the 6th of April the Viceroy left Calcutta for the frontier, and by the time he reached Benares, he had so completely changed his mind that he had sent orders to withdraw the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye and evacuate Candahar, although he had now learned that Pollock had forced his way through the Khyber Pass to Ali-Musjid, and that Sale had defeated Akbar Khan in a general action on the plains of Jellalabad. The repulse which the incompetent General England had encountered at Hykulzye seems to have had a very dispiriting effect on the impulsive mind of the Viceroy, and to have produced this revulsion of feeling and change of plan. But his Lordship, under this depression of mind, seems to have lost sight both of sound policy and right feeling, and to have totally forgotten the claims of 'the generals who had commanded our army at Cabul—the widow of the murdered Envoy—the brave-hearted wife of the commander of the illustrious garrison of Jellalabad—

the man who had rescued Herat from the grasp of the Persian, and done the only thing that had yet been done to roll back from the gates of India the tide of Western invasion—with many more brave officers and tender women who were captives in the rude fortresses of the Afghan Sirdars.'

The generals who were directed to withdraw from Afghanistan in this ignominious manner expressed their deep regret at this proceeding, though prepared to obey the positive orders which they had received. But the Governor-general seems to have gradually recovered his equanimity of mind, which had been so rudely shaken by General England's disaster. Remonstrances against the proposal to withdraw the troops in this summary manner were received from various influential quarters, especially from Captain Outram, the 'Bayard of India.' Pollock could not retire at once from Jellalabad, as he had not the means of retiring to Peshawur. Rawlinson declared that as soon as the intended retirement of the troops from Candahar was made known the whole country would be up in arms, and they would be obliged to abandon all their baggage and stores. After a number of wavering and inconsistent documents had been issued, Pollock received a constructive permission to remain at Jellalabad until October, and hints were given to that general that it was possible he might find it necessary to advance upon and occupy the city of Cabul, and inflict some severe blow on the Afghan army. Lord Ellenborough's 'inglorious and degrading' proposal to withdraw our troops, and leave the prisoners in the hands of the Afghans to their fate, had been condemned by the almost universal voice, not only of the chief civil and military officers, but of the Anglo-Indian community at large, and, as the Viceroy now learned, was disapproved both by the Ministry and the people of Great Britain. He therefore resolved to alter his policy while professing to adhere to it. In order to preserve his apparent consistency he recommended

Pollock and Nott to advance further into the heart of the Afghan dominions, but to regard this forward movement solely in the light of a withdrawal from the country. General Nott might, if he thought fit, retire from Candahar to the provinces of India by the circuitous route of Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad; and General Pollock might advance upon Cabul in order to facilitate the retreat of the troops from Candahar.

The two generals having obtained in this peculiar way the authority which they required, though it threw the whole responsibility upon their own shoulders, lost no time in carrying out their plans with energy and expedition. The 'illustrious garrison' of Jellalabad had suffered severely from sickness—the result partly of the heat, from which they had no adequate shelter, partly of their long inactivity. At length, on the 6th of August, Sale was instructed to push on with his brigade to Futtehabad, on the road to Cabul, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, where they remained encamped for three weeks. On the 21st they were joined by a second division, accompanied by the Commander-in-chief in person, and the remainder of the force came up on the 25th, under Brigadier Monteith. The Ghilzies defended their mountain passes bravely and dexterously, but were driven from post to post with considerable loss. The remains of Elphinstone's army, which strewed the way, especially at Gundamuk, Jugdulluck, Tizeen, and Koord Cabul, excited mingled feelings of grief and horror in the minds of the soldiers, combined with a desire of revenge, which they had ample opportunities of gratifying. At the summit of the Huft Kothul, between Tizeen and Koord Cabul, the Afghans made a most determined stand, but were defeated with great slaughter. The whole summit of the hill, as well as the slope beyond it and the road and the declivities leading down to it, were strewed with the bodies of the slain.

The decisive victory gained by the British troops in the battle of Tizeen brought to a close the struggle of the Afghans in defence

of their country. Along the line of march from Jellalabad to the capital the forts of the chiefs had been burned, and their trees and property of every kind destroyed. Akbar Khan, who saw that it was useless to make any further attempt to save Cabul, fled towards the Hindoo Koosh, carrying with him the greater number of his prisoners, and his routed army was scattered in hopeless confusion over the mountains, seeking safety in recesses remote from the tract of the dreaded Feringhees. Pollock and his victorious troops pursued their march without further molestation, and on the 15th of September they encamped on the race-course of Cabul.

Whilst General Pollock was thus fighting his way to the capital, General Nott was making an equally victorious march from Candahar. Before setting out, his troops had been assailed as well by the Ghilzies as by the Douranee chiefs, on both of whom they had inflicted a crushing defeat. A portion of the Candahar force was sent to Quettah, and the remainder, under General Nott, set out on their return to India, as Lord Ellenborough had indicated they might do, by the route of Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad. On the 7th of August they evacuated Candahar, and commenced their march to the northward. A repulse, which was met with at the outset by a squadron of the 3d Bombay Cavalry, encouraged the enemy to assail the force on their march, and led to an encounter in which terrible and unwarrantable vengeance was inflicted on the inhabitants of some fortified villages who had fired upon our soldiers. On the 5th of September the army reached Ghuznee, which had been deserted by the greater part of its garrison, and was captured without difficulty. The town and citadel were burned to ashes, the fortifications were blown up, the enemy's guns burst, and the whole place was left a mass of ruins.

The far-famed sandal-wood gates, or supposed gates of Somnauth, which the Sultan Mahmoud had carried off from Guzerat,

were deposited at the conqueror's tomb, in the vicinity of Ghuznee. Major Rawlinson, on examining the inscriptions on these gates, detected unmistakable proofs that they belonged to a much more recent period than that ascribed to them—that, in short, they were not really the gates of Somnauth at all. But among the people, and especially the priesthood of Afghanistan, their genuineness was undoubted; and the Governor-general himself entertained the same conviction. Accordingly when, on the 4th of July, Lord Ellenborough wrote to General Nott, authorizing him to retire by the route of Ghuznee and Cabul, he said, 'You will bring away with you, from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee, his club, which hangs over it; and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the Temple of Somnauth.' This order was, of course, obeyed, and on the 8th of September these celebrated trophies were carried off by a party of British soldiers, amid the tears and lamentations of the Moollahs. Great care, however, was taken to preserve the venerable shrine itself from desecration.

After leaving Ghuznee the Candahar brigade pursued their march without molestation until they reached the vicinity of Mydan, where Shunshooden Khan and Sultan Jan had resolved to make their last stand for the defence of the capital, behind some breastworks which they had thrown up at the gorge of the hills. The conflict which ensued was unusually stubborn, and the result was doubtful, for though the British troops carried the heights, they were obliged to abandon them. But news of the defeat of Akbar Khan at Tizeen reached the chiefs at this juncture, and it was discovered next morning that they had quitted the position which they had held so resolutely, and moved off to Urgundeh, a place a few miles nearer Cabul. The Afghans, however, harassed our troops severely on their march, but were driven off with great slaughter, and fire was set to all their forts which lay alongside of the way. On the

17th of September Nott's division encamped within four or five miles of the capital, which they now found was already in possession of the force under General Pollock, who had planted the British standard upon the walls of the Balla Hissar.

Cabul, when it was re-entered by the British, was without a ruler. Shah Soojah's rule, after the departure of General Elphinstone's army, was merely nominal. The chiefs treated him as a puppet, whom they kept on the throne to serve their own purposes; but they paid him no real obedience or respect. Dissensions broke out among them, and they mutually suspected each other's fidelity. The Shah had hoarded a large sum of money, but refused to part with any of it to furnish ammunition and provisions for an army to oppose the march of General Pollock's forces through the Khyber Pass, though he professed his intention to place himself at the head of his troops and march down upon Jellalabad. He was at length assassinated on the 5th of April by one of the Barukzye Sirdars, named Soojah-ool-dowlah, and his body, stripped of its royal robes and jewels, was cast into a ditch.

On the death of the Shah, Futteh Jung, his second son, was proclaimed king by some of the most powerful of the chiefs; but his rule, like that of his father, was merely nominal. A civil war broke out in the capital, the mutual jealousies of the chiefs prevented them from co-operating cordially in any line of policy, and while they were intriguing against each other and against their puppet sovereign, Akbar Khan arrived at Cabul. Negotiations for a peaceful distribution of office and power among the rival Sirdars came to nothing, and Akbar Khan at length laid siege to the Balla Hissar. By bribing the garrison rather than by vigorous military operations, he at length obtained possession of the citadel and of the person of Futteh Jung, who had meanwhile been making earnest appeals to General Pollock to march to his relief. He ultimately made his escape from the capital,

and, in tattered clothes and the most wretched condition, found refuge in the British camp at Gundamuk.

When General Pollock took possession of the Afghan capital, Futteh Jung returned under his protection and claimed the throne. It was thought necessary that a government of some sort should be established, and that prince was therefore allowed to take up his residence in the Balla Hissar, and was formally installed as king in the presence of Generals Pollock and M'Caskill. The Kuzzilbash and Douranee chiefs were recommended to tender their allegiance to him. He was distinctly warned, however, that he need not look for assistance in men, money, or arms from the British Government, but must rely entirely on his own resources.

There was another matter of much greater interest and importance to the British Generals than the installation of a claimant to the Afghan throne—viz., the rescue of the prisoners in the hands of Akbar Khan. They had been carried from place to place at the will of their captor, had suffered severe hardships and privations, and had been exposed to great dangers. Poor old General Elphinstone, worn out with bodily disease and mental anguish, aggravated by the hardships to which he had been subjected, had died about the end of April, and his body was sent by Akbar Khan to be interred at Jellalabad.* The greater part of the other captives had been

hurried off towards the regions of Hindoo Koosh, and General Pollock, in great alarm lest they should be carried to hopeless slavery in Turkestan, at once despatched his military secretary, Sir Richmond Shakespear, with a party of 600 Kuzzilbash Horse, to rescue them from their captors. There was considerable danger, however, that this party might be intercepted by the enemy, and it was judged expedient to send a strong detachment of British troops to support them. As the Candahar division was ten miles nearer than Pollock's to Bameean, where Akbar was last heard of, it was thought desirable that Nott should send a detachment of his men, in order that no time might be lost. The officers of his own division had twice before suggested this step to Nott, but had met with a surly refusal. He considered, he said, that the recovery of the prisoners was a matter of indifference to the Government, and he would take no steps in regard to it. When, therefore, Lieutenant Mayne came to the camp with a letter from General Pollock, who, as senior officer, had assumed the supreme command, suggesting that a brigade from the Candahar division should be sent to assist the recovery of the prisoners, the ill-tempered and wrong-headed commander broke out on the officer in the most furious manner, and loaded him with the most abusive epithets. He could not venture, however, to reply in this style to the courteous letter of his superior officer; and he sent a written reply, containing various excuses for declining the service, to which no one but himself attached any weight. As he excused himself on the plea of illness from visiting Pollock in his camp, that officer, with his characteristic courtesy and forbearance, waived the distinction of his superior rank, and called upon the Candahar General. But Nott doggedly adhered to his resolution. Government, he said, 'had thrown the prisoners overboard; why, then, should he rescue them? He would obey the orders of his superior officer, but only under protest.' Pollock, wisely con-

* 'After all that has been written of his deficiencies in Cabul, it may seem a startling inconsistency to say that he was a brave and high-minded gentleman. Not upon him, but upon those who are responsible for his appointment to high military command at such a time and in such a place—first, upon those who sent him to India; secondly and chiefly, upon those who sent him to Afghanistan—must we fix the shame of his first miscarriage. When he consented to leave the quiet enjoyment of an honoured old age at home to carry his good fame and his broken constitution to a distant Indian Presidency, he committed a fatal error, for which he made terrible atonement. But there are few who will not pity rather than condemn the man who found himself suddenly, with all his weakness upon him, in a sea of difficulty which demanded almost superhuman strength to buffet through it.'—*History of the War in Afghanistan*, iii., 233.

cluding that obedience tendered in such a spirit was not likely to be very cordial or successful, left Nott to his own ill humour and the discredit which he deservedly earned by his selfish and unfeeling conduct, and delegated to the hero of Jellalabad—a man of a very different stamp—the duty which Nott had so obstinately and churlishly declined to discharge. There seems to have been some fatality operating in connection with this whole Afghan war, by virtue of which so much that is ignoble is mingled even with its most brilliant incidents.

Sir Robert Sale made all haste to perform the duty intrusted to him, and at the head of a brigade from his Jellalabad veterans pushed on after Shakespear and the Kuzzilbashs. But the release of the prisoners had already been providentially effected, just as they were on the eve of being carried into a region whither the foot of European never could have followed. They had been hurried away towards the wild rugged regions of the Indian Caucasus, had travelled by ever-ascending mountain passes, under a scorching sun by day and piercing cold by night, until they reached Bameean, thousands of feet above the level of the sea, where they were confined in a wretched fort, amid squalor and filth, and destitute of every comfort. Their escort of 300 men was commanded by Saleh Mahomed, a chief of the tribe of Hazarees, who had served under various masters, but was at present attached to the cause of Akbar Khan. An intimacy had sprung up between him and Captain Johnson, one of the prisoners, who cautiously sounded him as to his willingness, in return for a large reward, to convey them to the British camp. On reaching Bameean, the chief informed them that he had received a message from Mohun Lal, to the effect that if he would release the prisoners General Pollock would insure him a life pension of 1000 rupees a month, and make him a present of 20,000 rupees; and he offered to Johnson, Pottinger, and Lawrence,

that if they would solemnly bind themselves by a written agreement to make good this promise, he would deliver them over to their own people. The offer was at once accepted, and the bond written out on the 11th of September, and signed by all the officers and the ladies. As they were not without apprehensions that they might be attacked by some of the confederate chiefs in the neighbourhood, they set about strengthening the defences of their fort; but on the 15th they received the welcome news of Akbar Khan's total defeat at Tizeen, and his flight no one knew whither. They resolved immediately to set out for Cabul, and next morning started on their journey. About noon on the 17th they met Sir Richmond Shakespear and the Kuzzilbashs hastening to their rescue; and on the 20th, when they were approaching Urghundeh, which was to be their halting-place, they saw a large body of cavalry and infantry approaching, which proved to be the column commanded by Sale. In a brief space the delighted and grateful veteran embraced his heroic wife and widowed daughter amid the cordial congratulations of his faithful soldiers. 'Our joy,' says one of the rescued prisoners, 'was too great, too overwhelming for tongue to utter.' The royal salute which was fired from the horse artillery that had come to their relief called echoes from the distant hills, which seemed an expression of the thankfulness that filled the hearts of the rescued captives, and a presage of the joy which their recovery diffused not only in the camps of Pollock and Nott, but throughout the provinces of India and the whole of the British dominions.

The fate of the English captives—Colonel Henry Stoddart and Captain Arthur Conolly—in Bokhara was unfortunately very different. The former had been despatched to the Persian camp in 1838 to insist that the Shah must abandon the siege of Herat, and was sent subsequently by the Government to Bokhara to negotiate a treaty with the Ameer of that country,

who proved to be a cruel, capricious, half-mad tyrant. He received Stoddart favourably at first; but afterwards became suspicious of the designs of the British Government, and threw him into prison. In the autumn of 1840 Captain Conolly started from Cabul on a mission to Khiva and Kokund. He had subsequently, on the invitation of the Ameer, proceeded to Bokhara in November, 1841. He was from the first regarded with suspicion. The Ameer shortly after Conolly's arrival received from the Foreign Secretary a reply to the letter which he had written to our Queen, referring him to the Governor-general of India. He regarded this answer as an affront; and when in a few days intelligence was received of the outbreak at Cabul, the savage tyrant, professing to regard the British officers as spies, treated them with the most shocking barbarities. Their sufferings from cold, rags and vermin, and fever were frightful, and reduced them to a state of the greatest debility. Strenuous efforts were made to obtain their release; but a letter from Lord Ellenborough, appealing to the clemency of the Ameer, and describing the two officers as 'innocent travellers,' thus repudiating their official character, is believed to have sealed their fate. They were still alive on the 17th of April, 1842, when the Russian mission quitted Bokhara. The precise period of their death cannot with certainty be ascertained, but there can be no doubt that they were put to death by the orders of the Ameer.

The time agreed on for the return of the British forces to India was now at hand; but before their departure it was deemed necessary to 'fix upon Cabul some lasting mark of the just retribution of an outraged nation.' General Nott, who was in ill humour with himself and with everyone, would, if he had been permitted, have destroyed both the Balla Hissar and the city. His Sepoys and camp followers had been allowed to commit extensive depredations on the lands and villages

near his camp, and had thus done much to alarm and irritate the chiefs whom Pollock had tried to conciliate. Against all such plunderings and outrages Pollock set his face, though he took care to punish those hostile chiefs who were taking measures to annoy the troops on their homeward march. A detachment under General M'Caskill was despatched to scatter the Afghan force collected at Istaliff, a town built upon two ridges of the spur of the Hindoo Koosh. The Afghans thought it impregnable, and had deposited there their treasure and their women as in a place of perfect security. After a smart but brief struggle it was carried by our troops, and given up to plunder. Istaliff had been the centre of a district which, during the troubles of 1841, had been conspicuous for the cruel and treacherous conduct of its chief and people to the British, having assassinated Captain Codrington and Lieutenant Rattray while living peacefully among them, and killed the followers of Eldred Pottinger, who himself narrowly escaped, covered with wounds. It was therefore resolved to inflict signal vengeance both on the place and the people. The castle and the houses were accordingly burned down; and gardens, vineyards, orchards, and every article that could not be carried away, were ruthlessly destroyed.

On the return of M'Caskill's expedition to Cabul, it became necessary to decide what was to be done with that city. Futteh Jung, the weak yet tyrannical prince who had, with fear and trembling, kept his place upon his tottering throne until now, declared that he would not remain in the country after the departure of the British army. The chiefs of the Persian party in this emergency selected the Prince Shapoor, a younger brother of Futteh Jung, to occupy the vacant throne; and at their urgent request General Pollock agreed to spare the Balla Hissar, as a place of residence and safety for the youthful ruler. But he blew up with gunpowder

and completely destroyed, the great bazaar, the pride and chief ornament of the city, in retribution for the insults there offered by the Afghans to the mutilated remains of the murdered Envoy. The mosque which Akbar Khan had built to commemorate the destruction of the British army, was levelled with the ground. The houses of the chiefs were also burned, and the city gates were blown up. Every effort was made to save the rest of the city from destruction, but it is not denied that many excesses were committed by the Sepoys and camp followers, and that not only great numbers of the Afghan inhabitants, but many unoffending Hindoos also, who, in reliance on the protection of the British, had returned to the city and reopened their shops, were plundered and ruined.

Having thus, in accordance with Lord Ellenborough's instructions, inflicted such a blow upon the guilty city, as 'would make its inhabitants long remember his parting effort,' General Pollock set out on his return to India. He carried with him not only the unhappy prince, Futteh Jung, and the old blind king Zemaun Shah, along with the family of Shah Soojah, but also multitudes of the destitute Hindoos whom Nott—true to his character—had expelled from his camp, and a large number of the miserable, mutilated natives of India, crippled by wounds or by the frost, who had escaped with their lives from the great wreck of Elphinstone's army. Pollock's force moved by divisions—his own, to which Sale's brigade was attached, leading. He threaded the passes without seeing an enemy, but M'Caskill and Nott, who followed with the centre and rear, lost some of their baggage and a few of their men through the desultory attacks of the native tribes. The entire force remained a few days at Jellalabad, and the defences of that city were razed to the ground. On the 19th of December General Pollock crossed the Sutlej, and Nott followed on the 23rd, bringing with him the gates of Somnauth. A magnificent reception was given to the

victorious armies by the Governor-general in person; and the festivities which followed were closed with a grand military display, in which 40,000 men were manœuvred on the great plain of Ferozepore in the presence of the Governor-general, the Commander-in-chief, and a number of native princes.

Lord Ellenborough was so elated by the capture of the gates of Somnauth that he resolved to communicate tidings of the achievement to the different Governments and to the people of India in a magniloquent proclamation, which, after a long and careful preparation, was translated into the Persian and Hindoo languages, and was finally published in its English form on the 16th of November. It ran thus:—

'From the Governor-general to all the Princes, and Chiefs, and People of India.

'My Brothers and my Friends,

'Our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmoud looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee.

'The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, Princes and Chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored Temple of Somnauth. The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej.

'I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British Government. You see how worthy it proves itself of your love when, regarding your honour as its own, it exerts the power of its arms to

restore to you the gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your subjection to the Afghans.'

This extraordinary State paper brought down a torrent of ridicule, not unmingled with indignation, on the head of its vain-glorious author. Its folly was denounced on all sides; it was declared in Parliament by the Opposition to be 'unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible,' and even the Ministers who had sent Lord Ellenborough to India did not venture to defend it. It was a gross insult to the religion of the Mohammedans, and an act of unseemly homage to the Hindoos; while taking away the gates of a Mohammedan mosque, to offer them solemnly as a gift to a Pagan temple, was branded as a moral crime and a political blunder. Those who did not attach so much importance to this foolish proceeding ridiculed the bombastic style of the document, pointed out that the gates after all were not genuine, and that the temple which they were intended to adorn was in ruins. The act had no political importance, but it seriously injured the reputation and usefulness of the Governor-general himself.

Lord Ellenborough had previously issued at Simla another proclamation, declaring that the Governor-general would leave it to the Afghans themselves to create a government, and would readily recognize any government approved by them which should appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with the neighbouring States. In a short space of time the youthful Prince Shahpoor had to flee for safety to Peshawur, and narrowly escaped with his life. Dost Mahomed could no longer, either with justice or expediency, be kept a prisoner of State. He was therefore set at liberty, and along with all other Afghans then in the hands of the British Government, was permitted to return to his own country. 'Everything,' it was significantly said, 'is reverting to the old state of things, as it was before we entered the country.' The Dost resumed

his former sovereignty, from which he had for four years been excluded, at the cost of many thousands of lives, and £15,000,000 of money which India was compelled most unjustly to pay. But this return to a just and judicious policy could not undo the evil that had been done, or remove the bitter and vindictive feelings which the Afghan expedition had kindled in the minds of the native tribes. It is much to the credit of Dost Mahomed that, unmindful of the wrongs which he had suffered, he entered in 1852 into a treaty of general alliance with our Government in India; and in 1856, when Persia had besieged and taken Herat, the key of the 'Gate of India,' our Ministry, instead of marching an army against Dost Mahomed, supplied him with money and arms to repel the common foe—the policy which ought to have been followed in 1837. Thus Herat was evacuated, and all claims of sovereignty relinquished by the Persian Shah.

The Afghan expedition, begun for a purpose as unwise as it was unjust, carried on with an almost incredible mixture of rashness, folly, and imbecility, was brought to a close after unparalleled suffering and disaster, at an enormous waste of blood and treasure. Its failure is one of the most awful and instructive lessons to be found in the annals of the world. It was utterly unjust, and therefore it was signally disastrous. 'It was, in principle and in act, an unrighteous usurpation, and the curse of God was on it from the first. The grand lesson to be learned from the contemplation of all the circumstances of the Afghan wars is, "The Lord God of recompenses shall surely requite."' It is sad and surprising that a class of British statesmen should have come into power, after the lapse of nearly forty years, by whom this lesson was either forgotten or contemned, and that another expedition should have been sent by them into Afghanistan for the same purpose, which met with a similar unsuccessful though not equally disastrous result.

CHAPTER XIX.

Composition of the New Ministry—Difficulties of their position—Sir Robert Peel's improvement of the Corn Laws, and his New Tariff and Income Tax—Settlement of the Law of Copyright—Lord Ashley's Bill for the Protection of Women and Children in Mines and Collieries—Shocking disclosures respecting their treatment—Public feeling on the subject—The Bill becomes Law—Bribery and Corruption at the General Election of 1841—Compromises of petitions—Lord John Russell's Anti-bribery Bill—Legal Reforms—Attacks upon the person of the Queen—Alteration of the Law of Treason for her protection—Want of Education in England—Sir James Graham's Factory Bill—Opposition to its Education Clauses—They are abandoned by the Ministry—Bill for Regulating the Labour of Children and Young Persons employed in Factories—Agitation for the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland—O'Connell's Monster Meetings and Violent Language—The Clontarf Meeting prohibited by the Government—O'Connell's arrest, trial, and condemnation—The judgment reversed by the House of Lords.

THE new Ministry, with Sir Robert Peel at its head, was strong both in talent and in official experience, combining the deserters from the Whig Administration with the old Tory leaders. Lyndhurst became once more Lord Chancellor, and Goulbourn Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir James Graham, whose administrative abilities were of a high order, was made Home Secretary; Lord Stanley obtained the seals of the Colonial Office; and the Earl of Aberdeen was nominated Foreign Secretary. Lord Wharncliffe was appointed President of the Council, the Earl of Haddington First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Ellenborough President of the Board of Control, Sir Henry Hardinge Secretary at War, the Earl of Ripon ('Prosperity Robinson') President of the Board of Trade, Lord Eliot Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Duke of Wellington consented to be a member of the Cabinet without office. The Duke of Buckingham as Lord Privy Seal, and Sir Edward Knatchbull as Paymaster-general, were appointed to office, not on account of their own qualifications or personal claims, but simply as representatives of the agricultural interest. Of the members of the Administration who were not in the Cabinet, Lord Lowther, the Postmaster-general, was noted for his shrewdness and his imperious temper, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Vice-president of the Board of Trade, though a very young man, was already known as an accomplished scholar and an

eloquent speaker. Sir Frederiek Pollock, the Attorney-general (brother of the distinguished General Pollock), and Sir W. N. Follett, the Solicitor-general, were eminent lawyers, and so especially was Sir Edward Sugden, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, of which Earl de Grey was Lord Lieutenant. Lord Lincoln and Mr. Sidney Herbert, young men of great promise, held subordinate offices in the Ministry. The difficulty respecting the Household, which had frustrated Peel's attempt to form a Government in 1839, was easily surmounted. The Prince Consort, early in 1841, when the dissolution of the Melbourne Ministry was evidently not far off, opened a communication with Peel, and arranged that, in the event of a change of Government, three great Whig ladies who were at the head of the Household should, of their own accord, resign their offices. The Duchesses of Sutherland and Bedford, and the Marchioness of Normanby, accordingly retired when Lord Melbourne left office, and were replaced by ladies who enjoyed the confidence of the new Premier.

Although the new Administration contained a large proportion of men of great ability and experience, including the greatest statesman and the most illustrious general of the age, and were supported by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, their position was beset with serious difficulties. They had to deal with a deficient revenue, great excitement and agitation

on the subject of the Corn Laws, increasing dissension between the agricultural and manufacturing interests, general depression of trade and consequent distress among the working classes. It was evident that the resources of statesmanship would be tasked to the utmost to allay the popular discontent, and to provide remedial measures for a deficient revenue and manufacturing and commercial depression, without exciting dissatisfaction among the agricultural party, who were the mainstay of the Government. Time was imperatively required to enable the Premier to consider deliberately and carefully the circumstances of the country, and to mature the measures of relief which he had undertaken to submit to the Legislature. Accordingly, after the estimates had been passed, and all the business of immediate urgency despatched, the Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of October, 1841, and did not meet again until the 3rd of February, 1842.

The session was opened on the day mentioned by the Queen in person, and Her Majesty was accompanied by the King of Prussia, who had made a visit to England for the purpose of standing sponsor at the baptism of the infant Prince of Wales, born on the 9th of the previous November. The address was agreed to after considerable discussion, but without a division. On the 9th of February Sir Robert Peel laid before the House the plan which he had prepared for the alteration of the Corn Laws, but we must defer a description of its nature and reception until we come to give a history of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Suffice it to say at present that it was carried through both Houses, as originally submitted to the House, by large majorities; none of the amendments proposed, either by the agricultural party on the one hand, or by the Free-Trade leaders on the other, having been adopted. The new Tariff and the Income Tax Bills were carried through Parliament with equal facility. The existing sugar duties were continued for one year, in spite of vigorous efforts to obtain their

reduction and to equalize foreign and colonial duties. Motions brought forward in both Houses for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the national distress were rejected. The refusal to take into consideration the sufferings of the people no doubt contributed to strengthen the Chartist agitation at this time; and a petition alleged to be signed by upwards of three millions of men (though the real number was undoubtedly much less), praying for the enactment of the six points of the Chartist creed, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Duncombe, who moved that the petitioners should be heard at the Bar of the House in support of their claims, but found only forty-nine supporters.

A measure of great importance was passed this session for settling the law of literary property. An Act was passed in 1710 securing to an author the copyright of his writings for twenty-one years from the day of publication for works already in print, and fourteen years for all works to be published after that date—the latter term being once renewable if the author should be alive at the end of the first fourteen years. Sergeant Talfourd had attempted in three successive sessions to pass a new Copyright Act, but had always been baffled. He was now no longer a member of the House, but the question was taken up by Lord Mahon, who proposed that the right to literary property should be extended to twenty-five years. The Bill, which was brought forward in 1841, was rejected by a few votes, mainly through the influence of Mr. Macaulay; and Talfourd, in the bitterness of his soul, exclaimed that Literature's own familiar friend, in whom she trusted, and who had eaten of her bread, had lifted up his heel against her. Macaulay, however, was not opposed to the principle of protection to literary work, but only to the mode in which it was proposed to be effected, as he showed in a most powerful and interesting speech when a new bill was introduced by Lord Mahon. There were various considerations which induced the Legislature

to regard with favour at this time the proposal to perform this long-delayed act of justice. As Miss Martineau remarked, 'The family of Sir Walter Scott, stripped by his great losses, might be supposed to have an honourable provision in his splendid array of works, which the world was still buying as eagerly as ever; but the copy-right of "Waverley" was about to expire, and there was no one who could not see the injustice of transferring to the public a property so evidently sacred to heirs.' The poet Wordsworth was far advanced in years, and was only now, after the lapse of half a century, finding his writings appreciated and purchased by a generation whom he had trained to enjoy his poetry; but his death would have at once deprived his family of all benefit from the sale of his best works. Southey had declared that the existing state of the law of copyright made it impossible for him to undertake again works of research like his 'History of Brazil,' or epic poems like 'Madoc' and 'Roderick.' But there was nothing that had greater influence on the sympathies of the House than the characteristic petition of Thomas Carlyle, which, though presented to the House in 1839, was prominently referred to by the supporters of the proposed new copyright measure. This remarkable document, which proceeded from 'Thomas Carlyle, a writer of books,' began by humbly showing 'That your petitioner has written certain books, being incited thereto by certain innocent and laudable considerations, chiefly by the thought that said books might in the end be found worth something.' It proceeded to state that he had not had the happiness to receive from any body of men 'any encouragement or countenance in writing of said books, or to discern any chance of receiving such, but wrote them by effort of his own and the favour of heaven; that all useful labour is worthy of recompense; that all honest labour is worthy of the chance of recompense; that your petitioner does not undertake to say what recompense in money

this labour of his may deserve; whether it deserve any recompense in money, or whether money in any quantity could hire him to do the like; that this his labour has found hitherto in money or money's worth small recompense or none; that he is by no means sure of its ever finding recompense, but thinks that if so it will be at a distant time when he, the labourer, will probably no longer be in need of money, and those dear to him will still be in need of it; that the law does at least protect all persons in selling the production of their labour at what they can get for it in all market places to all lengths of time: much more than this the law does to many, but so much it does to all, and less than this to none; that your petitioner cannot discover himself to have done unlawfully in this his said labour of writing books, or to have become criminal or have forfeited the law's protection thereby. Contrariwise your petitioner believes firmly that he is innocent in said labour; that if he be found in the long run to have written a genuine enduring book, his merit thereon and desert towards England and English and other men will be considerable, and not easily estimable in money; that, on the other hand, if his book prove false and ephemeral, he and it will be abolished and forgotten, and no harm done; . . . that in the happy and long-doubtful event of the game's going in his favour, your petitioner submits that the small winnings thereof do belong to him or his, and that no other mortal has justly either part or lot in them at all, now, henceforth, or for ever.' This quaint and interesting document concludes with a prayer to the House to forbid 'extraneous persons entirely unconcerned in this adventure of his to steal from him his small winnings for a space of sixty years at the shortest. After sixty years, unless your honourable House provide otherwise, they may begin to steal.'

The proposal of Sergeant Talfourd in 1841 was that the term of copyright in a book should be extended to sixty years,

reckoned from the death of the author. Lord Mahon was for giving protection for five-and-twenty years, reckoned from the date of death. Macaulay pointed out that Lord Mahon's plan was not merely to institute a lottery, in which some writers would draw prizes and some would draw blanks. His lottery was so contrived that in the vast majority of cases the blanks would fall to the best books, and the prizes to books of inferior merit. After showing, by examples taken from the works of Shakspeare, Milton, and Dryden, that the effect of Lord Mahon's plan would be to give to crude and imperfect works a great advantage over the highest productions of genius, Macaulay stated his own plan, which was to give protection for forty-two years, reckoned from the date of publication. 'In this arrangement,' he said, 'there is no uncertainty, no inequality. The advantage which I propose to give will be the same to every book. No work will have so long a copyright as my noble friend gives to some books, or so short a copyright as he gives to others. No copyright will last ninety years; no copyright will end in twenty-eight years. To every book published in the last seventeen years of a writer's life I give a longer term of copyright than my noble friend gives, and I am confident that no person versed in literary history will deny this—that in general the most valuable works of an author are published in the last seventeen years of his life.' Macaulay's plan was adopted with some modifications. The duration of copyright was calculated from the date of publication, and the term of forty-two years was adopted by a large majority. On the motion of Lord Mahon, the heirs were to possess it for a further term of seven years after the death of the author. In any case, it was to be enjoyed for forty-two years by the author and his family.

Another important and much-needed measure was brought in and passed this session for the protection of women and children in mines and collieries. It origi-

nated with Lord Ashley (now the venerable Earl of Shaftesbury), who had shortly before entered upon his noble career of disinterested and philanthropic exertion to promote the welfare of the poor and the oppressed. He had induced the late Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the employment of women and children in mines and collieries, and their investigations brought to light a state of matters shocking to humanity. They found women toiling underground like beasts of burden, surrounded by a loathsome atmosphere of physical suffering and degradation and moral pollution to which savage life scarcely affords a parallel; and children of five and six, and even in some cases of four years of age, stunted, diseased, and half-starved, compelled to crawl on all fours in the low and narrow passages of the coal pits, dragging by a chain passing from the waist between the legs small carts laden with coal. In the Midland counties and Cumberland children were put to work at seven years of age; in West Yorkshire, at six; in Derbyshire, Northumberland, and Durham, and in the east of Scotland, at five or six; in Lancashire, at five; and in the vicinity of Oldham, as early as four. The practice of employing females in collieries was universal in West Yorkshire and North Lancashire, common in Lancashire, Cheshire, and South Wales, general in the east of Scotland, but rare in the west. No women were employed in the Midland or three Northern counties of England, and in Ireland neither children of tender years nor females were employed in underground operations. In many cases, especially in the Midland counties, the mines were damp and streaming with water. No attention was paid either to efficient ventilation or to drainage. It was stated in the Report of the Commission that 'many of the mines are so wet that the people have to work all day over their shoes in water, at the same time that the water is constantly dripping from the roof; in other pits, instead of dripping, it constantly rains, as

they term it, so that in a short time after they commence the labour of the day their clothes are drenched, and in this state, their feet also in water, they work all day. The children especially complain bitterly of this.' In the West Riding of Yorkshire there were very few collieries where the main road exceeded a yard in height, and in some it did not exceed twenty-six or twenty-eight inches—in some it was only twenty-two inches—in height; so that in such places the youngest child could not pass along without great pain, and in the most constrained posture. In the eastern coal districts of Scotland, where the side roads did not exceed from twenty-two to twenty-eight inches in height, the working places were sometimes 100 and even 200 yards distant from the main road, so that females had to crawl backwards and forwards with their small carts in seams of the height mentioned. The whole of these noisome excavations were in a most deplorable state as to ventilation, and the drainage was equally bad. In North Wales the main roads were low and narrow, the air foul, the places of work dirty, dark, and damp, and the ventilation most imperfect. This was the case also in South Wales. The miserable creatures condemned to this life of wretchedness and brutal degradation were compelled to breathe an atmosphere so strongly charged with carbonic acid gas as to be most injurious to the health.

The Commissioners discovered that great numbers of children of both sexes, of from four to six years of age, were employed in this horrible work, in pits where the seam of coal was narrow, crawling backwards and forwards on all fours, like beasts of burden, dragging behind them trucks loaded with coals, fastened to their haunches by a chain. It was no uncommon occurrence to find the skin broken by the chain, and the blood running down the legs of these poor children, who yet durst not complain for fear of being beaten. In the West Riding of Yorkshire girls of all ages, from seven to twenty-one, were almost universally

employed as 'trappers' and 'hurriers' in common with boys, and usually working quite naked down to the waist. 'Any sight more disgustingly indecent or revolting can scarcely be imagined than these girls at work,' said one of the sub-commissioners. Well might another of them add, 'I could not have believed that I should have found human nature so degraded.' It appears that these poor creatures were compelled to drag heavy trucks, some 12,000, some 14,000, and some even 16,000 yards daily.

In the east of Scotland, the Report states, the persons employed in coal-bearing are almost all girls and women. They carry coal on their back on unrailed roads, with burdens varying from three-quarters of a cwt. to three cwt.—'a cruel slavery revolting to humanity.' A little girl only six years old was found who was compelled, with a burden of at least half a cwt., to go fourteen times a day a journey equal in distance to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral. The females suffered dreadfully from this shocking system, especially the married women. It was quite common for them to go up from the pit to be confined, and to return again to their horrid work in less than a week. 'A vast number of them have dead children,' said one witness, 'and false births, which is worse, as they are not able to work after the latter. . . . It is only horse-work, and ruins the women; it crushes their haunches, bends their ankles, and makes them old women at forty.'

The regular hours of labour for children and young persons in these horrible dens were fourteen and sixteen a day, and these were often exceeded. In the east of Scotland, the Commissioners report, 'the labour is often continued on alternate days at least fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen hours of the twenty-four.' One of the witnesses, a girl of seventeen, says, 'I have repeatedly wrought the twenty-four hours; and after two hours of rest and my pease soup, have returned to the pit and worked

another twelve hours.' 'In the great majority of these mines night-work is a part of the ordinary system of labour. The labour is generally uninterrupted by any regular time set apart for rest and refreshment; what food is taken in the pit being eaten as best it may while the labour continues.'

These protracted periods of labour (and, indeed, the employment of children at all in the coal-pits) were attended with great danger both to the young persons themselves and to their fellow-workers. 'With all the precautions,' said the Commissioners, 'explosions take place, and more than 100 people have been killed at a time.' And no wonder, 'for all the expedients devised to secure the safety of the mine may be counteracted by allowing one single trap-door to remain open; and yet in all the coal-mines the care of these trap-doors is intrusted to children of from five to seven or eight, who for the most part sit, excepting at the moment when persons pass through these doors, for twelve hours consecutively, in solitude, silence, and darkness.' The physical effects of this system of labour, as might have been expected, were of the most distressing kind. In both sexes alike stunted growths, crooked spines, crippled limbs, heart diseases, ruptures, asthma, *melanosis* or black spittle—an incurable and fatal disease—premature old age, and early death, were the fruits of this excessive and unnatural toil.

But the utter corruption of morals which this system produced was much worse than the physical degradation. The men became as ferocious as wild beasts, and inflicted gross acts of cruelty upon the boys employed under them, and who were completely at their mercy, sometimes inflicting fatal injuries, of which, however, no notice was taken by the authorities or the masters. The women were completely demoralized, and rendered wholly unfit for the duties of their sex. Their natural modesty was entirely destroyed, the language habitually employed was shocking in the extreme, and

drunkenness was almost universal. The Commissioners could not, in fact, commit to print for general circulation all the facts that had come to their knowledge in connection with this system.

The guilt of originating and continuing this system of savage barbarism and revolting cruelty rests, in the first instance, on the proprietors of the mines, whose unhallowed greed of gain made them deaf to the calls of humanity; but the responsibility must be shared by the resident magistrates and clergy, and by the general public and the Legislature.

Lord Ashley, whose generous and genuine interest in the welfare of the working classes was frankly acknowledged even by those who disapproved of his measures, is entitled to the credit of being the first to expose the hideous and appalling evils of this system, and to provide an adequate remedy. The first provision of his Bill was an absolute prohibition of the employment of females in mines and collieries. The employment of children under thirteen years of age was also forbidden. It was enacted that no person under twenty-one years of age should in any mine or colliery be allowed to act as an engineer, as the Commissioners had discovered that the employment of mere children in that capacity had often led to serious and even fatal accidents. Lastly, the Bill provided for the abolition of the system of apprenticeship under which the children of paupers were taken wholesale from the workhouses, and compelled to toil in the pits for the benefit of the owners of the coal-mines to whom they were apprenticed, without any remuneration until they reached the age of twenty-one, when their labour was worth from twenty to twenty-five shillings a week. Great numbers of these poor creatures were orphans and friendless, and were treated by the masters in the most brutal manner.

The statements of Lord Ashley produced a strong sensation of indignant surprise and reprobation in the House, and his Bill passed rapidly through its various stages

without opposition. The announeement, however, by Lord Wharncliffe, the President of the Council, that the Government had resolved to remain perfectly passive respecting the measure, encouraged some of the members of the Upper House to carp at its provisions, and even to object to all interference with the labour market. Lord Londonderry, an extensive coal-owner, moved that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months, but his motion was not seconded. Three of the Peers, however, voted against the motion for going into Committee. Several amendments were made by the Lords on the measure, which were not improvements. Boys were allowed to be employed in mines, under certain regulations, after the age of ten; and they might be bound apprentices on attaining that age for a period not exceeding eight years. When the Bill returned to the House of Commons Lord Ashley expressed his disapproval of these amendments, but agreed to accept them rather than risk the loss of a measure which contained so many valuable provisions; and it became law. The Home Secretary was empowered to appoint inspectors of mines and collieries to see that the provisions of the Bill were carried out, and the operation of this truly beneficent Act has been attended with the most gratifying effects.

It was notorious that at the general election for 1841 bribery and corruption had prevailed to a most unusual extent. Extraordinary efforts had been made by both parties to secure a majority, and there was reason to believe that larger sums of money had been expended in the purchase of votes than at any election that had taken place since the passing of the Reform Bill. Numerous petitions had been presented against the successful candidates. In various instances they had been withdrawn in a manner which excited strong suspicions of collusion between the parties, in order to prevent a disclosure of the discreditable practices that had prevailed on both sides. The subject was brought

under the notice of the House by Mr. Roebuck, who in a somewhat irregular manner put searching questions to the members for Reading, Penrhyn, Nottingham, Lewis, and Harwich, which elicited replies that made it evident that the rumours respecting the compromises referred to were well founded. A Select Committee was in consequence appointed, on the motion of Mr. Roebuck, to inquire into the corrupt compromises alleged to have been made in order to avoid investigation into the means by which the sitting members for these boroughs had obtained their seats. The evidence taken by the Committee left no doubt as to the truth of Mr. Roebuck's charges. In regard to all five boroughs, sums of money varying from £2000 to £3500 had been paid to the petitioners against the return, and a bond had been given that one of the sitting members should retire, and allow one of the defeated candidates to take his place. Mr. Roebuck moved a series of resolutions, declaring these practices to be a violation of the liberties of the people, and a breach of the privileges of the House which it would in all future cases strictly inquire into and severely punish, and proposing that no writ for any election of members for any of the five towns mentioned, and the borough of Bridport, should be issued till further legislative enactments had been adopted to protect the purity of elections.

Resolutions such as these were much too stringent to obtain the assent of a House many of whose members had obtained admission to it by bribery and corruption, and many more regarded these practices as very venial offences. They were resisted both by the Government and the leaders of the Opposition. The first resolution was rejected by 136 votes to 47, and the others were negatived without a division. It was generally felt, however, that the exposure would not be without effect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer showed his disapproval of these objectionable com-

promises by refusing to grant the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds* to Lord Chelsea, the member for Reading, who had agreed to retire in favour of the rival candidate whom he had defeated at the poll. The writs to the five boroughs in which bribery had been proved to prevail were suspended for some time, though eventually they were all issued with the exception of Sudbury, in which corruption had been so gross and systematic that it was ultimately disfranchised. A Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, the chief object of which was to furnish more efficacious means of bringing to light bribery actually committed, rather than to visit it with new penalties. The Bill passed both Houses without opposition, and became law on the 10th of August. But the evil was too deeply rooted to be eradicated by such partial remedies.

The attention of the Parliament during the session of 1842 was mainly occupied with the great financial measures brought forward by the Premier, but time was found to introduce and carry some legal reforms of no small importance. Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst introduced Bills to effect some much-needed improvements in the administration of the laws of bankruptcy and lunacy, and to extend the jurisdiction of the County Courts. The first two of these Bills were unanimously passed, and became law; but the third was delayed, owing to the late period of the session.

In the course of this year two most disgraceful attacks were made on the Queen, which rendered it necessary that some legislative measure should be passed for the more effectual protection of Her Majesty's person. A similar attempt had been made in 1840, when a young man of the name of Oxford fired at her twice, but happily

neither shot took effect. He was tried on a charge of high treason, but the plea of insanity was set up for him; and effect having been given to it by the jury, he was committed to a lunatic asylum for life. The wretched creature seems to have known quite well what he was doing, for when told of the similar attempts made by Francis and Bean, he remarked, 'that if he had been hanged there would have been no more shooting at the Queen.'

On the 29th of May, 1842, as the Queen and Prince Albert were returning to Buckingham Palace from the Chapel Royal, the Prince saw a man step out from the crowd and present a pistol full at him at only two paces distance, but it missed fire. He escaped detection in the crowd. Next day, as the royal cortege was returning from a drive towards Hampstead, and was approaching the palace, a shot was fired at the Queen about five paces off, at the same spot where Oxford fired at her. 'It was the fellow with the same pistol,' says the Prince; 'a little, swarthy, ill-looking rascal. He is not out of his mind, but a thorough scamp.' He was instantly apprehended, and was brought to trial on the 17th of June, found guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hung and quartered; but at Her Majesty's earnest request the sentence of death was commuted into transportation for life.

The very day after this decision was made known (July 3rd), a deformed dwarf of the name of Bean—a chemist's assistant—levelled an old rusty pistol at the Queen as she passed him in her carriage, but it missed fire, and on examination was found to contain only powder, paper tightly rammed down, and some pieces of a clay pipe. Her Majesty remarked that she had expected a repetition of the attempts upon her so long as the law remained unaltered by which they could be dealt with only as acts of treason; and there can be no doubt that these dastardly outrages were prompted by wretched vanity and a desire of notoriety rather than by any murderous intent. The

* The Chiltern Hundreds was a district of Buckinghamshire. Its woods were at one time infested by banditti, and a steward was appointed to protect the inhabitants against their outrages. The office has long been merely nominal, but it serves as a means of vacating a seat in Parliament which cannot be resigned under any other plea than that of having accepted a place of honour or profit under the Crown.

Ministry concurred in the opinion expressed by the Queen, and they resolved to propose to Parliament that the punishment for such attempts should be made ignominious rather than severe. Accordingly on the 12th of June a bill was introduced making this offence punishable as a high misdemeanour by transportation for seven years, or imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding three years, the culprit 'to be publicly or privately whipped as often and in such manner and form as the court shall direct, not exceeding thrice.' This bill became law on the 12th of July, and under it Bean was tried, and sentenced to be confined in the Millbank Penitentiary for eighteen months. This judicious change in the amount and mode of punishment had the effect of protecting Her Majesty for forty years from any similar outrage.

The year 1843 brought no alleviation of the depression which had settled on the industrial interests of the country. The distress of the people was still deepening, and the revenue diminishing. Riots, attended with considerable injury to property, broke out in the manufacturing districts both of England and Scotland. The agitation in Ireland for the repeal of the Union had assumed a dangerous aspect. Scotland was convulsed with the struggle between the two parties in the Established Church; and altogether the country was evidently in a most critical state. Allusion was made in the Queen's speech to the long-prevalent and still-continuing depression of the manufacturing interest of the country, which at once became the subject of a keen party debate.

It was evident, indeed, that the condition of the industrial classes was to be the principal subject which was to occupy the attention of Parliament during the session. On the 28th of February Lord Ashley moved an address to the Queen, praying that she would immediately and seriously consider what could be done for the religious and moral education of the working classes. He stated that taking into account

all the children who were receiving education in schools of any kind in England there remained no fewer than 1,014,193 children of school age, who were receiving no education whatever, growing up in ignorance of their duty both to God and to man. It was calculated that in Manchester alone 1500 children were annually added to the dangerous classes. As a natural result juvenile crime was greatly on the increase, and a vast number of children of tender years were allowed by their parents to roam the streets, where they necessarily contracted the most idle and dissolute habits. In the first six months of the year 1842, 8341 persons were taken into custody. The number of those who could only read, or who read and wrote imperfectly, was 2862; of those who could neither read nor write the total was 4617. Of that number 2360 were between fifteen and twenty years of age, while 665 were under fifteen. The state of matters was much the same in the other manufacturing towns of Lancashire, while it was much worse in Liverpool. The total expenditure in the county of Lancaster for the punishment of crime was £604,965, while the annual vote for education for all England was only £30,000.

The motion of Lord Ashley was received by both sides of the House with apparent cordiality, and there seemed at last a prospect that political and ecclesiastical interests and prejudices would not be allowed any longer to defeat the attempt to remedy the evils which his Lordship had so vividly depicted. He had evidently brought forward the subject, in conjunction with the Government, as a feeler how far a measure which they contemplated would be acceptable to the House and the country. Encouraged by the reception given to Lord Ashley's speech and motion, Sir James Graham gave an outline of the plan which the Ministry intended to propose. They had prepared a bill for the regulation of juvenile labour in factories, which would have the effect of restricting the work of

children between the ages of eight and thirteen to six hours and a half per day, the whole work to be done either in the forenoon or the afternoon. During the other half of the day they were to be obliged to attend schools provided for the purpose, or schools connected with the National Society or the British and Foreign School Society. Roman Catholics, however, might attend schools connected with their own denomination. Provision was made to admit to the new schools all pauper children in the towns, and all other children whose parents were willing that they should receive instruction. The children of the various religious denominations were to receive, on certain appointed hours in every week, instruction from their respective ministers in the creed of their parents. It was also proposed that the authorized version of the Scriptures and some portion of the Liturgy should be used in those schools, which were to be placed under the care of the clergy. The new school buildings were to be erected by a public assessment not exceeding one-fifth of the annual amount of the poor rate for the last three years.

No one could doubt that a measure of this kind was urgently required to provide for the education both of pauper and factory children; and as the plan which the Government intended to introduce did not interfere with existing schools, and the children of all sects who might avail themselves of its provisions were placed on a footing of perfect equality within the schools, there was, so far, nothing calculated to excite sectarian feeling or contention. But unfortunately the arrangements proposed for the appointment of trustees of the schools were deliberately intended to give the clergy of the Established Church a predominant power in every board, and the Dissenters at once intimated their refusal to acquiesce in this arrangement. The Factory Bill containing the educational clauses was brought in by Sir James Graham on the 6th of March, and was cordially accepted by the

members who were regarded as the representatives of the Established Church, but it was vehemently denounced by the Dissenters as sectarian, partial, and unjust; and on this occasion the Congregationalists were joined by the Methodists, who had hitherto sided with the Church in all denominational contests. Lord John Russell, indeed, cordially expressed his approval of the plan as a whole, though objecting to some of the details of the measure, and especially objecting to its being limited to the manufacturing districts, when the necessities of the agricultural districts were equally urgent. Several eminent Dissenters felt such intense anxiety that some steps should be taken to educate the mass of the people, that they would have acquiesced in a measure that would have substantially effected this object, though accompanied with restrictions inconsistent with what they deemed a just and enlightened policy. 'As to the education project,' said John Foster, the celebrated essayist and stanch Dissenter, 'the Methodist folk are going too far in declaring against the Bill absolutely and altogether; whereas the case is so alarmingly urgent that if such modifications as those proposed by Lord John Russell, or even the most material part of them, were admitted, one would, however reluctantly, and with a feeling of submitting to some injustice, make some considerable concessions in order that the wretched populace might have a certainty of getting *some* good in the way of cultivation, rather than be consigned downright and hopelessly to the great pestilential swamp of ignorance and barbarism.'

Cobden, who was a liberal Churchman, was of a similar opinion, and spoke favourably of the education clauses of the measure as a step in the right direction. A writer, to whom Church and Dissent were equally indifferent, remarked that 'it ought to be acknowledged on every hand that here was a call for magnanimity all round. It was an occasion for the Church to acknowledge her neglect, and hasten to repair it. It was

an occasion for the Dissenters to be modest about their much greater exertions for the education of their own members in the large towns, in consideration of the vast deal which it was not in their power to do. It was an occasion for all parties bravely to face the fearful truth of the amount of popular ignorance, and to decide deliberately whether it was best for all to yield some of their desires about doctrinal religious instruction, or for hundreds of thousands of children to pass off into utter darkness—ignorant not only of all religious doctrine whatever, but of the plainest truths and practices of morals.’

Unfortunately neither party displayed the magnanimity for which there was such a loud call. The Church would not abandon her claims to supremacy, and the Non-conformists would not be satisfied with anything short of perfect equality. The Government alleged, and probably with good reason, that it was impossible for them to go further without completely alienating their own supporters, and though a number of the moderate Whigs aided them in pressing the measure, the great body of the Liberal members strenuously opposed it. A fierce agitation was set on foot throughout the country against the educational provisions of the Bill; meetings were held at which violent resolutions were proposed, and speeches still more violent were made. Petitions against the Bill were poured in in such numbers that nearly 200 were presented by one member in one day, and Lord John Russell was intrusted with one from the city of London signed by 55,000 persons. The second reading was carried by a considerable majority, but on the 15th of June Sir James Graham announced with deep regret that the Government felt itself compelled to abandon the educational clauses of the Bill; and more than a quarter of a century elapsed before adequate provision was made by the Legislature for the education of the people.

At the beginning of the next Session, Sir James Graham reintroduced his Factory

Bill, divested of the education clauses, limiting it simply to regulating the labour of children and young persons. Children between nine and thirteen years of age were only to be employed half time—that is, not more than six and a half hours each day. Young persons from thirteen to eighteen employed in cotton, silk, wool, and flax manufactures were not to work more than twelve hours a day. When the Bill went into Committee, Lord Ashley moved that the time of labour for women and children should be limited to ten hours. On this point a stout contest ensued, and a strange decision was given. The proposal of twelve hours was rejected by a majority of three, and then immediately after there was a majority of seven against ten hours. In this dilemma the Government withdrew the measure, and brought in a new Bill, reducing the age of children employed in factories from nine to eight, limiting as before the working hours of children under thirteen years of age to six and a half hours, extending the time during which they were to be under daily instruction in schools from two to two and a half hours in winter, continuing the limitation of the labour of women and of young persons between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day, and making several regulations for the protection of the workers in factories. Parliament was evidently inclined to carry these restrictions further; but the Ministry staked their official existence on the measure, and it was carried by a large majority in the Commons, and passed the Lords without opposition. It was evident, however, from the feeling expressed in the House of Commons, that this Act was not regarded as a satisfactory or permanent settlement of the labour question, and only three years later the Ten Hours Bill became law. As a supplement to this measure, Lord Ashley in the next session introduced a bill, which was adopted by the Government and carried, for bringing young people employed in print-works under the protection of the Factory Act.

At this time Ireland was in a state of violent agitation for the repeal of the Union. 'The year 1843,' said O'Connell, 'is and shall be the great repeal year.' He stated that he did not resume the repeal agitation till he saw how utterly unable the Whigs were to effect anything. As, however, he did everything in his power to keep the Whigs in office, powerless as they were, and did not in earnest resume the agitation for repeal until after Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives had been intrusted with the Government of the country, the probability seems to be that O'Connell was really apprehensive that they would rule Ireland in accordance with the old Orange policy. It is not credible that a person of his shrewdness could have imagined that British statesmen and people would ever submit to the dissolution of the Union, and allow Ireland to be ruled and utterly ruined by Irish agitators. But he probably imagined that by stirring up the Irish people to demand Home Rule he would concuss the Government into concessions which they would not otherwise be induced to make.

A somewhat different opinion of O'Connell's motives and expectations in regard to this question has been formed by some impartial persons, whose opinion on the subject is entitled to consideration. Mr. Lecky, the author of the 'History of European Morals,' says, 'O'Connell perceived clearly that the tendency of affairs in Europe was towards the recognition of the principle that a nation's will is the one legitimate rule of its government. All rational men acknowledged that the Union was imposed on Ireland by corrupt means contrary to the wish of one generation. O'Connell was prepared to show by the protest of the vast majority of the people that it was retained without the acquiescence of the next. He had allied himself with the parties that were rising surely and rapidly to power in England; with the Democracy, whose gradual progress is effacing the most venerable landmarks of the constitution; with the Free Traders, whose approaching triumph he had

hailed and exulted in from afar. He had perceived the possibility of forming a powerful party in Parliament which would be free to co-operate with all English parties without coalescing with any, and might thus turn the balance of factions, and decide the fate of Ministries. He saw, too, that while England in a time of peace might resist the expressed will of the Irish nation, its policy would be necessarily modified in time of war; and he predicted that, should there be a collision with France while the nation was organized in 1843, repeal would be the immediate and inevitable consequence. In a word, he believed that under a constitutional government the will of four-fifths of a nation, if peacefully, perseveringly, and energetically expressed, must sooner or later be triumphant. If a war had broken out during the agitation—if the life of O'Connell had been prolonged ten years longer—if any worthy successor had assumed his mantle—if a fearful famine had not broken the spirit of the people—who can say that the agitation would not have been successful?' Whatever were the 'Liberator's' motives or expectations, he now entered on a course of agitation which proved highly disastrous to his unhappy country, and ultimately to himself.

He began the war in 1841 by attempting to exclude British manufactures from Ireland. His 'pantaloons, waistcoat, and coat,' he said, 'were Irish.' He considered 'the pleasure of giving employment to Irish hands part of the value of the price he gave for anything.' He instituted a 'Board of Trade' to carry out the decree which he issued against British manufactures, and as the Dublin shopkeepers refused to join the movement, it was deemed necessary to supersede them by 'marts for the exclusive use of Irish commodities.' As might have been foreseen, the attempt completely failed—not even Irishmen could be persuaded to pay a higher price for inferior articles; and O'Connell, with his habitual disregard of truth or even probability, declared that the

failure was owing to the influx of English workmen 'who had come over to keep down the wages of the Irish operative.'

The 'Liberator' had recourse to much more effective means to carry out his object than the proposal to exclude the productions of British power-looms by the introduction of hand-loom weaving into Ireland. He had previously declined the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin, but he was now resolved to accept that dignity for the facilities it would afford for promoting the repeal cause. In one hour and a half he admitted seventy-three new freemen, all of them Roman Catholics, and 'of the right sort'—that is, stanch Repealers; and this process, he avowed, was to be carried on systematically not only by himself but by some 'sound coadjutor' who should be appointed to succeed him. He formed a Repeal Association, consisting of three classes—associates, members, and volunteers—subscribing from a shilling to a pound to the funds, and managed by general inspectors, wardens, and collectors. The Association held regular meetings in Dublin in a place which O'Connell styled 'Conciliation Hall,' attended by his sons and relatives and his most influential and devoted followers, priestly and lay. The organization of this association, which had members in every district, was skilfully contrived not only to collect funds but to train the people to combination, and to prepare them for concerted and simultaneous movements at the direction of their leaders. The cards and symbols employed by them were all intended and fitted to inflame the animosity of the Irish against the British Government and people. But O'Connell's most effective instrument in rousing the masses was the monster meetings which he held in various parts of the country. These gatherings were almost always held on a Sunday, on some open spot, usually the scene of some historic event which could be turned to account by the orators who addressed the assembled multitude, aided by the 'picturesque surroundings of hill and stream.' The people thronged to the place of meeting

in companies, led by their priests, from all parts of the surrounding country for ten or fifteen miles, with temperance bands playing before them. Mass was celebrated in the presence of the multitude before the proceedings began, in order that religious feeling might prepare their minds to be more deeply impressed by the glowing harangues of the Repeal orators on the wrongs inflicted on Ireland by the hated 'Saxon,' and the unconstitutional and illegal conduct of the British Parliament in presuming to make laws for the Irish people.

There was a temporary suspension of the Repeal agitation during the year 1842, in consequence of the distress, which had come upon the people with greater severity than in either England or Scotland. The harvest had been very bad; great numbers were starving, and bread riots, attacks upon flour mills and vessels laden with corn, and other outbreaks on the part of starving men, were the chief incidents in the history of Ireland during this year. In 1843, however, the Repeal agitation reached its height. O'Connell announced at the outset that if the clergy and laity would unite in their efforts, the Repeal of the Union would be 'all but immediate.' One of the first steps, which created a great excitement in Dublin, was the carrying of a Repeal petition to Parliament by a large majority in the corporation of that city. Then came the monster meetings, the first of which was held on the 16th of March at Trim, where 30,000 persons were present. O'Connell, who, as usual, was the chief speaker, descanted on the battles of Aughrim and the Boyne, and called upon the young men present to say whether they would be slaves or shed their blood on the field. For himself, he would be in his grave or he would be free. At the Mullingar meeting on the 14th of May, at which the attendance was computed at from 100,000 to 130,000, many of whom had come from a distance of forty miles, a great number of the Roman clergy were present; and Dr. Higgins, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ardagh, declared that

the whole of the Irish prelates, without exception, were ardent Repealers. Numerous meetings of a similar kind were held throughout the country, at which strong and threatening language was used, and plain intimations were given of an intention to appeal to physical force to gain the object they had in view. It is a significant fact that at none of these assemblages were petitions to Parliament proposed, and indeed the Parliament was constantly spoken of with contempt. A recently started newspaper, called the *Nation*, distinguished itself by its violent and ably-written advocacy of the Repeal cause; and the efforts of the platform orators to excite the people against the Union were zealously seconded by other coadjutors in the Irish press. The poetry published in these journals, and especially in the *Nation*, turning on the events of the rebellion of 1798 and the efforts and sufferings of the insurgents at that time, had a powerful effect on the ignorant and inflammable Irish peasantry in stirring them up to take similar measures to vindicate what they were told was their inalienable right—freedom from the Saxon yoke.

The Government were meanwhile watching the agitation with vigilance, but without alarm. They thought it necessary, however, to take precautions against an outbreak, and towards the end of May they brought in an Irish Arms Bill, requiring the registration of firearms, and restricting the importation of arms and ammunition, which, in spite of the vehement and pertinacious opposition of a portion of the Irish members, was carried through both Houses by large majorities, and became law. At the same time the Irish Chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden, removed from the Commission of the Peace the names of a number of magistrates who had attended or taken part in meetings for promoting the repeal of the Union—a step which led to very keen discussions in Parliament. Still the Ministry took no steps to suppress the monster meetings or to punish the agitators;

and O'Connell and his coadjutors, made bold by impunity, evidently fancied that Peel was afraid to interfere with their proceedings. His language in consequence became more violent and threatening. He had hitherto intermingled the most fulsome flattery of the worst part of the Irish character with the grossest abuse of the members of the Government and all who were hostile to repeal—designating the Duke of Wellington 'a stunted corporal,' and the *Times* 'an obscure rag' and a 'ruffianly Saxon paper.' He now began to talk of Ireland furnishing 'women enough to beat the entire Queen's forces,' and to refer in significant terms to the hopelessness of any contest in a civil war between the Irish people and the British army.

At Kilkenny he gave his audience a description of the storming of Wexford by Cromwell. He of course avoided any mention of the fact that the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that town had distinguished themselves by special acts of cruelty and ferocity; had filled a hulk with Protestant prisoners, and had sunk it in the harbour there; and had imprisoned others in a Roman Catholic chapel, and starved them to death. But he gave a fancy picture of the massacre of three hundred women by Cromwell's orders when he obtained possession of the town, and then affirmed that the *Times* newspaper, which he had received that day, had threatened the Irish again with such a scene—a statement in which, it is scarcely necessary to say, there was not a word of truth. 'I am not imaginative,' the Liberator added amid enthusiastic cheering, 'when I talk of the possibility of such scenes; but yet I assert that there is no danger to our women now, for the men of Ireland would die to the last in their defence.'

At Mullaghmast he gave an impassioned description of an alleged massacre of certain Irish chieftains, said to have taken place on that very spot in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 'Three hundred and ninety Irish chiefs,' he said, 'perished here! They

came confiding in Saxon honour, relying on the protection of the Queen, to a friendly conference. In the midst of revelry, in the cheerful light of the banquet-house, they were surrounded and butchered. None returned save one. Their wives were widows, their children fatherless. In their homesteads were heard the shrill shriek of despair—the cry of bitter agony. Oh, Saxon cruelty, how it cheers my heart to think that you dare not attempt such a deed again!’ No one knew better than O’Connell that such descriptions and allusions addressed to an ignorant and excitable Irish peasantry could not fail to arouse strong feelings of enmity towards the people of England, as well as the Government. And it was one of the worst features of the movement which he set on foot that, as one of his apologists admits, ‘he deliberately revived and worked up for his political purposes the almost national hatreds of Celt and Saxon.’ In the bloodshed and anarchy which are now tearing Ireland in pieces the United Kingdom is reaping the fruits of O’Connell’s unprincipled and mendacious agitation.

It is probable that it was the proceedings at the monster meeting at Tara, on the 15th of August, which at length aroused the serious apprehensions of the Government, and convinced them that some steps must be taken to make the agitators amenable to the restrictions of the law. The Hill of Tara seems to have been selected for the place of meeting, both because there stands the stone said to have been used for the coronation of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, and because there the insurgents had been signally defeated in the Irish rebellion of 1798.

It was asserted by trustworthy and impartial witnesses that there could not have been fewer than a quarter of a million of persons present. ‘The hill,’ it was said, ‘was like a huge encampment. Some persons arrived overnight; others flocked in from break of day; and after ten o’clock imposing processions, with music and ban-

ners, converged from various points. A head—half cap, half crown—was prepared wherewith to crown the Liberator, and there can be no doubt that the peasant multitude believed the day to be come when they were to be freed from a foreign domination, and restored to national grandeur and universal comfort and well-being.’ At this meeting he declared that he had been laughed at for saying in January that this was the Repeal year; but it was his turn to laugh now, for it was certain that before twelve months more the Parliament would be in College Green. He could not fail to know that this prediction could be fulfilled, if at all, only by a general insurrection of the Irish people against the British Government; and if it was not his intention to excite them to rebel, his assertion that ‘he was able to announce’ that not twelve months could possibly elapse without hurrahs for the Irish Parliament in College Green being heard over the land, was simply intended to deceive his misled and enthusiastic followers.

The Agitator turned to account the Temperance movement, which Father Mathew had set on foot with remarkable success, and at another monster meeting, held at Roscommon on the 20th of August, he said: ‘If he had to go to battle he should have the teetotalers with him, and there was not an army in the world that he would not fight with them.’ He now advised the people not to carry their suits before the courts of law, but to refer their disputes to arbitration courts composed of the magistrates who had been dismissed from the Commission of the Peace on account of their attending Repeal meetings; and for a time this advice was followed with beneficial effects. A movement of a different kind was set on foot at this time against the payment of rent. The priests in some districts recommended the people to cut down and gather in their corn, lay by what was required for their own use, and then if any was left they might pay it over to the landlord. In various cases bands of stran-

gers from a distance, in collusion with the tenants, cut and carried off the crops on small farms in order that the bare fields might serve as an excuse to the landlords for the non-payment of the rent.

Matters were evidently approaching a crisis. It was impossible for the Government to look on longer in silence while monster meetings were being held throughout the country, attended by enormous multitudes organized and drilled in a semi-military fashion, at which threats of a resolution to carry out their plans by force of arms were uttered in no ambiguous language. The chief agitator no doubt professed to carry on his agitation on peaceful principles; but it was by no means certain that, even if he wished his followers to keep the peace, they would follow his advice after his impassioned eloquence had roused an ignorant, fierce, and impulsive populace to the highest pitch of excitement. The Repealers themselves affirmed that the whole country was in a flame. They talked of marshalling their 'troops,' and of their 'Repeal cavalry,' and they 'issued regulations' in order to 'muster, march, and parade,' and marched to their places of meeting in military order, and bearing banners which demanded 'Repeal or blood.' A body of ignorant peasants thus organized and stimulated might at any moment break away from all control, and rise in arms, as they have frequently done, against the Government. The Ministry, therefore, very properly thought it high time to interfere.

A great meeting of Repealers was summoned to be held at Clontarf, three miles from Dublin, on Sunday, October 8, 1843. This place was chosen because it was the scene of a victory which the Irish had gained in olden times over the Danes. It was intended that this assemblage should surpass in numbers and display all the other meetings previously held, and a regular programme was issued, prescribing the order of march, the position to be taken up by the different detachments on their arrival on the ground, and the dress to be worn,

which gave it the appearance of a military muster rather than of a peaceful meeting. The publication of this document appears to have at length induced the Government to take decided steps to suppress this dangerous movement. On the 9th of October a proclamation was issued by the Lord-Lieutenant, declaring that the 'intended meeting can only tend to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, and to the violation of the public peace;' prohibiting its being held 'as calculated to excite reasonable and well-founded apprehension,' in that its object was 'to accomplish alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force;' and warning all persons to abstain from attending it.

As soon as this proclamation was published O'Connell called a special meeting of the Repeal Association, and acting on his advice, they issued a 'counter proclamation,' 'earnestly requesting and entreating that all well-disposed persons will immediately repair to their own dwellings,' and that the meeting 'is abandoned, and is not to be held.' A number of the members volunteered to take their station at the approaches to Clontarf, to intercept the Repealers on their way to the place of rendezvous. A large body of troops were drawn up on the ground, and were so arranged as to compel the crowd to keep to the road, and to move on without stopping. The hustings had been removed. O'Connell himself was not present, but in his stead was seen Thomas Steele, 'the head pacificator of Ireland,' shouting to the people to return home. This advice was implicitly followed, and the day passed off in tranquillity.

The Government were severely blamed, and with apparent reason, for delaying so long the issue of their proclamation; for as the people were already assembling in enormous masses from distant parts of the country, there was great danger that a collision might take place between them and the soldiers. It has been suggested, with great appearance of probability, that the

Cabinet had received some secret information which rendered it necessary for them to prohibit the meeting almost at the last moment.

The submissive attitude at once assumed by O'Connell at this juncture broke the backbone of the Repeal agitation. There can be no doubt that the masses who greeted with enthusiastic applause his menaces to the British Legislature, and his references to 'the might that slumbered' in the hundreds of thousands of Repealers, fully expected that, failing peaceful efforts, he would have resort to force in order to carry the dissolution of the Union; and as soon as it was made evident that the imposing demonstrations at his monster meetings were mere bravado, the peasantry ceased to have confidence either in their leader or their cause. Count Cavour, who had shortly before visited England and Ireland for the express purpose of making himself acquainted with their condition, on hearing of the great Agitator's prompt submission to the prohibition of the Clontarf meeting, wrote to a friend, 'According to my view, O'Connell's fate is sealed. On the first vigorous demonstration of his opponents, he has drawn back; from that moment he has ceased to be dangerous.'*

The Government followed up their judicious and well-deserved blow at the monster meetings with proceedings against their originator and his chief associates. On the 14th of October O'Connell himself and eight of his coadjutors, including his son John, Thomas Steele, Dr. Gray (proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*), Charles Gavan Duffy (editor of the *Nation* newspaper), and

R. D. Browne, M.P., were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. They were admitted to bail. It is a significant fact that O'Connell now expressed extreme anxiety that the public peace should be preserved. He issued most imploring entreaties that the people should remain quiet. Seeing that the word 'Saxon' had given offence, he declared he would never again use it; and he even expressed his willingness to limit his agitation for repeal to a demand for a local legislature for merely local purposes.

The trial of O'Connell and his associates commenced on the 2nd of November, 1842, in the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin. Every possible legal artifice and quibble were employed to interpose delay and protract the trial. It was not till the 8th that the jury found the indictment 'a true bill,' and in consequence of the pleas and pretexts of the counsel for the prisoners, the trial was postponed till the 15th of January, 1843. Owing to inexcusable carelessness on the part of the officials, two slips of the jury lists were lost, and sixty-three names were thus excluded. Loud complaints were made at the time, and have since been re-echoed by O'Connell's sympathizers, against the conduct of the Crown counsel in striking off the name of every Roman Catholic that appeared on the panel. But it was quite notorious that the Irishmen connected with that denomination were almost to a man favourable to Repeal; and painful experience has shown that no amount of evidence, however clear and conclusive, will induce persons of this class to bring in a verdict of guilty against criminals with whose opinions or conduct they sympathize. There was a striking and significant reluctance shown by the jurors to serve on the jury, and ill health and various other excuses were pleaded in order to obtain exemption. A number of them paid the fine of £50 rather than undertake this responsible duty. The trial, which was extended over twenty-four days, was conducted after a thoroughly

* It is an unpleasant feature of the Irish character that, when treated with forbearance by their rulers, they regard this as a proof that they are formidable and feared, and become in consequence more audacious, but that they immediately collapse when dealt with in a firm and resolute manner. An inspector of penitentiaries in the United States says the Irish make the best prisoners. When they find themselves in the grasp of the legal authorities, no matter how turbulent and troublesome they may have been previously, they become at once most humble and submissive. Like nettles, they sting if touched gently; grasped with a firm hand, they become soft as silk.

Irish fashion. On the fourteenth day the Irish Attorney-General, Mr. T. B. C. Smith, so far lost his temper and forgot what was due to his office as to challenge Mr. Fitzgibbon, one of the opposing counsel, who had accused him of being actuated by private and dishonourable motives, and the court was obliged to interfere before the matter could be amicably settled. Mr. Shiel, who was counsel for John O'Connell, delivered a glowing and somewhat bombastic speech, which was better fitted to obtain the applause of the spectators than to secure a favourable verdict from the jury. O'Connell spoke at great length in his own defence; but his speech was heavy and ineffective, and was mainly directed to prove that Ireland had lost instead of gained by her union with England. The Chief-Justice, who presided at the trial, charged forcibly against him and his fellow-prisoners, and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. O'Connell was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2000, and was bound in heavy recognizances to keep the peace for seven years. The other prisoners—with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Tierney, who was allowed to get off altogether—were sentenced each to nine months' imprisonment and a fine of £50, and to give securities to keep the peace for seven years. The sentence must undoubtedly be regarded as very lenient in the circumstances of the case, but it was in every way judicious to avoid the appearance of vindictiveness or severity.

An appeal, chiefly on technical grounds, was made to the House of Lords against this decision. It was referred by them to the twelve judges. They were unanimous in regarding six of the eleven counts as bad or informal, chiefly on account of the manner in which they had been subdivided by the jury in the endeavour to be precise and accurate. But the Lord Chief-Justice Tindal and six of the judges were of opinion that, notwithstanding, the judgment and sentence must stand as fully warranted by the parts of the indictment

that were held good. Five of the judges, with some hesitation, took an opposite view. The final decision rested with the House of Lords. Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst and Brougham were of opinion that the judgment of the court below ought to be affirmed. Lords Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell ruled that the judgment should be reversed, and Lord Denman employed some strong and memorable words in censuring the manner in which the jury lists had been prepared. Such practices, he said, would make of the law 'a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.' As all the Peers who formed the majority were stanch Whigs, and the constitution made no distinction between law Lords and lay Lords, a number of the Conservative Peers manifested a strong inclination to take part in the vote, which in that case would without doubt have sustained the sentence upon O'Connell and his associates. Lord Brougham had shown great keenness and asperity in discussing the question, and declared that the decision to which the majority of the law Lords had come would 'go out without authority and come back without respect;' but he deprecated the threatened interference of the lay Lords. His remonstrance was supported by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Wharncliffe, President of the Council, and had the effect of inducing the lay Peers to retire from the House, leaving the decision in the hands of the law Lords. The judgment was accordingly reversed, and O'Connell and his associates were set at liberty.

The news of this decision created a good deal of alarm in England, but was of course received in Ireland with exuberant delight. A triumphal procession escorted the great Agitator, elevated on a lofty car and crowned with the Repeal cap, from the prison to his own house in Merrion Square, and from the balcony he addressed the enthusiastic multitude in his usual style, congratulating them that 'the plans of the wicked and the conspiracy of the oppressor—the foul mismanagement of the jury-

panel—the base conspiracy against the lives, the liberties, and the constitutional rights of the public' had been defeated. A solemn religious service was celebrated on the following Sunday in the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Church in the presence of O'Connell and his companions of 'the captivity,' 'in thanksgiving for the deliverance of the beloved Liberator of his country and of his fellow-martyrs from their unjust captivity.' At the 'Conciliation Hall' O'Connell talked largely of his plans for the future, and especially his proposals for holding county meetings to petition for the impeachment of the judges and of the Irish law officers of the Crown. But he was no longer formidable to the Government, and he was aware of the fact. The evidence which the trial had afforded, that the Ministry were strong enough to prosecute and punish the 'Liberator' himself, lowered his prestige in the eyes of his countrymen, and greatly diminished his influence; while the reversal of his sentence by the House of Lords, which he had so often and so fiercely denounced, must have convinced the great body of his countrymen that the charge so often made by him, that Irishmen

could not obtain justice from Englishmen, was unfounded.* His appeal was sustained and his sentence set aside by the very Imperial Parliament which he had laboured to break up. His submission to the proclamation prohibiting the Clontarf meeting, and the studied care with which, after his release, he avoided any proceedings that were likely to bring him again within the grasp of the legal tribunals, made it evident that his vehement appeals to the might that slumbered in the Irish peasantry, and his references to the 'Repeal cavalry,' and their willingness to shed their blood for their country, were not intended to rouse them to an appeal to arms, and that his monster meetings and processions, and occasional military drillings, were only meant to excite the fears of the British Legislature and people, and not to lead to action. The 'Young Ireland' party, who had hitherto been his most zealous partizans, became indignant at a policy which they regarded as a deception and a sham, and assailed him as bitterly as they had once enthusiastically supported his plans. The Repeal agitation soon after collapsed, and the Liberator's reign came to a melancholy termination.

* 'O'Connell is released,' wrote Sydney Smith, expressing in his humorous way the general feeling on the subject, 'and released, I have no doubt, by the conscientious decision of the law Lords. If he was unjustly (even from some technical defeat) imprisoned, I rejoice in his liberation. England is, I believe, the *only* country in the world where such an event *could* have happened, and a wise Irishman (if there be a

wise Irishman) should be slow in separating from a country whose spirit can produce and whose institutions can admit of such a result. Of his guilt no one doubts; but guilty men must be hung technically and according to established rules, upon a statutable gibbet, with parliament rope, and a legal hangman, sheriff, and chaplain on the scaffold, and the mob in the foreground.'

CHAPTER XX.

Difficulties of the Ministry—Roman Catholic Endowments Bill—Lady Hewley's Charity—Unitarian Chapels Bill—Violent Opposition to the Measure—War with the Ameers of Scinde—Their Arbitrary Treatment by the Indian Government—Major Outram's opinion of their case—Sir Charles Napier's Achievements—Battles of Meanee and Dubha—Annexation of Scinde—Character of the Transaction—Recall of Lord Ellenborough—Sir Henry Hardinge appointed Governor-General—Lord Ellenborough's unwarrantable interference with the Affairs of Gwalior—Battles of Mahrajpoor and Mangore—Flourishing state of the British Finances—Large Reductions of Duties—Duty on Slave-grown Sugar—Resolution of Mr. Miles carried against the Government—It is rescinded—Renewal of the Bank Charter—Rebecca Riots in Wales—Opening of Mazzini's Letters at the Post Office—The Tahiti Affair—Outrage on the British Consul—Increase of the Maynooth Grant—Opposition of Churchmen and Dissenters—Attack of Mr. Disraeli on Sir Robert Peel—The Establishment of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland—The Oregon Question with the United States.

THE combined firmness and moderation displayed by the Ministry in their treatment of O'Connell and the Repeal agitation contributed not a little to strengthen their position in Parliament and the country; and the visit which the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Duchess of Kent paid to the Prime Minister at Tamworth showed that he now enjoyed the confidence of the Court as well as of the community. But the Ministry had still great difficulties to encounter. The distress which had hitherto existed among the people, and especially among the manufacturing classes, was in no way diminished; the Chartist agitation was still troublesome; and Ireland was in its usual chronic state of poverty and discontent. To add to the anxieties of the Premier, indications were not wanting that his comparatively liberal financial policy was exciting dissatisfaction and distrust among the extreme section of the agricultural party. A dispute with the United States respecting the boundary of the British territory in North America, which at one time assumed a threatening aspect, had at length been amicably settled, though in a way which was represented as unfair and unfavourable to the just claims of our country. The right of search, or rather the right of visit, to ascertain the nationality of a vessel, had led to some unpleasant discussions between the British and the American Governments. A fierce attack was made in Parliament on Lord Ellen-

borough's policy and proclamations, which the Ministry had great difficulty in defending or palliating; and the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, though unsuccessful in Parliament, was exciting a strong feeling throughout the country against the protectionist system which was supported by the Government. War had broken out between the Ameer of Scinde and our Indian Government, and the general policy of the Governor-General was exciting great apprehensions and dissatisfaction among the Directors of the East India Company. The Tractarian policy was imperiling the peace and prosperity of the Universities and the safety of the English Church; and the Non-intrusion dispute, which had been carried on for three or four years in Scotland with unexampled keenness and asperity, now came to a head, and rent the Establishment in twain. It was no light task to conduct the affairs of the country in such critical circumstances; but the Ministry persevered in a course of legislation quite at variance with the old Tory policy, and which could not fail to shake the confidence of an influential section of their supporters.

In order to conciliate the Roman Catholics, and to redress their grievances, a Bill was introduced into Parliament by the Ministry for the better security and administration of charitable and religious trusts. At the beginning of the present century a law was passed instituting a Board for the

management of trusts of this kind. The members, however, were almost exclusively Protestants, while three-fourths of the bequests placed under their jurisdiction were Roman Catholic endowments. By the new Bill the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Judge of the Prerogative Court, two of whom might be Roman Catholics, were to be members of the Board. Other ten Commissioners were to be appointed by the Crown, of whom five were to be Protestants and five Roman Catholics. If a question arose respecting the claim of a Roman Catholic to the benefit of a bequest, it was to be referred to the Commissioners belonging to his church. An important alteration was made in the existing law in order to enable real or personal property, without limitation as to amount, to be held in perpetuity for building and maintaining chapels and residences for the Romish clergy. The Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, where it encountered no opposition; but when it was sent down to the Commons it met with a reception from the Repeal members which showed the extreme difficulty of legislating for a country represented in Parliament by men of their class. O'Connell himself opposed the measure on account of the consequences that might result from sending Roman Catholics to the Castle, and from sanctioning a connection of his Church with the State. One member of the *Agitator's* 'tail' resisted the Bill as 'an insult' to Ireland; another declared that the Roman Catholic hierarchy were opposed to it; and one of the organs of their party denounced it as 'the first blow at the independence of the Catholic Church.' But on the third reading Mr. Maurice J. O'Connell said that he was bound to express his conviction that when the present heats had subsided 'the Bill would be found a substantial benefit to the people of Ireland, raising the condition of their clergymen without shackling the influence exercised by them over their flocks.' After the Bill had

become law the 'Liberator' employed his influence to prevent Roman Catholics from accepting the office of Commissioners; but to his great mortification, when the Board was gazetted in December, it was found to be composed of five Roman Catholics—two of them the Romish Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin, along with four prelates and laymen of the Established Church, and one Presbyterian clergyman. O'Connell's behaviour in connection with this healing measure contributed not a little to diminish his influence, already on the wane.

The course adopted by the Government in dealing with religious trusts of a different kind gave great offence to English Churchmen as well as to Nonconformists. In the reign of Charles II. a Lady Hewley left certain manors in Yorkshire in trust, to support 'godly preachers of Christ's holy Gospel.' The lady herself was a Trinitarian Dissenter, and there could be no doubt that her bequest was intended to benefit preachers who held her own religious views. In course of time the body to which Lady Hewley belonged gradually lapsed into Unitarianism, and her bequest was expended in maintaining Unitarian chapels and ministers. At length the Congregationalists and the orthodox Presbyterians came to the conclusion that as their religious opinions coincided with those of Lady Hewley, their ministers and congregations were entitled to her bequest, which the present possessors had forfeited all right to hold, as they had renounced the doctrines which she considered those of 'Christ's holy Gospel.' They accordingly filed a bill in Chancery to dispossess the Unitarians. A decision was given in their favour. The Unitarians appealed to the House of Lords, and their Lordships required the opinion of the twelve judges. Eleven of their number were of opinion that the property in question ought to belong to the Trinitarian Protestant Dissenters, and the Lords in consequence affirmed the judgment of the Court of Chancery. The litigation lasted fourteen

years, and the final decision was pronounced in August, 1842.

Other bequests had been made and chapels founded by persons who were well known to have held Trinitarian doctrines, but had not employed definite terms in stating the doctrines which they wished to promote. Proceedings were about to be taken by the successful litigants in the case of Lady Hewley's charity, to recover the property which they contended had been wrongfully appropriated by Unitarians. In these circumstances the Government brought in a Bill for the purpose of preventing further litigation on the subject, and securing to the Unitarians the undisturbed possession of the chapels which had been in their hands for a period of more than twenty years.

Previous to 1813 the Unitarians were excepted from the benefit of the Toleration Act; but in that year an Act was passed legalizing the foundation of schools or chapels for the benefit of Unitarians, and placing them on the same footing as other Protestant Dissenters. But the Act had no retrospective effect, and it was now proposed to remedy this omission and to give them security of tenure for the property that had been in their possession from an earlier date. The Bill for that purpose was brought in by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. It was strenuously opposed in the Upper House by the Bishops of London and Exeter, and by the Earl of Winchelsea and other peers, but was carried by a considerable majority. Meanwhile, however, a strong opposition to the measure had arisen throughout the country. Numerous public meetings were held, at which the principle of the proposed Bill was vehemently condemned; and the table of the House of Commons was loaded with petitions from Churchmen, Methodists, and Congregationalists, representing it as intended to give undue favour to the Unitarian cause, and as inconsistent with the obligations of a Christian Government. The opposition to the measure in the House

of Commons was led by Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Plumptre, aided by the representatives of the various orthodox Nonconformist bodies; but it was advocated not only by the Premier and Lord Stanley, along with other members of the Government, but also by Lord John Russell and Mr. Macaulay. Sir Robert Inglis opposed the Bill chiefly, though not exclusively, on the ground that it violated the law of property; but others resisted it on the allegation that it was hostile to religious truth, and outraged and insulted the Christian feeling of the country. On the other hand, Sir Robert Peel pleaded that while there was no reason why Trinitarians who intended to give or bequeath their property to maintain the doctrines which they held, should hesitate to avow their purpose, there was a strong motive for the concealment of their intentions by Unitarians. The law did not extend to them the toleration which it afforded to every other denomination of Dissenters; and they could not legally erect chapels for the avowed purpose of teaching Unitarianism. He further urged that the founders of the chapels in question were in all probability hostile to any form of subscription, that they wished to retain full freedom of opinion, and that they therefore refused to bind their successors by any formula of particular doctrines. Macaulay asserted that the principle of limitation was to be found in all laws, in all countries, and in all times, in Greece and Rome, in France, England, and America, and dwelt largely on the hardships which would be inflicted on Unitarian congregations which had been in possession of these chapels and burial grounds for at least seventy years, and had laid out large sums in repairing, enlarging, and embellishing the buildings, if they should be deprived of property endeared to them by the most sacred associations. 'The Unitarian congregations,' said the eloquent debater, 'have laid out so much on these little spots of ground that it is

impossible to take the soil from them without taking from them property which is of much greater value than the mere soil, and which is indisputably their own. . . . Within these chapels, and all around them, are the tablets which the pious affection of four generations has placed over the remains of dear mothers and sisters, wives and daughters, of eloquent preachers, of learned theological writers. To the Unitarian the building which contains these memorials is a hallowed building. To the intruder it is of no more value than any other room in which he can find a bench to sit on and a roof to cover him. If, therefore, we throw out the Bill, we do not merely rob one set of people in order to make a present to another set. That would be bad enough. But we rob the Unitarians of that which they regard as a most precious treasure; of that which is endeared to them by the strongest religious and the strongest domestic associations; of that which cannot be wrenched from them without inflicting on them the bitterest pain and humiliation. To the Trinitarians we give that which can be to them of little or no value except as a trophy of a most inglorious victory won in a most unjust war.'

With the aid thus afforded by the leaders of the Opposition the second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 190 in a House of 524 members, and the third reading by a majority of 120. As some unimportant amendments had been introduced into the measure by the Commons, the Bill was sent back to the Lords, when the Bishop of London made another effort to throw it out on the ground that the great majority of the religious portion of the people considered the measure as alike opposed to truth, equity, and religion. Though the Bishop was zealously supported by the Earl of Roden, Lord Lyttelton, and other peers, his amendment was rejected by a majority of 161, and the Bill speedily became law.

Sir Robert Peel deserves great credit for the courage and disinterestedness which he

displayed in proposing and carrying this measure through Parliament. The Unitarians were comparatively few in number; their creed was unpopular. They were almost all stanch Liberals; and even if gratitude had prompted them to transfer their allegiance to the Prime Minister, their friendship was likely to injure him more than their enmity. On the other hand, he was well aware that the measure would tend greatly to alienate a powerful section of his own followers. But he nevertheless exerted his whole official influence in its behalf, because, as he said, justice required it.

The war with the Ameers of Scinde, which had broken out during the previous year, was brought to a successful close as far as military operations were concerned; but the justice of the contest is another and very different matter. This province was conquered towards the end of last century by four chiefs of the Beloochee tribe, called Talpoor. Futteh Ali Khan, the oldest of these chiefs, who had been chiefly instrumental in expelling the dynasty of the Caloras, by whom the country had been held for nearly a century, was recognized as the supreme ruler of Scinde; but he admitted his three younger brothers to a share in the sovereignty, and they exercised with remarkable harmony a joint sovereignty over the province. After the death of the four brothers, three of whom left issue, a civil war arose between their sons; but at its close the territory was divided among them, and they were distinguished as the Ameers of Hyderabad, Khypore, and Meerpore. When Shah Soojah was expelled from Cabul, the Ameers availed themselves of the opportunity to throw off all dependence upon the Afghan rulers, to whom they had hitherto paid a yearly tribute, and they extended their territories until they comprised an area of about 100,000 square miles, with a population estimated at 1,000,000. The country afforded great facilities both for agriculture and commerce, which, however, were left unimproved. The great river Indus flows through the whole length of the province;

but the Ameers, who were passionately fond of the chase, valued it not for its commercial advantages, but chiefly on account of their *Shikargahs*, or hunting grounds, which are thick jungles, overhanging the river's edge, inclosed to preserve the game for their amusement. According to all accounts, the rule of the Ameers was unpopular with all classes of their subjects. Sir Alexander Burnes, in his 'Rough Notes on Scinde,' says, 'The chiefs of the country live entirely for themselves; they wallow in wealth, while their people are wretched; professing an enthusiastic attachment to the religion of Mahomet, they have not even a substantial mosque in their territories; and at Hyderabad, and indeed everywhere, they pray in temples of mud, and scorn elegance and comfort in all that concerns domestic life.'

Repeated treaties were made between the Ameers and the Indian Government, and in one of these, concluded in 1832, all former friendly stipulations were renewed and confirmed, and the two contracting powers bound themselves 'never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.' At the same time the British Government obtained a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindostan by the rivers and roads of Scinde on certain specified conditions, including the payment of fixed and moderate duties on merchandise and goods. In 1836 Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjaub, invaded Scinde, and captured some of its towns. The intervention of the Indian Government was solicited by the Ameers; but the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, refused to interpose his influence to induce Runjeet Singh to restore the territory he had conquered, unless a British Minister were first allowed to take up his residence at Hyderabad—a concession which the Ameers were most reluctantly compelled to make in 1838. During the Afghan war detachments of troops were marched through Scinde without the permission of its rulers, who naturally regarded such a proceeding with ill-disguised sus-

picion and aversion, and this feeling on their part afforded a pretext for stationing a body of troops at Kurrachee to keep the Beloochees in check. The next aggressive step was to wring another treaty from the reluctant Ameers, stipulating that a British force should be stationed at Tatta, to the west of the Indus, and that three of them should pay annually a lac of rupees (£10,000) to defray part of the expense of maintaining this force. Having by this treatment given the Ameers strong grounds for dissatisfaction, the Indian authorities alleged that they had become unfriendly to the Government, and Lord Ellenborough complained of their irregular payment of their yearly tribute, and threatened them, if they proved faithless, with the loss of their dominions. Then it was alleged that they were concerting measures of hostility against us, 'which rendered it highly probable that they would attack us on the first favourable opportunity.'

At this juncture Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the chief command of all the forces in Scinde, and was also invested with the authority of a political functionary. Lord Ellenborough, in his instructions to Sir Charles, expressed his determination to inflict signal vengeance on any Ameer or chief who should have evinced hostile designs against us during the Afghan war, at the same time naively admitting that 'it would be impossible to believe that they could entertain friendly feelings.' Ultimately the Governor-General authorized Napier to conclude a treaty with the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore, relieving them from the annual payment, but stipulating among other conditions that the British Government should have the right to fell wood within 100 yards of either bank of the Indus, for the use of steamboats, and that Kurrachee, Tatta, and other three towns, with a strip of land on each side of the river, should be ceded in perpetuity to the British Government. Major Outram, who had for some time held the office of British resident in Scinde, but had

left the country, and was on his way to England, was summarily recalled from Bombay by the Governor-General, and appointed by Sir Charles Napier to conduct the negotiations for a revised treaty. The treatment Outram had received from Lord Ellenborough made this appointment much against the grain; but on the principle which had ever guided this high-minded and most unselfish public servant throughout his whole career—implicit obedience to the orders of his superiors—he at once intimated his acceptance of the office. But, unfortunately, notwithstanding Outram's devotion to Sir Charles Napier, a difference arose between them respecting the policy which ought to be adopted towards the Ameers. Napier, who was ignorant of the language and customs of the country, had no sympathy with the Ameers, and had allowed himself to be prejudiced against its rulers by cunning and interested falsehoods, was induced to believe that though the Ameers professed submission they were in reality preparing for hostilities, and had come to the conclusion that the existing system of government in Scinde should be overturned; while Outram, who was thoroughly conversant with the real state of affairs, thought that both justice and expediency required that it should be maintained. Sir Charles unfortunately allowed himself to be made the tool of a crafty and utterly unscrupulous chief named Ali Murad, who devised a cunning plot to deprive his brother, Mir Rustam, of his office as Reis, in order that he might obtain his turban. By working on their fears, this intriguing scoundrel induced the chiefs to believe that their only resource was to defend themselves by force of arms against the machinations of British officials.

With nothing but suspicions to warrant the step, Sir Charles put his troops in motion in February, and approached Khyrpore. Mir Rustam Khan fled from his capital, and took refuge in the far-famed fortress of Emaum Ghur, situated in the midst of a desert of drifting sand, which was believed

to be inaccessible to European troops. As long as they had this supposed impregnable stronghold to flee to, Napier foresaw that the Ameers would never submit. He therefore resolved, by a prompt and vigorous blow, to deprive them of this place of refuge; and he executed his design by a method singularly original and sagacious. After a march of eight days through a wilderness, at the head of only 350 men carrying with them on camels swivel guns, ammunition, and provisions, he reached the mysterious fortress only to find it deserted. He immediately caused the place to be mined and blown up, and returned across the desert without losing a single man. The Duke of Wellington described this exploit as 'one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed or ever perused an account of.'

Meanwhile the Beloochees had become furious at the treaty forced upon their rulers by the British authorities, and could no longer be restrained. On the 15th of February, 1843, the day after the treaty was signed, they made an attack on the residency at Hyderabad with a force of 8000 men and six guns, which Outram repelled with a skill and gallantry that elicited the admiration of Napier, who pronounced it a brilliant example of defending a military post. In the end the small garrison, which did not exceed 100 men, was compelled to abandon the place, and retiring in good order to the river side, they were received on board one of the steamers employed in navigating the Indus. Napier was so candid as to admit that the conquest of Scinde was determined on before the attack on the residency, and would have been carried into effect, if that incident had never taken place, on the approach of the British army.

Meanwhile the Ameers had assembled a large force at Meanee, within twenty miles of Hyderabad, with the view of intercepting Napier's march to the capital. Sir Charles promptly advanced to meet them, and on the 17th of February, at the head

of only 1800 infantry and 800 cavalry, he encountered 25,000 infantry and 10,000 irregular horsemen drawn up in a very strong position. The Beloochees fought with desperate courage, but after a struggle which lasted three hours and a half, and was attended with frightful slaughter, they were forced to give way, and were driven from the battlefield with the loss of 5000 men. The killed and wounded of the British force amounted to only 256. It is an affecting circumstance that when the Ameers saw that the day was going against them they tried with their spy-glasses to find out Major Outram, that they might surrender to a personal friend. Three days after the battle, Hyderabad, the capital of Scinde, submitted to the conqueror, and six of the Ameers came into his camp and, as prisoners of war, surrendered their swords, which Sir Charles immediately returned to them.

Meanwhile Shere Mohammed, surnamed the Lion, the bravest of the Ameers, had collected a fresh army of 25,000 men, which the British General attacked at Dubha, on the 24th of March, with 5000 men and fifteen guns. The battle was long and desperately contested. In the end the Beloochees were completely defeated. Shere Mohammed took refuge in the desert, and his principal fortress fell into the hands of the conqueror. This victory terminated the campaign, and placed at the disposal of the Indian Government the country on both sides of the Indus, from Sukkur to the sea. Scinde was formally annexed to the British dominions, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed Governor, with almost absolute power. It is only due to this illustrious soldier and disinterested administrator to state that he set himself 'to do good, to create, to end destruction, and raise up order.' He conciliated the affections of the different races inhabiting Scinde, recognized the native society, created a permanent civil administration in all its branches, planned and commenced a number of important public works, ameliorated the severity and injustice

of the native law, made an end of Suttee, and by a series of masterly movements suppressed robbery and secured public tranquillity.

The benefits which Napier's administration conferred upon Scinde cannot, however, excuse the original injustice of its conquest. Major Outram, who was intimately acquainted with the whole facts of the case, felt deep sympathy with the dethroned Ameers, under the treatment which he held, and publicly declared, they had undeservedly received at the hands of the Indian Government; and on returning to England at the close of the war he felt constrained by honour and duty to represent the case of these unfortunate and ill-used chiefs in what he regarded as the true light. Sir Robert Peel, Lord Ripon, President of the Board of Control, the Duke of Wellington, and the Court of Directors, united in requesting a statement of his views on that subject. They all came to the conclusion that the annexation of Scinde was unjustifiable and impolitic, but it was unfortunately impossible to undo what had been done. On the 8th of February, 1844, Lord Ashley brought the case of the Ameers before the House of Commons, and moved that an address should be presented to Her Majesty, entreating her to direct the immediate restoration of these princes to liberty and the enjoyment of their estates, or such provision for their future maintenance as may be considered a just equivalent. The motion was, of course, opposed by the Government, and rejected by a large majority; but, as was inevitable in the circumstances of the case, the apology offered by Sir Robert Peel for the unrighteous policy of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough was of the lamest and most unsatisfactory kind, and did little to remove the awful imputation cast upon them by the Ameer Moobaruck Khan: 'You tyrants! you Christians! Now we perceive there is no hope or justice for us until God Almighty shall sit in the last great judgment.'

On the 12th of February a vote of

thanks was given by both Houses of Parliament to Sir Charles Napier and the army employed in the operations on Scinde, which were eulogized in the warmest terms, especially by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The Lords were unanimous in agreeing to the vote; but in the Commons Lord Howick declared that, brilliant as were the victories of Hyderabad, he regarded them as stained by needless bloodshed, and nine members voted for the previous question.

Shortly after the discussions on the annexation of Scinde had terminated, the Legislature and the public learned with surprise that the Court of Directors had exercised the power which the Charter intrusted to them, 'to recall at their will and pleasure the Governor-General of India.' Macaulay, in his speech on Lord Ellenborough's proclamation respecting the gates of Somnauth, had exhorted the Court of Directors to take that step; and certainly the 'fantastic tricks' played by his lordship, his continued absence from the seat of Government, his fondness for ostentatious progresses and military parades, and the mode in which he had plunged into new wars on the most petty pretences, might well have excited the alarm of the Directors, and induced them to displace an official whose policy was fitted to excite grave apprehensions for the safety of our Indian empire. But the step appears to have been unprecedented, at least in the present century; and as eighteen out of the twenty-four Directors were stanch Conservatives, it seemed highly improbable that they would take any step calculated to embarrass the Government. As the Directors were unanimous in now adopting the resolution to recall the Governor-General, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Government, it was evident that their reasons must have been of the strongest kind. It transpired that the Directors had contemplated Lord Ellenborough's recall twelve months before, but had been induced by the remonstrances of the Ministry to abandon that intention;

and the Duke of Wellington denounced the step they had at length taken in recalling 'an officer in whom the Government fully confided' as 'the most indiscreet exercise of power he had ever known.' The Directors who had seats in the House of Commons, however, declared that they were prepared to show that they had exercised the power of recall under an imperative sense of public duty; but the Ministers peremptorily refused to produce the statement transmitted to them by the Court of Directors of the reasons which had compelled them to take this step, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Government.

Sir Henry Hardinge, who held the office of Secretary at War, was nominated Lord Ellenborough's successor in the Governor-Generalship of India, and the appointment gave universal satisfaction. Sir Henry was not only a distinguished soldier, but having held the offices of Chief Secretary for Ireland and Secretary at War, he was well acquainted with administrative affairs. He was especially noted for his sound judgment and sagacity, his genial and buoyant spirit, and his excellent business habits. The Court of Directors, the Ministry, and the public alike felt confident that he would administer with discretion the government of our Eastern empire.

The recall of Lord Ellenborough prevented the discussion of a motion respecting the affairs of Gwalior, of which Mr. Macaulay had given notice in the Commons, and the Marquis of Normanby in the Lords. The Gwalior territories, which lie in the heart of our north-western possessions in India, extend over 33,119 square miles, and support a population of upwards of 3,000,000. They were governed by the family of Scindia, who, as far back as 1803, had entered into a treaty with our Indian Government, which gave the latter a right to interpose, under certain requisitions, for the protection of the sovereign and the maintenance of order in his dominions. On the decease of the Maharajah Jhunkoojee Rao Scindia, without issue, in 1843, he

was succeeded by Ali Jah Jyajee Scindia, who was nearest to him in blood; and as the new Maharajah was a minor, the Maharanee, the widow of the deceased prince, with the approval of the chiefs, became Regent. The Governor-General expressed his entire approbation of this arrangement, and intimated that the new ruler would receive the support of the British Government. Disturbances, however, broke out in the country. A chief named the Dada Khasgee Walla was alleged to have gained the confidence of the Regent, and to have allowed various acts to be committed insulting to the British authorities and injurious to the peace of the country, and Lord Ellenborough thought fit to demand that the Dada should be delivered as a prisoner into the charge of the British Government. It was not denied that this proceeding was an infringement of the rights of the native sovereign; but Lord Ellenborough defended it on the ground that it did not appear possible to provide for the security of the Dada's person within the Gwalior territory. The Maharanee had no resource but to comply with this imperious and unwarrantable demand, which was followed by a complaint of the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the officers of the Gwalior state in the maintenance of order upon the frontier; and Lord Ellenborough declared that he must now peremptorily insist upon the adoption of permanent measures for that purpose. He added that the deplorable events that had recently occurred in Gwalior—the hostile conflicts in the camp, and the practical suspension of all government of His Highness' territories—now imposed upon the British Government the duty of intervention, not solely for the security of British interests, but for the execution, according to its 'true spirit and intentions,' of the treaty of Bhurrapore. He admitted that according to that treaty this intervention was only to be made on the requisition of the Maharajah; but as the present prince was not old enough to take this step, 'it

would be inconsistent,' he said, 'with the good faith and injurious to the good name of the British Government, were it to permit this inability to demand aid to deprive His Highness of that aid' which the treaty was intended to secure.

On this shallow pretext a powerful force, amounting to 14,000 men, with forty pieces of artillery, commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, and accompanied by the Governor-General in person, left Agra towards the end of December, and crossed the Chumbal river, with the professed object of establishing the just authority of the Maharajah over all his subjects, and placing upon firmer and permanent foundations the friendship between the two states. The Mahratta chiefs, however, appear to have had no great confidence in the peaceful intentions of the warlike Viceroy, and they mustered their forces for the defence of their country. When the British army, on the 29th of December, crossed the Koharee river, they found the Mahratta forces, mustering from 14,000 to 18,000 men, including 3000 cavalry, with 100 guns, drawn up in front of the village of Mahrajpoor, about fifteen miles north-east of Gwalior, in a very strong position, which they had carefully entrenched. Although the Mahrattas fought with the most desperate courage, they were ultimately driven from their position, with the loss of fifty-six pieces of artillery and all their ammunition waggons. The total loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, was 797, including seven officers, who either fell on the field or subsequently died of their wounds. The Mahrattas are said to have lost between 3000 and 4000 men.

On the same day another victory was gained by Major-General Grey, who had advanced on Gwalior from Bundelcund with a division of between 8000 and 9000 men. Crossing the river Sinde at Chandpore this force marched to Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, and there encountered a body of Mahrattas about 12,000 strong, with twenty-four guns, occupying a strong posi-

tion on the heights near the fortified village of Mangore. Although the British troops were fatigued by their long march, they at once attacked the enemy, and after a stubborn conflict routed them, with the loss of all their artillery. These two victories, according to the high-sounding proclamation of the Governor-General, 'while they shed new glory upon the British army, restored the authority of the Maharajah, and gave new security to the British empire in India.' 'A strong government,' according to Lord Ellenborough's ideas, was established; a British officer was appointed governor of the fort of Gwalior, which commands the city; the Mahratta troops were disbanded; a British contingent, consisting of seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, was to be maintained in the country at the cost of the Gwalior Government, which was also compelled to pay at once the expenses of the campaign; and the youthful Prince and the Regent were left to meditate on the British mode of interpreting treaties, and the blessings of British intervention within the territories of Gwalior.

The attention of the British Parliament at this period was mainly occupied with financial measures. The cloud which for several seasons had rested on the industrial interests of the country, both agricultural and commercial, had now passed away, and the revival of trade and commerce had produced a favourable change in the public finance. Among other ways, this was shown in a very considerable rise of the national securities. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. consols were now at 102 $\frac{1}{2}$. The Government took advantage of the favourable opportunity to make a reduction of the rate of interest to $3\frac{1}{4}$ for ten years, and then to 3 per cent., by which, during the first period, there would be an annual saving of £625,000, and afterwards of £1,250,000 a year. A great improvement had taken place in the duties paid on tea and sugar, and wine, and cotton work, and numerous other articles consumed or worn by the people; so that, while the total revenue for the year had

been estimated at £50,150,000, the sum actually received was £52,835,134. At the same time the actual expenditure had been less than the estimate by £650,000. The gross surplus at the disposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer amounted to £4,165,000, which, after clearing off last year's deficiency, left a net surplus of £1,400,000.

There was, of course, a scramble among the different 'interests' for a share of this money. One of the members for Northumberland, a great coal proprietor, complained that the Government had not proposed a reduction of the duty on that article; another recommended the total abolition of the duty on soap, on paper, and on glass; a third expressed his dissatisfaction because the surplus revenue was not applied to the extinction of the duty on cotton. The chief struggle was over the differential sugar duties, which the Government still proposed to continue in favour of the sugar produced by our West Indian colonies, and against the sugar grown in countries where slavery existed. Two resolutions on the subject were brought forward by Mr. Goulbourn—first, 'That sugar certified to be the growth of China, Java, Manilla, or other countries where no slave labour was employed, should be admitted at a duty of 34s., while the duty on colonial sugar remained as before at 24s.;' and secondly, 'That Her Majesty should be authorized by an Order in Council to give effect to any existing treaties by which she was bound to admit the sugars of any foreign country at the same duties as are imposed on the produce of the most favoured nation.' Lord John Russell moved an amendment to the effect that the duty of 34s. should be charged on brown or Muscavado sugar, 'the produce of any country.' He maintained that we had nothing to do with the social institutions of the nations that were willing to trade with us, and ridiculed the idea of our country erecting a pulpit in the long-room of its custom-house, and transforming its tide-waiters into preachers of anti-slavery doctrines. After all, the

attempted exclusion of slave-grown sugar was futile. What was thus forbidden directly was permitted circuitously, for we were willing to refine and export this slave-grown sugar, and to take the hemp and tallow of Russia in its stead, which seemed to be a very easy way of letting down our consciences.

This argument was put by Mr. Cobden in a felicitous and characteristic manner in one of his Covent Garden speeches. After mentioning that the pretence for monopoly in sugar was not that it benefited the revenue or the farmer in England or the negro in the West Indies, but that we must not buy sugar that had been produced by slave labour, he proceeded to say, 'I believe that the ambassador from the Brazils is here at present, and I think I can imagine an interview between him and the President of the Board of Trade:—He delivers his credentials: he has come to arrange a treaty of commerce. I think I see the President of the Board of Trade calling up a solemn, earnest, pious expression, and saying, "You are from the Brazils: we shall be happy to trade with you, but we cannot conscientiously receive slave-grown produce." His Excellency is a good man of business, so he says, "Well, then, we will see if we can trade together in some way. What have you to sell us?" "Why," replies the President of the Board of Trade, "cotton goods; in these articles we are the largest exporters in the world." "Indeed!" exclaims his Excellency; "cotton, did you say? Where is cotton brought from?" "Why," replies the minister, "hem! chiefly from the United States;" and at once the question will be, "Pray, is it free-grown cotton or slave-grown cotton?" Now, I leave you to imagine the answer, and I leave you also to picture the countenance of the President of the Board of Trade. Do you know how the law stands with regard to the sugar trade at present? We send our manufactures to Brazil, and we bring back Brazilian sugar; that sugar is refined in this country, refined in bond-

ing warehouses, that is, warehouses where English people are not allowed to get at it, and then it is sent abroad by our merchants, by those very men who are now preaching against the consumption of slave-grown sugar. Ay, those very men and their connections who are loudest in their appeals against slave-grown sugar, have bonding warehouses in Liverpool and London, and send this sugar to Russia, to China, to Turkey, to Poland, to Egypt—in short, to any country under the sun; to countries, too, having a population of 500,000,000. Yet these very men will not allow you to have slave-grown sugar.'

The amendment of Lord John Russell was rejected by a majority of sixty-nine. But a much more formidable attack was made upon the Ministerial scheme by the Protectionists, led by Mr. P. Miles, member for Bristol. When the Bill went into Committee (June 14), he moved a resolution, which had been prepared by the West India body in the city, that the duty on colonial and East India sugar should be lowered to 20s. instead of the 24s. proposed by the Government, and that the duty on 'white-clayed, or equivalent to white-clayed'—partially refined—sugar produced by foreign free labour, should be 34s. It was clear that if this proposal had been carried into effect it would have raised the differential duty between colonial and other sugar from 10s. to 14s., and have caused a serious diminution in the revenue. But Lord John Russell and a number of other Whigs and Free Traders gave it their support, and it was carried against the Government by a majority of twenty.

This untoward incident was the cause of a good deal of excitement and anxiety. A meeting of the Cabinet was held next day, and Sir Robert Peel and the leading members of his Administration saw clearly that the adverse vote was due in part to the dissatisfaction of a considerable number of their ordinary supporters; and as it was impossible to carry out the financial policy which they had adopted without the full

support and confidence of their party, they were disposed to resign at once. The mutinous section of the Conservatives were, however, alarmed at the probable consequences of their action. A meeting of the usual supporters of the Ministry was held on the morning of the 18th, at which it was resolved that they would give the Government their general and united support. When the House met in Committee in the evening, the Premier distinctly intimated that the decision on the point at issue would determine the fate of the Ministry, and the vote of the 14th on Mr. Miles' proposition was reversed by a majority of twenty-two in a House of 488 members. The Ministerial Bill became law on the 4th of July.

Another financial measure of great importance—the renewal of the Bank Charter—was carried through Parliament this session. When a new charter was granted to the Bank of England in 1833 it was provided that it might be modified at the end of ten years, and the Government resolved that they would take advantage of this provision. The currency question had of late excited a great deal of discussion, and various theories had been advocated by financiers and political economists of great ability and experience. The Ministerial plan was therefore looked for with great interest, and the clear and full exposition of it given by the Prime Minister himself was listened to by the House with the most profound attention.

After laying down the principles on which his scheme was based, he proceeded to say—‘I propose, with respect to the Bank of England, that there should be an actual reformation of the two departments of issue and banking; that there should be different officers to each, and a different system of account. I likewise propose that to the issue department should be transferred the whole amount of the bullion now in the possession of the Bank, and that the issue of bank-notes should hereafter take place on two foundations only—first, on a definite

amount of securities, and after that exclusively upon bullion, so that the action of the public should, in this latter respect, govern the amount of the circulation. There will be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills, and the issue department will have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which the issue department will by law be entitled to issue. With respect to the banking business of the bank I propose that it should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes. The fixed amount of securities on which I propose that the Bank of England should issue is £14,000,000, and the whole of the remainder of the circulation is to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. I propose that there should be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue department, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank, and to prevent panic and needless alarm. I would therefore enact that there should be returned to the Government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England, of the amount of bullion, of the fluctuations of the bullion, of the amount of deposits; in short, an account of every transaction both in the issue department and banking department of the Bank of England; and that Government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the bank. With regard to private banks, the general rule will be to draw a distinction between the privilege of issue and the conduct of banking business; the object being to limit competition, but to make the great change with as little detriment as possible to private interests. From this time no new bank of issue will be constituted, but all the existing banks of issue will be allowed to retain the privilege on condition that they do not exceed the present amount, to be calculated on the average of a term of years. ‘This is necessary to enable the Bank of

England to know the extent of issue with which it will have to compete. But while the issues will be restricted, banking business will be facilitated; the privilege of suing and being sued, at present withheld from joint-stock banks, will be accorded; the law of partnership will be so altered that while the acts of an individual director or other authorized partner will bind the whole, the acts of an unauthorized partner will not do so. Joint-stock banks in London, which at present are forbidden to accept bills for a date of less than six months, will be placed on an equality with other banks, and allowed to accept bills of any amount or date. If the last privilege should be abused by the circulation of small bills, I shall at once appeal to Parliament to correct the evil. Joint-stock banks will be required to publish a full and complete periodical list of all partners, and directors, and banks of issues—a much better security for the public than many delusive checks to which my attention has been invited. Joint-stock banks will be prohibited from having shares less than some fixed amount, and no new joint-stock bank shall be constituted except on application to a Government department. I now revert to my propositions respecting the Bank of England. It is to be allowed issues to the extent of a fixed amount of securities to £14,000,000. The existing loan of £11,000,000 to the Government will be continued, the remaining £3,000,000 will be based on exchequer bills and other securities over which the Bank will have entire control. It will also be allowed to extend its issues beyond the £14,000,000 on emergency, but only with the consent of three members of the Government; and in such a case the whole of the net profit on any amount beyond £14,000,000 will revert to the Government. It is proposed to continue the legal tender clause in order to facilitate the circulation of bank paper.

‘I must now explain the pecuniary arrangement between the Bank and the Government. The Bank retains the privilege of

issuing notes on securities to the amount of £14,000,000, at three per cent., which would yield £420,000. From this there are deductions to be made. The total cost to the Bank on an issue of £20,000,000 leaves £307,000. There is then to be deducted about £60,000 composition with the Stamp Office for the privilege of issuing notes. Then there is about £24,000 paid by the bank to those bankers who undertake to issue Bank of England notes. This leaves £250,000 derived from the issue of notes. Hitherto the Bank has paid £120,000 to Government for its privileges. They are now to be affected; but, on the other hand, increased stability is given to its banking business, and I propose that in future the bank shall pay that sum, besides the £60,000 for the composition with the Stamp Office, making in all about £180,000. Government pay to the bank £248,000 for the management of the public debt; and the difference between the two last sums will be the balance that the Government will have to pay over to the Bank. This measure applies only to England, the subject of Scotch and Irish banks being reserved for future consideration.’

The plan thus lucidly explained by the Prime Minister met with cordial approbation from both sides of the House. An amendment proposed by Mr. Hawes, ‘that no sufficient evidence has been laid before the House to justify the proposed interference with banks of issue in the management of their circulation,’ obtained only thirty supporters. The Bill passed through the House of Lords without opposition, or even without remark, and became law on the 19th of July. The measure thus adopted with such remarkable unanimity still continues to regulate the banking issues of the country; but some eminent financial authorities are of opinion, with Mr. John Stuart Mill, that ‘the disadvantages greatly preponderate’ over its advantages.

A singular outbreak—usually termed the Rebecca riots—took place at this time in

South Wales, a district which had long been remarkable for its tranquillity and industry. The inhabitants, whose peaceable and orderly conduct was deserving of the highest commendation, had long complained, but without effect, of the heavy and vexatious tolls to which they were subjected. These exactions were undoubtedly most oppressive, especially to the small farmers, who believed that they were also illegal. Finding that peaceful complaints were of no avail, they were at length provoked into taking active measures to remedy their grievances. Their first proceeding, which took place in 1839, was to break down in open day the gates of a toll-house on the borders of Caermarthenshire; and as the trustees did not venture to re-erect the obnoxious barricades, the gate-breakers, who had thus learned their power, were emboldened to undertake a systematic and organized crusade against the turnpikes throughout the whole district. The chief of the rioters assumed the name of 'Rebecca,' from a strange application of a passage in the book of Genesis characteristic of the simple-minded inhabitants of the Principality, who are in the habit of expressing their thoughts and feelings in Scriptural language. The blessing which Laban's household bestowed upon Rebekah, 'that her seed should possess the *gate* of those which hated them,' was applied to the turnpike gates which had been so oppressive to the people of South Wales, and was supposed to sanction their attempts to demolish them. Their chief, named Rebecca, was dressed in woman's clothes and wore a high bonnet for the purpose of disguise, and his followers were designated Rebecca's daughters. They began systematic operations, and in the winter of 1842 and 1843 carried them on with singular dexterity and address. Under cover of darkness a crowd, some on horseback, some on foot, some in women's clothes, others with veiled faces, suddenly appeared at the turnpike gate which was to be thrown down, amid the blowing of cow-horns and the firing of

guns. The toll-keepers were allowed a few minutes to remove their furniture into a neighbouring field or dry ditch, and were assisted in the work by some of Rebecca's daughters. The gate-posts were then sawed off close to the ground, the gates broken to fragments, and the toll-house razed to its foundation. No personal violence, however, was offered to the toll-keeper or his family, and none of his property was ever injured or carried off. As soon as their work was finished, which usually occupied only a few minutes, the rioters leaped on their horses again, amid loud shouts and the blowing of horns and firing of guns, and galloped off to some distant spot, where a similar feat was performed. In a short space of time no fewer than eighty gates had been destroyed in Caermarthenshire alone, and in the counties of Pembroke and Cardigan the work of demolition was carried on in the same wholesale manner. The few that were allowed to remain were the old-established gates, of which no complaint had been made. The trustees at first re-erected, sometimes oftener than once, some of the gates that had been broken down; but they were at once demolished by the Rebeccaites, and the trustees were at length compelled to desist from their fruitless labour, and the roads were left almost entirely free of toll-bars.

The efforts which were made by the local magistrates, or even by the police and the soldiers sent into the district, to discover and arrest the various leaders of these outbreaks, or Rebecca's daughters, completely failed; and encouraged by their unchecked success they began to turn their attention to other real or supposed grievances, which they attempted to redress in the same manner. It has been positively asserted, and with every appearance of probability, that some unprincipled Chartist agitators visited South Wales at this juncture, and induced the simple-minded Welshmen to change the character of their movement. Under the guidance of these unscrupulous advisers they now denounced

the Poor Law Amendment Act, the new Tithe Law, fees paid to magistrates' clerks, the increase of the county rates, and the alleged extortionate rates exacted by the landlords. Meetings were held in secluded spots in the hollows of the hills, at which the Chartist Tories opposed Free-trade, and endeavoured to persuade the thrifty hard-working tenants of small farms that if the Corn Laws were repealed they would be ruined. Excited by these inflammatory harangues the Rebeccaites sent threatening letters to magistrates, clergymen, and others who had attempted to stop their proceedings, and collected in crowds to pull down workhouses, and to compel the reduction of rents. They surrounded and disarmed the police, and fired shots into the houses of those against whom they had taken offence. A strong body of police and troops were sent down with all speed to suppress the insurrection; and on their arrival they found a mob of several thousands, with Rebecca at their head, in possession of the town of Caermarthen, busily engaged in gutting and destroying the workhouse, as they had threatened to do. Several hundreds of the rioters were apprehended, and a few of them slightly wounded in resisting the attempts of the soldiers to dislodge them. These outrages still continued, and became more violent and destructive. A band of armed men in disguise traversed the country, destroying the gates that had been left, and setting fire to the stacks of the magistrates who had been active in suppressing the riots. They at length deliberately shot an old woman of seventy, who kept a gate which they had resolved to pull down, and who, while they were setting fire to the thatch of the toll-house, unfortunately for herself, called out that she knew them. At the coroner's inquest the jury confessed privately that they were afraid to do their duty; and though the facts of the case were clearly stated in evidence, they brought in a verdict 'that the deceased died from the effusion of blood into the chest, which occasioned suffoca-

tion, but from what cause is to this jury unknown.'

The Government were at length compelled to interfere for the suppression of outrages which rendered both life and property insecure, and were threatening to disorganize society. A special commission was sent down to try the prisoners, and another commission was appointed to inquire into the causes which had led to such serious disturbances. Three of the ring-leaders were sentenced to transportation, and the sentence of imprisonment was passed on others of the rioters. The commission of inquiry made a careful and thorough investigation into the complaints of the inhabitants of the disturbed districts, and discovered that their grievances were real and intolerable, and had pressed upon them with peculiar severity at this time in consequence of the deep poverty of the people. It is a pleasing sign of the great change for the better that had taken place in regard both to administration and legislation, that no time was lost in removing the abuses of which the people justly complained. The whole system of turnpike trusts in South Wales was remodelled, and the country speedily returned to its habitual state of order and tranquillity.

While the Government were thus engaged in redressing the grievances of the Welsh, they were suddenly assailed on account of another affair of far inferior importance, but which excited much greater interest both in Parliament and in the country. On the 14th of June, 1844, a petition was presented by Mr. Thomas Duncombe, one of the members for Finsbury, from four persons, two of whom were foreigners and two were Chartists, complaining that letters addressed to them had been opened at the Post Office. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, stated in reply to Mr. Duncombe's demand for an explanation, that the Secretaries of State were authorized by a law of long standing, which had been renewed so late as 1837, to open and detain letters on their respon-

sibility; that with regard to three of the petitioners their letters had never been meddled with, but that he had exercised the power intrusted to him by law with regard to the fourth, and had issued a warrant ordering that his letters should be opened and examined. Sir James declined to say which of the four was the individual referred to, but it was generally understood that it was Joseph Mazzini, an Italian exile, whose letters had been subjected to this inspection. A tremendous outburst of indignation followed this avowal, and the most scurrilous abuse was heaped upon the Home Secretary, who was represented as the spy of foreign despots, and the tool of Lord Aberdeen, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. A select committee of each House was appointed to make inquiry into the affair—secretly, as such a delicate matter required—to ascertain the duties of the persons employed in the department of the Post Office called the ‘secret’ or ‘inner’ office, and the authority under which these functions were discharged. They found, what was already known to members on both sides of the House who had been in office, that the authority in question was set forth in the preamble of the Acts by which the Post Office was established; that it had been since revised and confirmed; that it had been exercised by successive administrations, both Whig and Tory, by Mr. Fox in 1782, and by Lord Normanby during his Irish viceroyalty, for the detection of ‘low Ribbonism which could not be ferreted out by other means;’ that from 1799 to 1844 the number of warrants issued was on an average only eight a year, and that Sir James Graham had used his power more scrupulously and carefully than his predecessors. The report of the Parliamentary Committees completely vindicated the conduct of the Home Secretary, and showed that it was necessary for the public security that the Government should be intrusted with this power of detecting conspiracies against the welfare either of our own or of other countries.

No reasonable person will deny that the asylum afforded to an exile by Great Britain is given on the distinct understanding, that he is not to avail himself of the protection which he thus enjoys to contrive plots against foreign Governments in alliance with us. And though the fact was not generally known at the time, it was afterwards ascertained, and indeed avowed, that Mazzini during his residence in London was actively engaged in organizing insurrections against Austria and Sardinia.

The jealous and irritated feeling that France had entertained towards England, in consequence of the manner in which the Eastern question was settled, had now to a considerable extent abated; and the visit which Queen Victoria and Prince Albert paid to the French King at Château d’Eu, near Tréport, in the autumn of 1843, had contributed to strengthen the cordial relations which had always existed between the royal families of England and France, and to lessen the asperity which still lingered among the Parisians towards Great Britain. Unfortunately a new cause of offence speedily arose, not owing in any degree to Louis Philippe or his Ministers, but to the excitable state of feeling among his vain and irritable subjects, who were constantly under the influence of jealousy towards ‘perfidious Albion.’ The island of Otaheite, or Tahiti as it is now called, was at this time governed by a native Queen named Pomare, an old ally of Britain, who with the great body of her subjects had been converted to the Christian faith by missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society. In Sept. 1842, a French Admiral named Dupetit Thouars, who exhibited the less estimable qualities of his countrymen in an eminent degree, had coerced this Tahitian sovereign into a treaty placing her dominions under the protection of France. Her subjects were dissatisfied with this arrangement, and showed in various ways their dislike to the French intruders, which the Admiral

thought fit to attribute to the influence of the English missionaries resident on the island. After an absence of a year Admiral Dupetet Thouars returned to Tahiti in November, 1843, and insisted, without right or reason, that Queen Pomare should hoist the French flag over or instead of her own; and on her refusal to do so he landed a body of troops, hauled down the Tahitian flag, and made proclamation that he had taken possession of the island in the name of the French King. A Frenchman of the name of M. d'Aubigny was at the same time installed Governor of Tahiti.

When the news of this unwarrantable proceeding reached France it was at once disavowed by the Government, though a party in the French Chambers chose to assert that the 'banner of France having once been planted in Tahiti, it could not be struck without dishonour;' and, of course, the Opposition described the disavowal of the conduct of the French Admiral to the influence of the British Government. The French Ministry, they declared, had been guilty of putting France at the feet of England. M. Guizot, in defending the action of the French Ministry, emphatically declared that it was in no way owing to any interference on the part of England; and when Lord Aberdeen was questioned in Parliament on the subject of the French treaty he declared that the Ministry had nothing to do with it—that it assured perfect religious liberty to the Tahitians; and that all possible protection and encouragement would be given to the missionaries.

Scarcely had the moderation of the two Governments averted a rupture in connection with this affair when they were once more put in danger of being embroiled by the folly, vanity, and rashness of the French Admiral at Tahiti. It appears that the French had made themselves unpopular among the natives, and on the 22nd of March, 1844, they seized and disarmed one of the sentinels. This act of the Tahitians was made the

pretext for seizing and imprisoning, 'in reprisal,' Mr. Pritchard, the British Consul, who was also an active and influential Protestant missionary resident on the island. The natives had firmly refused to have anything to do with the Roman Catholic missionaries, who had come out in a body to convert the islanders to the Romish faith; and they imputed the failure of their mission to Pritchard's influence. There was strong reason to suspect that they had instigated the hot-headed and indiscreet French Governor to seize their formidable and obnoxious opponent. He was released from prison only on condition of instantly leaving the Pacific, which he was obliged to do, without even seeing his family, and reached England by way of Valparaiso. When the news of this unprovoked outrage upon the British Consul reached this country it excited a strong feeling of indignation among all classes and parties, and even Sir Robert Peel, usually so calm and moderate, denounced it in Parliament in indignant terms. 'I do not hesitate,' he said, 'to declare that a great insult, accompanied with a gross indignity, has been committed by an official clothed with a temporary authority, and, so far as we can discern, by the direction of the French Government.' The whole country was speedily in flame, which was all the more easily kindled on account of the smouldering irritation occasioned by the high-handed and unjust manner in which Queen Pomare had been coerced into submitting to the French protectorate. The appeal which the poor Tahitian sovereign made to the Queen of Great Britain for assistance, added fuel to the flame. 'Do not cast me away, my friend,' she said; 'I run to you for refuge, to be covered under your great shadow; the same that afforded relief to my fathers by your fathers, who are now dead, and whose kingdoms have descended to us, the weaker vessels.' Public meetings were held in all the large towns, and indignant speeches delivered by leading men of all religious denomina-

tions, demanding reparation for the outrage both on Pritchard and Queen Pomare. On the other hand there was a numerous party in France who chose to imagine that Great Britain wished to obtain Tahiti for herself, and that it would lower the dignity and degrade the honour of France to make any concession or reparation. It appeared at one time as if the two countries were on the verge of war. The French King and his Ministers regarded the question at issue in a very different light, and were most anxious to preserve the peace with Britain; but so strong was the excitement in France, fanned as it was by the Parisian journals, that they were afraid to run counter to the popular feeling. They deferred the settlement of the question as long as possible, and it was only after protracted negotiations that on 5th September, the last day of the session of 1844, Sir Robert Peel was able to announce to Parliament that the question in dispute had been amicably settled, and that the French Government had agreed to compensate Mr. Pritchard for his sufferings and losses. 'The French keep us constantly in hot water,' wrote the Queen to her uncle, King Leopold. 'The good ending of our difficulties with France is an immense blessing; but it is really and truly necessary that you and those in Paris should know that the danger was *imminent*.'

Sir Robert Peel had introduced the judicious practice of bringing forward his budget at a very early period of the session, and accordingly ten days after the session of 1845 commenced he laid before the House of Commons his financial statement, one of the boldest and wisest he ever produced. The harvest of 1844 was good, provisions were moderate in price, trade was flourishing, and the revenue had increased so largely that, notwithstanding the great reduction of taxes on the tariff of 1842, the surplus amounted to £5,800,000. Emboldened by this satisfactory result of his financial policy he resolved to carry still further his reductions

and abolitions of duties, and to set free a great number of articles which were still burdened with restrictions. He proposed to abolish at one stroke all export duties, including those upon coals; the duty upon auctions; the whole duty of 300 per cent. upon glass—a most vexatious and injurious impost; the whole import duties upon cotton; to reduce the duty upon unrefined sugar from the West Indies and the Mauritius from 28s. 3d. to 14s., and that on East India sugar to 18s. 8d. and on foreign free-labour sugar to 9s. 4d. He proposed to relieve the raw material of silk, hemp, and flax, certain yarns, dye-woods, staves for coopers' work, and to erase altogether from the excise book 300 smaller articles which, under the tariff of 1842, still continued to pay customs. These remissions of taxation, which would involve a loss to the revenue of £320,000, were well fitted to bestow an immense boon on the poorer classes, and to promote the prosperity of trade and commerce.

At the same time the rapidly extending commerce of the country required increased naval guardianship; and new naval stations had to be established in the Chinese seas, in the Pacific, and on the coast of Africa. He therefore asked an increase of £1,500,000 for the navy and ordnance estimates, and proposed that for the security of our ports seven sail of the line should be always available in the Channel, and three on foreign stations.

Lord John Russell criticised the details of the budget with considerable asperity; and Mr. Roebuck, in a long and able speech, insisted that 'professions, trades, and offices' should be subjected to a discriminating rate of taxation under the income tax, which pressed most unjustly on these classes. Mr. Bankes, as the champion of the agriculturists, complained that by the Ministerial plan 'everything is given to the mercantile and nothing to the agricultural interest.' A good many members stated objections to one or other portion of the scheme. Mr. Milner Gibson

moved a resolution against differential duties on sugar, which, however, was rejected by a majority of 217 votes to 84; and the income tax was continued by a majority of 208 in a House of 318.

The Protectionist party were strongly dissatisfied with the whole tenor of Sir Robert Peel's financial policy, and complained bitterly of the injury which the new sliding scale and tariff had inflicted on the landlords and farmers by largely increasing the importation of wheat and of foreign cattle. Mr. Miles, as the spokesman of the party, insisted that in order to alleviate the agricultural distress the charges connected with the administration of justice and of the registration of voters, amounting to £300,000 a year, should be transferred from the county rate to the Exchequer. He therefore moved that, 'in the application of surplus revenue towards relieving the burden of the country by reduction or remission of taxation, due regard should be had to the necessity of affording relief to the agricultural interest.' These and other demands of a similar kind had frequently before been made by the agriculturists and rejected by the House of Commons; but the debate on Mr. Miles' motion was rendered memorable by the attack, the first of a series, which Mr. Disraeli made in connection with it on the Prime Minister.

After repeated and unsuccessful attempts to obtain a seat in Parliament by the support of a coalition of Radicals and Conservatives, Benjamin Disraeli was at length returned in the Conservative interest, at the general election of 1837, as one of the members for the borough of Maidstone. When the Conservatives obtained office in 1841 Mr. Disraeli, who now represented Shrewsbury, and had supported the policy of the new Prime Minister, might not have unreasonably expected to have been rewarded with a place; but he was not included in the new Government. There was much in the appearance, the manners, the character, and style of speaking of the

young politician and novel writer, calculated to repel a staid, sober, reserved man like Peel. His dandified dress and appearance, as described by Willis in his 'Pencilings by the Way,' his dress coat of black velvet lined with white satin, his splendidly embroidered waistcoat, large fancy-pattern pantaloons, innumerable chains about his neck and pockets, and jet-black well-oiled ringlets, contributed to render him ridiculous in the estimation of sober English Conservatives; while his peculiar style of parliamentary oratory obtained for him the reputation of an eccentric and audacious adventurer. At this juncture he organized the 'Young England' party, long ago extinct, composed of a number of clever and sentimental young Conservatives, full of enthusiasm and poetic aspirations, who proposed to elevate the condition of the agricultural classes by reviving the Saturnian age in England. As leader of this section of the party he acquired the reputation of a dexterous and sarcastic debater, though he was still without weight or respect in the House. He availed himself of the growing dissatisfaction of the Protectionist party to taunt the Prime Minister with his political tergiversation, and to charge him with having betrayed the party that raised him to power. He believed Protection now, he said, 'to be about in the same condition that Protestantism was in 1820. The country will draw its moral.' 'For my part,' he added, 'if we are to have free trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the hon. member for Stockport [Mr. Cobden] than by one who through skilful Parliamentary manoeuvres has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of 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 organized

hypocrisy.' A speech of this character, though it might gratify the indignation of the extreme Protectionists, was not likely to make converts to their opinions; and the motion of Mr. Miles obtained only 78 supporters in a House of 291 members.

It was not his financial measures alone which created among the Conservative party distrust of their great leader. The Queen's speech, at the opening of the session of 1845, recommended to the favourable consideration of Parliament the propriety of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland; and on the 3rd of April Sir Robert Peel proposed that a large increase should be made to the sum annually voted for the support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. This institution was founded by Pitt in 1795, during the war with France, for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Irish Romanists had hitherto drawn their supply of spiritual instructors mainly from the Continent; but apprehensions were now entertained that the clergy who were trained in French seminaries would be imbued with revolutionary notions which would render them dangerous to the public safety, and it was therefore deemed expedient to make provision for the training of clerical instructors at home. The experiment had certainly not been successful. The priest who had received his education at Douay or St. Omer, along with the laymen of his church, was almost always a gentleman in his feelings, tastes, and habits, was well acquainted with the world, and liberal in his sentiments. The Maynooth trained priests, on the other hand, had proved narrow in their views, intolerant towards Protestants, and the reverse of loyal to the sovereign. Prelates and priests alike were violent supporters of the Repeal agitation. Sir Robert Peel, however, considered that if the seminary were more liberally supported, and a more comfortable provision made both for the professors and the students, the results

would be more satisfactory. He accordingly proposed to increase the grant from the Consolidated Fund from £9000 to £26,000 a year; to allot a definite portion of that sum to the support of the students, who were to be restricted to 500 in number, and the sum of £6000 to furnish salaries for the professors. The trustees were to be incorporated and authorized to hold real property to the extent of £3000 per annum, 'should members of the Roman Catholic faith be desirous to contribute to the college so incorporated.'

The proposal excited the most violent opposition both in Parliament and the country. Sir Robert Inglis and other Churchmen of his class resisted the scheme on the specific ground that it was an endowment of Popery, while Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Muntz opposed it on the general principle of objection to all State endowments of religion. On the other hand, it was zealously advocated, not only by the more liberal followers of Sir Robert Peel, such as Lord Lincoln, Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Sandon, and John Stuart Wortley, but also by Lord John Russell, Mr. Macaulay, and Sir George Grey, who argued that the increase of the grant was necessary to provide respectable education and bare comforts to the students and their teachers; that if the college were to be maintained at all, it ought to be maintained in an efficient manner; and that as it was already in existence, and was supported by public money, there was no more question of principle involved in granting a larger sum than there would be in the sacrifice of a pound instead of a penny-weight on the altar of a heathen god. Mr. Disraeli delivered a speech, described by Roebuck as being as poor in execution as it was malicious in motive, which had little or no bearing on the question at issue, but was devoted to an attack upon the Prime Minister, ridiculing his 'three courses,' and designating him a Conservative dictator, who had drilled the House of Lords into a guard-room, and degraded the House of

Commons into a vestry. Mr. Cobden both spoke and voted for the Bill, regarding it simply and purely as an extended educational grant. Mr. Bright, on the other hand, opposed it on the ground that no purely ecclesiastical institution should be supported out of the public taxes. Mr. Gladstone had resigned the office of President of the Board of Trade at the beginning of the session, on the plea that though he now approved of the Maynooth grant, he had laid down a different view in his work on the relations between Church and State, and he was of opinion that 'as a general rule those who have borne solemn testimony on great constitutional questions ought not be parties to proposing a material departure from them.' He, however, delivered a speech in support of the Bill, but at the same time was constrained to admit that its opponents represented the prevailing sense of a great majority of the people of England and Scotland. The whole country, indeed, was in a state of the utmost excitement, and public meetings to remonstrate against the measure were held in every town. The requisition for the meeting at London Tavern was signed by upwards of a hundred of the leading merchants, bankers, and traders in the city; and one of the resolutions declared the proposed grant to be a renunciation of the Protestant religion, under which the empire had flourished. The Dublin Protestant Operative Association demanded the impeachment of the Prime Minister. Some members of Parliament were called on by their constituents to resign their seats, and numbers more were distinctly informed that they would be ejected on the first opportunity. The tables of both Houses of Parliament groaned under the load of petitions against the scheme, signed by many thousands both of Churchmen and Nonconformists, who evidently dreaded that it was only the forerunner of a proposal to endow the Roman Catholic clergy. The Bill was resisted at every stage with the utmost vehemence and pertinacity, but it

passed the second reading by a majority of 323 votes against 176. A very significant statement was made by Sir Robert Peel at the close of his speech on the second reading, which clearly indicated that he was well aware what was foreboded by the desertion of 100 of his usual supporters in connection with this measure. 'I freely own,' he said, 'that every feeling with regard to imputations of inconsistency, every feeling with regard to the security of the Government, is subordinate to one—do not reject this measure. As I said before, punish us, visit us with censure; let the two parties combine on the ground that this policy ought to be carried out by those who were the original projectors; take what course you please; but do not let your indignation fall upon the measure—let it be confined to those who have opposed it. We have been responsible for the peace of Ireland, and I tell you that you must in some way or other break up that formidable confederacy which exists against the British Government and the British connection. I do not believe that you can break it up by force. I believe you can do much by acting in a spirit of kindness, forbearance, and generosity. There rises in the far west a cloud, small indeed, but threatening future storms. [An allusion to the Oregon question.] Ministers were lately called upon to declare that they were prepared and determined to defend the rights of this country. I own to you that when I was called upon to make that declaration, I did recollect with satisfaction and consolation that the day before I had sent a message of peace to Ireland. I deprecate war with earnestness; but if it should come, I pray that every pulse throughout the frame of the empire may be found beating in harmonious union, Ireland ranged firmly on our side. *I doubt whether, considering what is now transpiring, the vindication of the honour and interests of the country will not be committed to other hands;* but to whomsoever it may be committed, I shall take my place

beside them, encouraging them by every support I can give in a just and honourable cause.'

Though the second reading had been carried by the large majority of 147, the Bill was not yet out of danger. On the order of the day being read for going into Committee an amendment was moved by Mr. Ward, the author of the celebrated Appropriation Clause, declaring it to be the opinion of the House that the additional grant to Maynooth should be taken from the funds already applicable to ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland. This motion gave rise to a very able and animated debate, in which nearly all the leading members on both sides of the House took part, and was noted for one of Mr. Macaulay's most brilliant speeches. It turned mainly on the condition of the Irish Church, with its highly-paid sinecures; its parishes without a single Protestant; its pluralists and absentee incumbents; and its total failure to extend the Protestant religion in Ireland. A number of the speakers in support of Mr. Ward's motion—notably Lord John Russell and Lord Howick—earnestly recommended that the funds now spent in supporting Protestant clergyman preaching to empty pews, should be devoted, as the interests of the Established Church fell in, to the maintenance of the Roman Catholic priests. Mr. Ward's amendment was rejected by a majority of 174 votes. Indeed, its advocates evidently did not wish it to be carried, being well aware that it would in that case have destroyed the Bill. Various other amendments were rejected by large majorities. The third reading was carried by 317 votes against 184. In the Upper House the Bill was opposed by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Roden, who said the scheme was considered by the Protestants of Ireland as a heavy blow to their interests; by the Bishop of London, who considered it the first link that had been forged to tie together the State and the Roman Catholic Church; the Bishop of Exeter, the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Win-

chelsea, and other noblemen and prelates of the same school. It was strenuously supported by Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's; Earl Spencer, Lord Monteagle, Lord Brougham, Lord Campbell, and other Liberal Peers, as well as by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Stanley, and other members of the Government. It was carried through all its stages by large majorities, and became law at the end of the session.

Another educational measure, brought forward at this time by the Government, gave even deeper offence to a portion of their supporters than the increased grant to Maynooth. The combined secular and separate religious system of elementary education established in Ireland was working well among the poorer classes, and it was now thought desirable to extend it to instruction in the higher branches of knowledge, and for the benefit of all classes of the community. Accordingly, in the royal speech at the opening of the session, Her Majesty recommended to the consideration of Parliament 'the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland.' The plan which the Ministry had prepared, in order to carry out this recommendation, was introduced by Sir James Graham on the 9th of May. They proposed to establish three colleges—one at Belfast, a second at Cork, and the third at Galway—upon the same principles as the universities in Scotland. Instruction was to be given only in secular branches, and there was consequently to be no theological faculty in any of them; but every facility was to be afforded for the voluntary establishment of theological professorships in connection with the colleges, though attendance at the lectures of this kind was not to be made compulsory. A medical school was to be established at Belfast and at Cork, and the various religious bodies were to have authority to appoint a warden to take charge of the morals of their students. In each college there was to be a

principal and ten or twelve professors, and no religious tests were to be exacted either from professors or students. The new colleges were to be incorporated into a new university, to be designated the 'Queen's University in Ireland.'

The scheme was at once denounced by the High Church Episcopalians and the violent Roman Catholics. Sir Robert Inglis, as the leader of the former party, declared it to be a 'gigantic scheme of godless education,' and O'Connell thanked the member for the University of Oxford for so appropriately designating the plan. Dr. M'Hale, and other Popish prelates and priests, united in denouncing the Bill in the most vehement terms, as 'a penal and revolting measure;' while others more moderate in their views and less unmeasured in their language, contented themselves with demanding that Roman Catholic professors alone should fill the chairs of history, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, geology, and anatomy, and that Roman Catholic chaplains, with suitable salaries, should reside within the walls of the colleges. The measure, however, received the cordial support of Lord John Russell and the Liberal party, and was carried through Parliament without any material alteration; but the incorporation of the colleges into a University did not take place till some time after, when a charter was granted by the Crown. It was earnestly urged by several members that the proper course to follow was to abolish all denominational restrictions on the fellowships in Trinity College, Dublin, and to throw open all the privileges connected with that institution to Roman Catholics as well as to Protestants; but unfortunately neither the Ministry nor the Parliament were then prepared to take such a step, and by the time that Trinity College was at length reformed and liberalized the Roman Catholic clergy had set their hearts on obtaining a University endowed by the State, but completely under their own control. The sum of £100,000 was voted by Parliament for the erection of

the three colleges, and £18,000 per annum for their maintenance. The principal was to receive a salary of £1000 a year, and the professors salaries of £300 a year each; and these offices were fairly distributed among the different religious bodies in Ireland. The Episcopalians, and especially the Presbyterians, readily availed themselves of the instruction thus provided for the youth of their respective bodies, and so did a considerable number of the Roman Catholics belonging to the middle classes. But the Ultramontane party agitated against the colleges from the first, and at length by dint of gross and persistent misrepresentation, they succeeded in obtaining from Pope Pius IX. a rescript condemning these institutions as places of education for the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Repeated attempts subsequently made by successive Governments to alter the constitution of these colleges led to violent and mischievous agitation.

The steady progress of the Legislature in the path of justice and religious toleration, even under a Conservative Government, was marked by the passing of a Bill for the removal of certain Jewish disabilities, 'completely of a piece,' as one of the extreme Conservatives bitterly remarked, 'with several other measures which had passed the House during the last two Sessions.' As the law stood, a Jew might be a magistrate or sheriff for a county or for the City of London, but he was excluded from the offices of mayor, or alderman, or common councilman, by certain words which the House of Lords had thought fit to introduce into the Bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act in 1828, requiring a declaration to be made 'upon the true faith of a Christian.' Five Jewish gentlemen were at this time magistrates, some of them for several counties; some were deputy-lieutenants; and all might be high-sheriffs. A Jew might be elected Sheriff of London—and, indeed, Mr. Salomons had held that office—and if he had refused to serve would have been subject

to a fine, but he was not allowed to hold the office of alderman. In some corporations, such as Birmingham, Portsmouth, and Southampton, the law was deliberately violated; but in other places, and especially in London itself, it was strictly enforced. The Lord Chancellor, early in the session of 1845, introduced a measure to abolish this anomaly, and it passed the House of Lords without opposition; although the Bishop of London and Lord Colchester were careful to intimate that their forbearance in regard to it would not preclude them from resisting every attempt to obtain admission of the Jews into Parliament. In the Lower House the Bill was of course opposed by the conscientious but narrow-minded representative of the University of Oxford, and by Mr. Plumptre, one of the members for Kent, who said 'he was convinced, if the House should pass this Bill, it would forfeit the favour of Almighty God, and draw down upon the country the displeasure of the Most High.' This terrible anathema, however, had so little effect upon the House that the amendment for the rejection of the Bill found only eleven supporters, and the measure in due course became law.

India was still in an unsettled state; for though after the recall of Lord Ellenborough the Government ceased to cherish ambitious and aggressive designs, the barbarous and warlike races on our north-western frontier were not inclined to remain at peace. After the death of Runjeet Singh, the 'Lion of Lahore,' the Punjaub fell into a state of disorder and anarchy. Murders and insurrections followed in rapid succession, and the army, in the absence of any permanent and firm ruler, became absolutely unmanageable. Some portion of the territory on the left bank of the Sutlej was under British protection, and the Indian Government had obtained possession of her advanced frontier past Loodianah and Ferozepore, in which they had stationed garrisons. The Governor-General was quite alive to the

danger that threatened these parts in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs in the Punjaub; but he was under the impression that though the Sikh soldiers might give some molestation on the frontiers, they would not venture to invade the territories of the East India Company. He, therefore, while keeping his eye upon the Punjaub, devoted his energies mainly to giving encouragement to the erection of native schools, marking out highways, railroads, and a canal which should pass through the whole valley of the Ganges, and to other measures calculated to promote the general improvement of the country.

It is impossible, however, to calculate with any degree of certainty upon the course which will be followed by a barbarous people, and especially by a body of ignorant mutineers and savage soldiers receiving no pay and under no proper authority. Matters had been going from bad to worse at Lahore. There had arisen fresh factions, fresh strifes, and fresh atrocities, which ended in the setting up of Dhuleep Singh, a reputed son of Runjeet, a child of tender years, to whom his mother, the Ranee, undertook the office of guardian. Devoted to her own pleasures, she had neither the authority nor the inclination to restrain the excesses of the Sikhs. They plundered the country, elected delegates to preside over them, and surrounded the palace, and demanded the arrears of their pay. It was out of the Ranee's power to comply with this demand; but alarmed for her own life, and the lives of her lovers, Tigh Singh and Lal Singh, she consented to the alternative set before her by the soldiers, and gave her assent, about the middle of November, 1845, to their crossing the frontier and attacking the British territories.

Although no certain intelligence had as yet been received respecting the movement of the Sikhs, the British civil and military authorities were using the utmost diligence in collecting supplies of provisions and stores. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-

in-Chief, who had been stationed at Umballa, began his march on the 11th of December towards Ferozepore, which was held by Major-General Sir John Littler, with 5000 men. On the 13th a despatch from the military agent at that place announced that eight battalions of Sikhs had crossed the river a little way above the town, and that the rest of the army was passing. On receiving this intelligence the British army, 14,000 strong, began a rapid march towards Ferozepore, which the invaders had meanwhile loosely invested on one side. On the 17th tidings reached the British forces that one section of the enemy's forces had taken up an intrenched position to watch that town, while another portion, said to be about 40,000 strong, was advancing to intercept the relieving army. Meanwhile our troops were pushing on in spite of fatigue, thirst, and terrible privations, with such speed that day by day they compassed, under the vertical sun of India, a march of six-and-twenty miles a day. Early on the 18th the pickets of our advanced guard fell in with parties of the Sikhs, which had been sent out to watch for their approach. A skirmish ensued, which ended in the retreat of the enemy to their main body, about four miles off. Our columns held on their march till they had passed the village of Moodkee, and proceeded to bivouac a little way in front of it.

Both men and horses were terribly jaded. They had found no water throughout the whole day's march, and many of them were without provisions, while others, though in this respect more favoured, had no convenience for cooking their food. They had rested only a short time when mounted patrols, galloping in, announced that the enemy were approaching. In an instant the troops were in their ranks. The Commander-in-Chief, putting himself at the head of the cavalry and artillery, moved forward, and Sir Henry Hardinge followed with the infantry in twelve battalions. They had not proceeded beyond

two miles when they came upon the enemy, consisting of from 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and forty guns.

The battle which ensued was severe and sanguinary. The field of action was a sandy plain, covered at intervals with a low and thick jungle, and broken by sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle and these undulations, and opened a severe cannonade on our advancing troops. It was vigorously replied to by our artillery, which, though lighter than that of the Sikhs, in the end gained the mastery. Meanwhile one portion of our cavalry turned the enemy's left, chased the Sikh horsemen from the field, swept along the rear of their line, silenced their guns for a time, and rode through their battalions. Another portion of our cavalry at the same time threatened their right. The attack of the British infantry, led by Major-generals Harry Smith, Gilbert, and M'Caskill, then commenced, and in the words of the Commander-in-Chief, 'the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they had little expected.' After the battle had lasted about an hour, the British infantry were ordered to charge with the bayonet, and broke the enemy's ranks at every point, driving them from position to position; and night only saved them from much heavier losses than they encountered, though the slaughter must have been very great. Seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre, fell into the hands of the victors. Unfortunately the loss in this encounter was on our part severe, amounting in killed and wounded to 872; but it was felt chiefly because in the list of the killed appeared the names of men who had done the country eminent service, like the veteran Sir Robert Sale (the hero of Jellalabad, one of the best soldiers this country ever produced), and Major-general M'Caskill, another eminent Afghan soldier of great experience and gallantry. The former had his left thigh

shattered by a grape shot, and the wound proved mortal; the latter was shot through the heart and immediately expired. There were young officers also, like Herries, Pollock, and Munro, of the highest promise and the most conspicuous bravery, who on this occasion shared with them a soldier's grave.

The Sikhs, though defeated, were not dispersed. They still vastly exceeded the British forces in the numbers both of men and of guns, and their confidence in their own valour was not abated. They even ventured to hover about the British camp on the day after their stoutly-fought battle, and our troops were repeatedly required to get under arms to repel their threatened attacks.

On the evening of the 19th two European regiments—the 29th and 1st Bengal Light Infantry—marched into the British lines. They had made almost incredible exertions to get forward to take part in the battle of Moodkee, but they fortunately arrived in time to compensate for the losses which the action of the previous day had occasioned. The Governor-General at this stage, in order to strengthen the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, offered to serve under him as second in command—a step which, though censured by some military martinets, was justified by the need of some efficient and experienced officer to supply the loss of Sale and M'Caskill, and showed that the Governor-General was possessed of an extraordinary share of generosity.

The Sikh forces that crossed the Sutlej amounted to 70,000 men. A portion of them, as we have seen, had taken up a position not far from Ferozepore, while the main body had intrenched themselves at the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles in advance towards Moodkee, which they surrounded with a double circuit of works. It was a portion of the army from Ferozeshah that had fought the battle of Moodkee. The survivors of that bloody field had rejoined the main body, and contributed to strengthen their position.

It was not until the 21st that the British army was in a condition to move against the enemy. The movement was made in conjunction with General Littler, who was instructed to leave Ferozepore in good time, so as to form a junction with the advancing army at a particular spot pointed out by the Commander-in-Chief. So accurately were the calculations made, that the two detachments met with the most perfect punctuality at the place agreed on. The junction of the two bodies raised the British army to about 16,000 or 17,000 men. They advanced to storm the Sikh position—an irregular polygon—in two lines; the first composed of Littler's corps, Wallace's (late M'Caskill's), and Gilbert's, while Sir Henry Smith's division of infantry formed the second line. The cavalry, with the horse artillery, were on the flanks; the heavier guns were massed in the centre. The conflict was obstinately contested, and when night fell, and for a brief space separated the combatants, the result was still doubtful. The right wing, commanded by General Gough, after a desperate struggle and heavy losses, forced its way over the ramparts, and bivouacked for the night within the enemy's position. But the left wing, under Sir Henry Hardinge, was less fortunate, and after penetrating within the inner line of the enemy's works, was obliged to withdraw from them, and to pass the night outside. The night was spent by our troops, surrounded by the dead and the dying, suffering from cold, hunger, and thirst, within hearing of the cries and groans of their wounded comrades, amid exploding shells and mines, tumbrils, and ammunition carts. It was evident to all that there was no alternative on the morrow but victory or utter destruction. No one, however, bated a jot of heart or hope, and the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General went from corps to corps encouraging the men with the assurance of victory.

'The long night,' as General Gough terms it, at length wore away, and the contest was renewed as soon as there was light

enough to show the enemy. The fight was commenced by the artillery, but it soon appeared that the British were overmatched as regarded both the number and the weight of their guns. The Sikhs had upwards of 100 pieces, many of which were of battering calibre, and they speedily struck down our artillery; men and horses, and guns and ammunition carts, were rolled over, or blew up with a frightful explosion. There remained no resource but to charge with the bayonet, and though the cannon shot poured on them like hail, our infantry carried the inner works at a rush, entered the village, swept the whole of the enemy's position, and captured his artillery.*

Scarcely had this success been attained when the Sikh army of reserve appeared upon the scene. They had quitted, at an early hour in the morning, the intrenched camp which they occupied some miles above Ferozepore, and now the advanced guard, commanded by Tigh Singh, opened upon our troops a murderous fire of artillery. In a little they drew off; but it was only for the purpose of waiting the arrival of the reinforcements which were rapidly coming up, and by and by 30,000 men with cavalry and guns approached the British position. Matters looked very critical even to the indomitable Commander-in-Chief himself. 'The only time I felt a doubt,' he wrote, 'was towards the evening of the 22nd, when the fresh enemy advanced with heavy col-

umns of infantry, cavalry, and guns, and our cavalry horses were so thoroughly done up that they could not command even a trot.' The artillery ammunition was completely expended, so that our troops were unable to answer with a single shot. At this critical moment the Commander-in-Chief directed our almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks of the enemy at once, and prepared the infantry to support the movement. A panic seized the Sikhs, and they abandoned their guns. Our infantry, giving them no time to recover, advanced with a cheer and captured the pieces, which were instantly spiked. The enemy, fancying that our cavalry were about to seize the fords and cut them off from their own side of the Sutlej, fled with all possible speed, and never halted till they had put the river between them and the Feringees.

The night was passed in anxiety and watchfulness, and as no supply of provisions had come up the sufferings of all ranks were severe. Fortunately the Sikhs made no immediate attempt to renew the contest, which had cost the vanquished 2000 men, and the victors the loss of 694 killed and 1721 wounded. Among the former were a number of officers of distinguished reputation, including Major Broadford, of whom Sir Henry Hardinge said, 'he was brave as he was able in every branch of the political and military service,' Colonel Wallace, Colonel Taylor, and Major Fitzroy Somerset, military secretary to the Governor-General, 'the brave son of a brave and most distinguished father.' Next day Sir Henry issued an order to the army, in which, after paying the tribute that was due to the heroism of the troops, he invited the survivors of the fight to assemble near the Governor-General's tent 'to unite in returning thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the success with which he had crowned their efforts.'

The Sikh army, though twice defeated and considerably reduced in numbers, were still determined to renew the contest.

* An incident, which occurred at this crisis places in a striking light the heroic character of the Commander-in-Chief. 'Seeing a part of his line reel and stagger under the fire, he bethought him that if he could divert even a portion of the cannonade for a few moments to another point, the crisis of the battle would be passed. He forthwith rode forward, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and making himself prominently conspicuous to the Sikhs' gunners, moved slowly to one side, as if for the purpose of reconnoitring their intrenchments close at hand. In an instant almost every gun in the battery was turned upon him. The shot ploughed up the dust about him so as well-nigh to hide both him and his horse from the enemy's view; yet not one took effect, and so complete was the diversion that the line of infantry felt as if relieved, and with a shout sprang forward. The next instant saw the redoubt with all the artillery which it contained in their possession.'

Leaving Ferozepore open, they took up a position on the Sutlej near Sabraon, which did great credit to the military skill of their European advisers. They formed an intrenched camp, protected on both flanks by a bend of the Sutlej—a deep and broad river—and covered in front with batteries, redoubts, and strong breastworks. They constructed a bridge of boats with a good ford beside it, by which they could cross to their own side of the river; and on the high ground there they placed their heaviest cannon in battery, which completely commanded their intrenched camp if it should fall into the hands of the British.

In the exhausted state of his army, Sir Hugh Gough was compelled to wait for reinforcements of men, horses, cannon, and ammunition, which came up in small detachments; and meanwhile he contented himself with watching the course of the river from Rooper down to Mendote, a line of about twenty-four miles in extent. By the end of January, 1846, he had succeeded in collecting a force of about 30,000 men of all arms, divided into thirty-one battalions of infantry and nine regiments of cavalry, with 100 pieces of artillery. Finding that the British general did not move, the Sikhs took heart and resolved to attack Loodianah, which was held by Brigadier Godby with one regiment of native infantry, a battalion of Ghoorkhas, and a battery of guns. Accordingly, a large force of all arms, under Runjeet Singh, crossed the Sutlej and marched upon that important post. The Commander-in-Chief, on receiving notice of this movement, immediately despatched a brigade under Sir Harry Smith to counteract the operations of the enemy, which, if successful, would have interrupted the whole line of the British communications, and have done great mischief to the strategy of the campaign. General Smith performed the service intrusted to him with remarkable skill and intrepidity. He first of all outmanœuvred the Sikh forces, and then encountering them at Aliwal inflicted on them a signal defeat, which completely

baffled their designs, and effectually secured the communications of our army.

Nothing now remained to finish the campaign, which had been thus far successful, but to dislodge the enemy from his position at Sabraon, an enterprise of great difficulty and danger. Several plans for that purpose were proposed and discussed, and it was at last resolved to adopt the first and most obvious, and to storm the intrenched camp. The enterprise was very difficult, for the enemy's works were constructed with great care and skill; and the country in front of them being everywhere flat and open, all the approaches to the outer face of the camp had to be made under a tremendous fire of artillery, in the number and weight of which we were still surpassed by the enemy. Preparations for this struggle, on which the fate of the Sikh empire depended, were made with the utmost care. Sir Harry Smith and his brigade were called in from Aliwal; and taking advantage of a fall of rain which had swelled the ford and left the Sikhs only the bridge by which they could cross the river, Sir H. Gough attacked the camp on the 10th of February. A vertical and enfilading cannonade first of all had the effect of shaking the enemy in his lines, and then the infantry charged with the bayonet. The struggle was long and severe. The Sikhs fought with desperate courage; but in spite of their discipline, their great superiority of numbers, and their well-served artillery, they were at last totally defeated, and driven out of their camp. The British lost 320 killed, including General M'Laren, Major-general Dick, and Brigadier Taylor, and 2063 wounded; but the slaughter of the Sikhs was sickening to hear of, and great numbers were drowned in attempting to make their escape by the river into their own territory. At least 5000 lost their lives, and all their guns and baggage were taken.

The British lost no time in following up this signal victory. They at once entered the Punjaub, and began their march to Lahore. On the 9th of March, 1846, a

treaty was concluded between Dhuleep Singh and the Governor-General, by which the Maharajah renounced all claim to the territory south of the Sutlej; ceded the Doab between the Beas and the Sutlej, and the hilly country between the Beas and the Indus, including Cashmere and Hazara; paid 5,000,000 rupees; disbanded the greater part of his forces; consented to the severance from his territory of a new principality to Gholab Singh, the head of the British party at the court of Lahore; and agreed to other terms which placed the Punjab under the control of the Indian Government. The treaty in the meantime added largely to the security and resources of our Indian empire, but it was not of long duration.

The state of public feeling between Great Britain and the United States had for some time been the reverse of satisfactory. Disputes about the *Caroline* steamboat by some Canadian loyalists; the arrest of Mr. McLeod, a British subject, while engaged in transacting business in New York, on the charge, utterly unfounded, that he had been concerned in the destruction of the *Caroline*; the right of search question; and the refusal of the British authorities at Nassau, in New Providence, to detain the slaves who had obtained possession of the *Creole*, and carried her to that island—had led to complications which at one time threatened to embroil the two countries in war. A number of the States, notably the State of Pennsylvania, had borrowed large sums of money from Englishmen and Scotchmen for the purpose of constructing canals, railroads, and other public works, and had repudiated their debts in the most shameless manner. This proceeding, of course, gave rise to a good deal of angry feeling in Britain, and was exposed by Sydney Smith in his petition to Congress and Letters on American debts. The pungent wit of these celebrated papers was keenly felt by the thin-skinned Americans, while the solvent States and the men of honour and honesty in every part of the country writhed under the witty canon's

indignant exposure of this 'act of bad faith,' 'this gigantic bankruptcy,' the 'total want of shame with which these things had been done, the callous immorality with which Europe had been plundered, and that deadness of the moral sense which seemed to preclude all return to honesty, and to perpetuate this new infamy.*' The unprincipled annexation of Texas, followed by the invasion of Mexico, purely for the extension of slavery, was strongly condemned by our people, much to the anger and disgust of the slaveholders and their political partizans.

While such was the state of feeling in the two countries questions of considerable difficulty had to be settled by their respective Governments. The boundary between the State of Maine and Canada had long been matter of dispute between the British and the Americans; and in the existing temper of the two nations it was not improbable that skirmishes along the frontiers might involve them in all the horrors of war. The line claimed by each had been carefully examined by Commissioners sent out by Lord Palmerston in 1839, and their report was adverse to the American claim. The question was then referred to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands; but his award did not give satisfaction to either party, and was in consequence set aside. In this state of affairs Sir Robert Peel, in February, 1842, sent out Lord Ashburton (Mr. Baring), who had important commercial relations with America, as a special ambassador to Washington with full powers to settle this question. By his exertions the matter was amicably arranged, and a treaty which settled the boundary question was signed on the 9th of August following.

* Mr. Webster, much to his credit, and to the risk of his popularity, indignantly denounced the repudiating States. 'If I belonged to a deeply indebted State,' he said, 'I'd work these five fingers to the stumps; I'd hold a plough, I'd drive a plough; I'd do both before it should be said of the State to which I belonged that she did not pay her debts. If it costs us our comforts, let us sacrifice our comforts; if it costs us our farms, let us mortgage our farms. But don't let it be said by the proud capitalists of England "You don't pay your debts." Until this is done, you and I cannot feel as if we could draw a free breath.'

Complaints were made at the time by certain parties in England that undue concessions had been made to the United States, while on the other hand American politicians of the extreme school were equally dissatisfied with the arrangements, which they alleged were too favourable to Britain. But the great majority of the people of both countries were delighted at the settlement of a question which had long stood in the way of international concord.

There still, however, remained another obstacle to the establishment of peace and permanent amity—the dispute regarding the Oregon territory situated in North America beyond the Rocky Mountains. The matter was one of very great importance, for the disputed territory embraced both the Columbia (the largest river that flows into the Pacific), and Vancouver's Island, 278 miles long by sixty broad, possessing a fertile soil, with a mild climate, and abounding in coal of an excellent quality. The territory in dispute was regarded as of comparatively little importance at the time when it seemed quite out of the reach of immigrants, and there could scarcely be any communication between them and the mother country. But after we had obtained settlements in China within eighteen days' sail of the mouth of the Columbia, and our steam navigation had been extended into the Pacific, this remote region, furnishing as it did an excellent harbour and abundance of coal, became of very great value. The United States claimed a boundary which should give them both the Columbia river and Vancouver's Island, and would thus have put into their hands the complete command of the navigation. The British Commissioners, of course, refused to comply with this demand, and in 1818 the Governments agreed to leave the territory open to joint occupation for ten years—an arrangement which was certain to render a further settlement more difficult. When the end of the specified time drew near Mr. Rush the American Minister, and Mr. Canning,

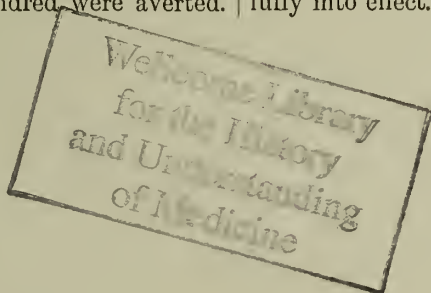
made an effort to bring about a settlement, but without success. The United States Government had meanwhile sent a frigate to explore the Columbia, and to establish a port at its mouth on what Congress declared to be 'within the acknowledged limits' of the American territory. Mr. Rush proposed a boundary which would have left the Columbia river to the United States and Vancouver's Island to Britain; but Mr. Canning refused to accept this offer, and the scheme which he proposed on the other hand was not acceptable to the American Minister. So keen grew the contention, that Lord Castlereagh, told Mr. Rush war could be produced by holding up a finger.

It was at last agreed that the period of joint occupancy should be indefinitely extended—the territory, with all its bays, harbours, creeks, and rivers being free and open to the subjects of both Powers. In 1843 several violent speeches on this question were made in Congress, and resolutions quite as violent and injudicious were adopted. A Bill was even brought into Congress for the occupation and military organization of the Oregon territory, and was carried through the Senate, but was ultimately abandoned. President Polk, in his inaugural address, announced that he was about to engage in negotiations with the British Government for a final settlement of the claims of the two countries, and he thought fit to add, 'Our title to the country of Oregon is clear and unquestionable, and already are our people preparing to perfect their title by occupying it with their wives and children.' These and other similar assertions were fitted to rouse angry feelings in the minds of British statesmen of all parties, who were strongly of opinion that the claims of the United States Government were unfounded, and that the Oregon territory belonged to Britain both by right of discovery and by right of treaty. Sir Robert Peel, amid the enthusiastic applause of the House of Commons, concluded a temperate

but firm speech on the subject by saying, 'We have a right to this territory of Oregon which is clear and unquestionable; we desire an amicable adjustment of the differences between ourselves and the United States; but if, after having exhausted every effort to obtain it our rights are invaded, we are resolved and prepared to defend them.'

The firm attitude thus assumed by our Government, supported by the leaders of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, exercised a salutary influence on the American President and his advisers. The leading politicians in the Congress were loud in their denunciations of the ambition of Great Britain; and the Irish residents and their representatives were, as usual, clamorous for war. But wiser counsels prevailed. The moderate and really patriotic American citizens made their voices heard at this crisis, and the shocking calamity and wickedness of a war between two nations of common kindred were averted.

Lord Aberdeen offered, as a compromise, that the dividing line should be 'the forty-ninth degree of latitude from the Rocky Mountains west to the middle of the Channel separating Vancouver's Island from the mainland; thence southerly through the middle of the Channel and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific.' His offer was accepted, and the Oregon Treaty, concluded on 15th June, 1846, at length settled this troublesome and dangerous question, and secured to Great Britain Vancouver's Island and the free navigation of the Columbia river. The judicious and fortunate settlement of this dispute was one of the last and most praiseworthy acts of Sir Robert Peel's Government, which a strange combination of events and of parties now brought to a close. To understand how this unexpected result was brought about, it will be necessary to give a sketch of their financial policy, and in what circumstances it was finally carried fully into effect.



END OF VOL. II.



Donald Ross

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