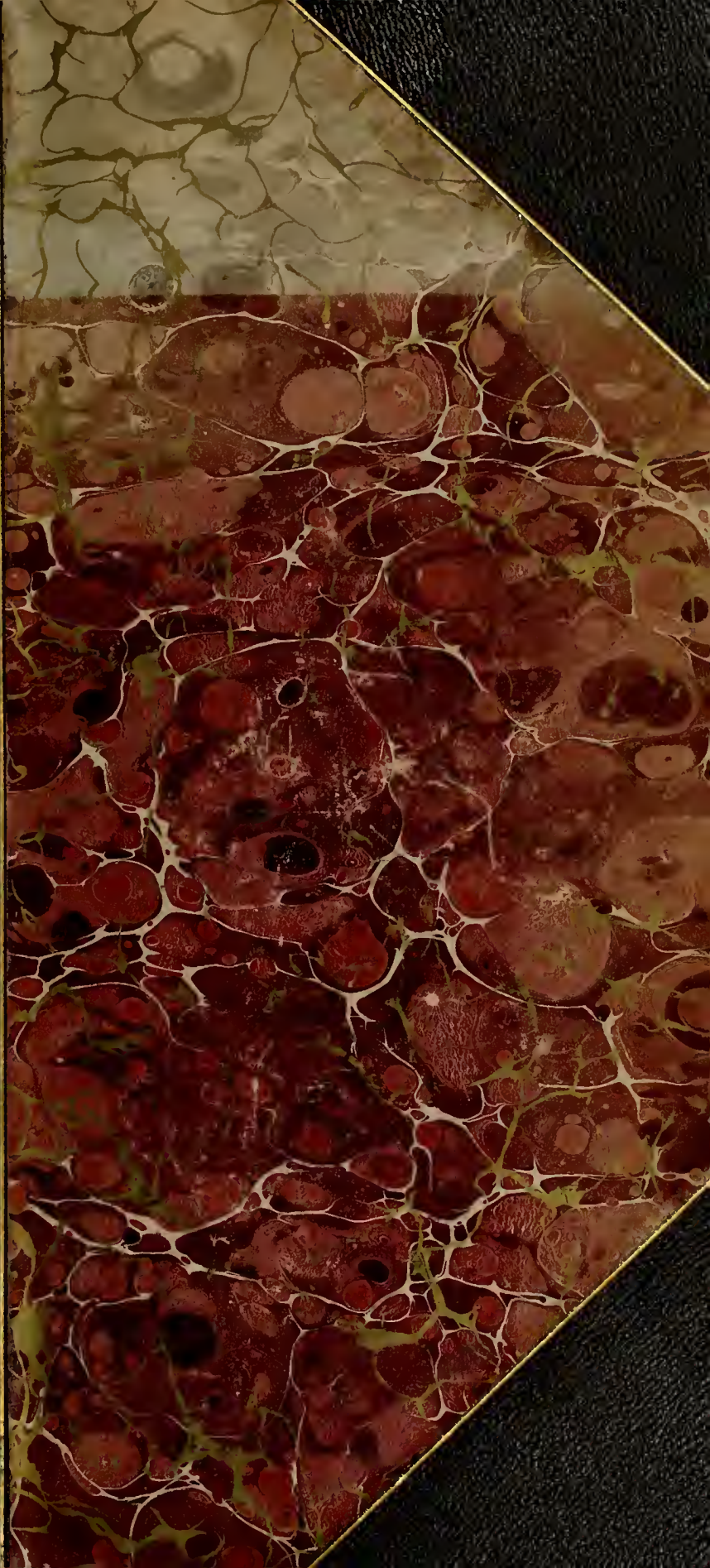


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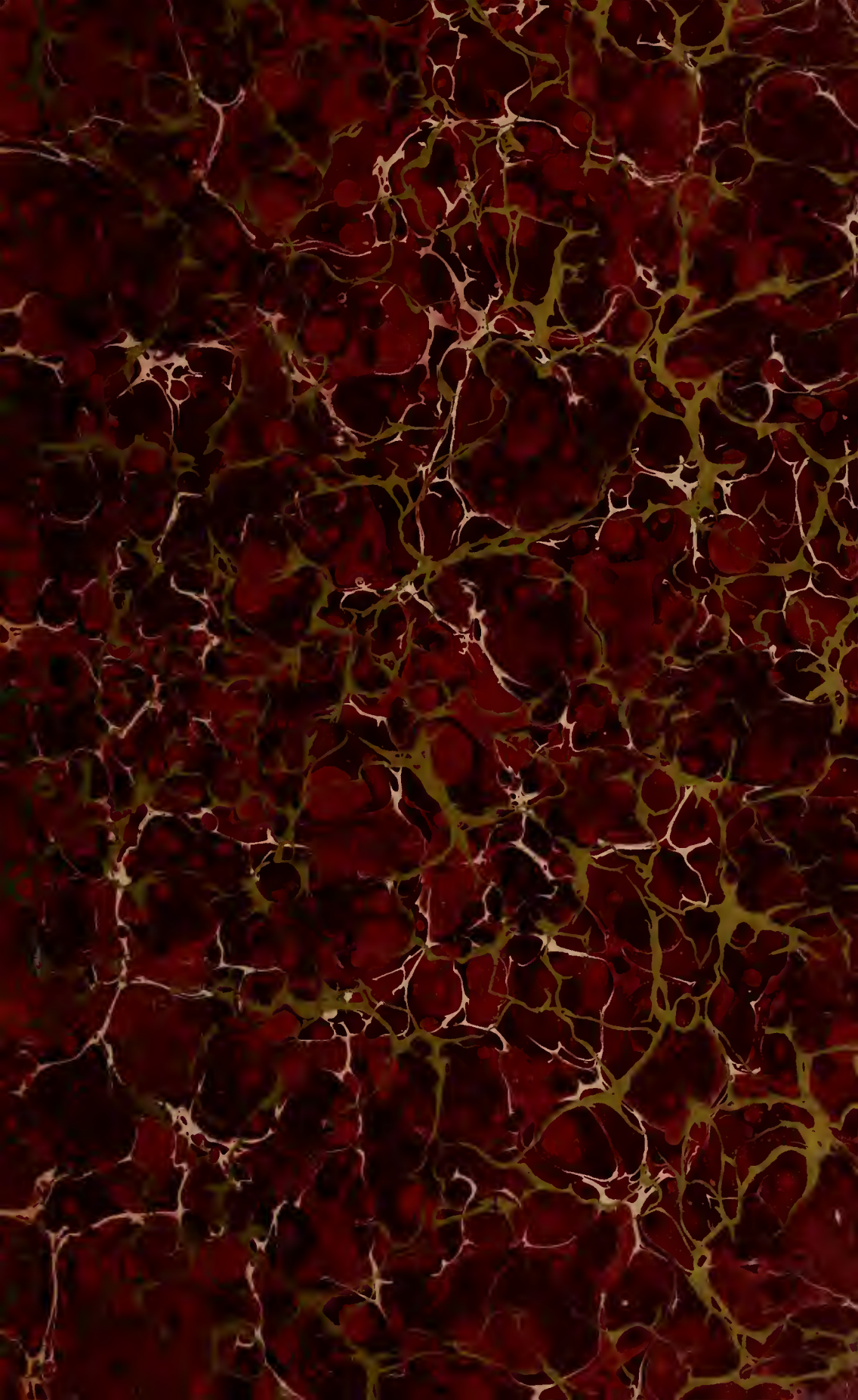




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THE POPULAR
HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

An Illustrated History

OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

VOLUMES I. TO VIII.

BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME IX.

FROM THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT, FEBRUARY, 1849, TO THE FALL OF
LORD BEACONSFIELD'S SECOND MINISTRY, APRIL, 1880.

CONTINUED

BY PHILIP SMITH B.A.



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PREFACE TO VOL. IX.

THE request to add another volume to Charles Knight's "Popular History of England" came to me with a claim of personal gratitude, as well as of friendship for a man whom to know was to love. I am well assured that I utter the feeling of a generation, whose early lot was cast in the days, not of cheap novels, but of the "Penny Magazine" and the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," when I say that words are inadequate to express our gratitude for the taste for wholesome literature which it was Charles Knight's great desire to create, and for the wide range of information, which is only second in value to intellectual discipline,—or rather, is its necessary complement. I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging, that the reading which he thus provided for my youth served, in a manner and degree for which I have ever since felt grateful, to prepare me for the labours, in literature and education, of now nearly half a century, which began by an association with him and my venerated friend George Long, in the "Penny Cyclopædia." Therefore it is that I offer this volume as the tribute of my regard for the memory of CHARLES KNIGHT, as well as a continuation of the historical work which will remain his chief literary monument.

I believe I have shown my true respect for my predecessor by abstaining from any attempt to imitate his style and manner. Every worker must work in his own way; and I have taken, as the humble object of mine, that simple rule which was laid down alike by the "father of history" and by the first historian of England, to relate the plain facts as they have been received from trustworthy sources of information. Adopting the words of the Venerable Bede:—"Lectorem suppliciter obsecro ut, si qua in his quæ scripsimus aliter quam se veritas habet posita repererit, non hoc nobis imputet, qui, *quod vera lex historiæ est*, simpliciter ea, quæ fama vulgante collegimus, ad instructionem posteritatis literis mandare studuimus."

How especially needful this apology is for the writer of contemporary history, can only be fully understood by the practical lesson which the attempt brings home to him, as to the necessary imperfection of its sources. Let any one consider how our traditional knowledge, both of remote and recent

history, is becoming daily confirmed or transformed—often, happily, the former rather than the latter—by the unearthing of new sources, from the inscriptions of Egypt and Assyria, down to the papers and memoirs of our own contemporaries,—and then reflect on the secrets yet to be made known when the cabinets of statesmen are unsealed. Two conspicuous examples may be cited in connection with the present work. To have written it, with any approach to satisfaction, without the “Life of the Prince Consort,” was an impossibility which is emphasized by the sense that a main fountain of truth is cut off at the point where that work ends. The other case is the “Life of Viscount Palmerston,” the true character of which might have been exhibited by many a series of *blank pages* between those which the biographer gives, acting on that principle of prudent and necessary reserve which he plainly avows. But till the time comes for unsealing the closed pages of history, the record of those already open is full of interest to a generation which has lived, or grown up, amidst the events which make the reign of Victoria as illustrious as any in our annals, and brightened, as none before it has ever been, by the reflection of the personal virtues of the Sovereign, her stedfast discharge of all her duties to her people, and her irreproachable fidelity to the Constitution.

Of the other chief difficulty of the contemporary historian, I have only to say, that the reader who finds any political partisanship in this volume will have achieved that triumph of “the higher criticism,” which consists in discovering what was *not* in an author’s mind.

PHILIP SMITH.

New Year’s Day, 1883.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
CHAPTER I.—A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1848	1
INTRODUCTORY RETROSPECT.—New Epoch of 1849.	
CHAPTER II.—A.D. 1849	8
LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S GOVERNMENT—State of Parties—European Revolutions—Foreign Policy.	
CHAPTER III.—A.D. 1849 (and to 1868)	17
DOMESTIC POLITICS—Free Trade—Navigation Laws—Jewish Disabilities—Parliamentary Oath.	
CHAPTER IV.—A.D. 1849	25
STATE OF IRELAND—The Queen's First Visit.	
CHAPTER V.—A.D. 1848-9	33
STATE OF THE CONTINENT: The counter-Revolution—INDIA: Conquest of the Punjab.	
CHAPTER VI.—A.D. 1848 to A.D. 1852	43
THE CHOLERA—Sanitary Improvements—Attacks on Her Majesty's Person.	
CHAPTER VII.—A.D. 1850	51
POLITICS AND LEGISLATION—Dispute with Greece—Great Debate—Death of Sir Robert Peel.	
CHAPTER VIII.—A.D. 1850-1	66
THE QUEEN AND LORD PALMERSTON.	
CHAPTER IX.—A.D. 1850-1	74
THE PAPAL AGGRESSION—The Tractarian and Ritualistic Movements—Ecclesiastical Titles Act—Resignation and Return of the Ministry.	
CHAPTER X.—A.D. 1851	89
PRINCE ALBERT AND THE GREAT EXHIBITION.	
CHAPTER XI.—A.D. 1851	102
FRANCE: Usurpation of Louis Napoleon—Dismissal of Lord Palmerston.	
CHAPTER XII.—A.D. 1852	111
FALL OF THE RUSSELL MINISTRY—First Ministry of LORD DERBY and Mr. Disraeli—Dissolution of Parliament—Death of the Duke of Wellington—NAPOLEON III. Emperor of the French.	
CHAPTER XIII.—A.D. 1852	121
FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY—State of Parties—Ministry of Lord Aberdeen.	
CHAPTER XIV.—A.D. 1853	133
MR. GLADSTONE'S GREAT BUDGET—The Eastern Question—India—Arctic Exploration.	
CHAPTER XV.—A.D. 1854	154
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS—The Session—Reform of the Universities—The Crown and Constitution.	
CHAPTER XVI.—A.D. 1854 to A.D. 1855	161
THE EASTERN QUESTION: RETROSPECT—Russia and Turkey.	
CHAPTER XVII.—A.D. 1855 to A.D. 1856	177
CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN WAR—France, Russia, Austria, and Turkey—Mission of Prince Menchikov—The Vienna Conferences—War between Russia and Turkey.	
CHAPTER XVIII.—A.D. 1854-5	195
ENGLAND AND FRANCE DRAWN INTO THE WAR.	
CHAPTER XIX.—A.D. 1854-5	211
THE CAMPAIGN ON THE DANUBE.	

	PAGE
CHAPTER XX.—A.D. 1854	227
EXPEDITION TO THE CRIMEA.	
CHAPTER XXI.—A.D. 1854.....	241
THE CRIMEAN WAR—BATTLE OF THE ALMA.	
CHAPTER XXII.—A.D. 1854	251
SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL—The Flank March—Failure of the First Attacks.	
CHAPTER XXIII.—A.D. 1854	263
BALACLAVA AND INKERMAN; AND WINTER TROUBLES.	
CHAPTER XXIV.—A.D. 1855	286
FALL OF LORD ABERDEEN'S GOVERNMENT—DEATH OF THE CZAR NICHOLAS.	
CHAPTER XXV.—A.D. 1855	298
LORD PALMERSTON'S FIRST MINISTRY—The Vienna Conferences—Domestic Legislation.	
CHAPTER XXVI.—A.D. 1855	308
THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL.—Battle of the Tchernaya—Defence and Surrender of Kars.	
CHAPTER XXVII.—A.D. 1856	316
THE PEACE OF PARIS.—Difficulties in its Execution—Roumania (1856-1881)—Maritime Law—Italy—Domestic Legislation.	
CHAPTER XXVIII.—A.D. 1857 to A.D. 1860	328
THE SECOND AND THIRD WARS WITH CHINA—Triumph of Lord Palmerston in the Election of 1857.	
CHAPTER XXIX.—A.D. 1857-8	337
THE INDIAN MUTINY.	
CHAPTER XXX.—A.D. 1858	351
FALL OF LORD PALMERSTON—LORD DERBY'S SECOND MINISTRY—TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE CROWN.	
CHAPTER XXXI.—A.D. 1859 to A.D. 1860	360
FALL OF LORD DERBY—LORD PALMERSTON'S SECOND MINISTRY—The War in Italy—Commercial Treaty with France—Mr. Gladstone's Great Budget (1860)—Paper Duty—Lords and Commons—American War of Secession.	
CHAPTER XXXII.—A.D. 1861-1865	369
FIVE YEARS OF CALM AND PROSPERITY—Relations with America—DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT (1861)—Dissolution of Parliament—Triumph and Death of Lord Palmerston—EARL RUSSELL'S SECOND MINISTRY.	
CHAPTER XXXIII.—A.D. 1866 to A.D. 1868	380
A NEW EPOCH—Ireland: the Fenians—Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—LORD DERBY'S THIRD MINISTRY—The <i>Second Reform Acts</i> (1867-8)—MR. DISRAELI Prime Minister—The Irish Church—Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions—Dissolution—Resignation of Government.	
CHAPTER XXXIV.—A.D. 1868 to A.D. 1874	395
MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY—The Irish Church, Land, and Education—Fall of the French Empire—Financial Prosperity: Mr. Lowe's Budgets—Dissolution of Parliament and Fall of the Ministry.	
CHAPTER XXXV.—A.D. 1874 to A.D. 1880.....	406
SECOND MINISTRY OF MR. DISRAELI (LORD BEACONSFIELD)—The <i>QUEEN Empress of India</i> —Russo-Turkish War—TREATY OF BERLIN—Afghan and Zulu Wars—Dissolution of Parliament and Fall of the Ministry—Death of Lord Beaconsfield (1881).	
CENSUS OF POPULATION.—A.D. 1841 to A.D. 1881.....	405
INDEX TO VOLS. I. TO VIII.....	425
INDEX TO VOL. IX.....	553

A full Summary of Contents is prefixed to each Chapter.



POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The new generation from 1848 to 1880—Changes of Men and Measures—Stability of the Constitution—Its causes: steady constitutional progress, with the Sovereign as the political centre of gravity—Influence of the Queen's character—Epoch marked by her Accession—Great questions settled between 1815 and 1837—Fundamental principles of the Constitution—Relations of Parliament, the Sovereign, Ministers, and People—The Queen's personal advantages—New epoch marked by the year 1849—Questions settled since 1837—Corn-laws and Free Trade—The Queen's Speech, February 1, 1849.

SINCE the time to which the last volume of this History was brought down, the reign of Queen Victoria, which had then lasted for eleven years, full of promise justified by large performance, has been happily prolonged through three more decades, or the period commonly counted as one generation of human life. The sons have risen up to share the work of their fathers, in which, too, under the progressive conditions of our public life, the daughters are taking no small share; but the work advances, upon the whole, in the same main tracks of political and social progress, not hasty, but sure and stable.

The veteran statesmen who guided our sovereign's first counsels, and even not a few of the younger generation, have passed away; and names then rising into note are now the watchwords of our political contests at home and our varying influence abroad. Measures which were then the subjects of fierce contention, advocated as essential to our happiness, or denounced as threatening the nation's very existence, have quietly become a part of the constitution, which has neither been regenerated nor destroyed by their operation. Amidst all changes, no breach has been made in the edifice of our polity, which rests on the basis of well-ordered freedom, widened and strengthened by experience from age to age. The essential unity of British patriotism, liberty, respect for law, and loyalty towards the sovereign, has been still unshaken by the fiercest conflicts of debate, and altogether unaffected by the rise and fall of opposite political parties. Whatever administration may have been in power, or however apparently divergent their lines of policy for the time, the great principles and aims of government have been the same, to effect, whether by change or resistance to it, that which has

been honestly regarded by each party as right, and for the welfare of Britain.

This stability—so much the more striking from its contrast with the scenes that have filled the history of other nations during the last thirty years—is chiefly the abiding fruit of our constitutional progress, slowly developed and steadily consolidated through the long course of ages; but there can be no doubt that its singularly firm continuance, amidst no small trials from conflicts even about first principles at home and revolutions and wars that have shaken the foundations of every other state of Europe, is due in no small degree to that unity of character and purpose which has been preserved by the continued rule of a sovereign whose reign has given a new force, coming home to each of her subjects, to what many had before esteemed the merely theoretical value of hereditary monarchy as the permanent personal centre of a nation's life. Never failing in the daily discharge of official duties; never shrinking from that personal share in the highest counsels of the state, without which the crown would be a worthless cypher; but never trespassing by so much as a hair's breadth on the constitutional principles, which have first obtained their full significance in the present reign, of parliamentary government and ministerial responsibility; and all the while keeping a deeper hold upon her people by the example and spell of an unblemished life and family affections; the Queen, who chose that right path at the eighteenth year of her youth, has followed it to the maturity of her seventh decade, through a reign which has more than equalled that of Elizabeth in length, while rivalling hers in glory and far surpassing it in those higher works of legislation which aim at making the people happy as well as the nation great. The work of recording the annals of this long reign is made the more inviting by the consistent thread of personal history, which links together a series of events the most varied and momentous.

A great epoch was marked, in the history of the monarchy as well as of the nation, by the accession of VICTORIA, a name—it is worth while to note, if only as a curious coincidence—of the same significance as that of “the British Warrior Queen,” who had succumbed to the Roman conquerors nearly eighteen centuries before. The sovereignty of BRITAIN,—for the common name, cherished by persistent tradition and the very nature of our island group, which has ever proclaimed that “Britain is a world of itself,” assert the continuity of *British* history,—the sovereignty of Britain, acquired just a thousand years before by her Saxon ancestors of the line of Cerdic; conquered and held by Norman and French kings, who shared the English blood, and gradually became entirely English in feeling as by birth; reconquered by a prince of the old British race blended with the English blood: inherited by his Scottish descendant, who united the several crowns of Britain on one head; forfeited by his grandson, and conferred by the will of a free people on a scion of the old race grafted on a German stock;—this sovereignty had descended in the person of the Queen's grandfather, to a young prince, whose first public utterance, inserted by his own hand in the speech from the throne, proclaimed that “Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of BRITON.”

The vicissitudes of domestic and foreign politics; which filled up his eventful reign of nearly sixty years, had, in their final result, left England at the climax of her influence abroad, and brought her within sight of a new constitutional development at home. The three crowns of the British Isles were at length joined into the United Kingdom, with one Parliament. Its dominions had been vastly extended; the loss of the American colonies having been far overbalanced by the gain of Canada and the Indian Empire, and by the foundation of new colonies in the southern hemisphere, containing the manifest germs of immeasurable progress. The conflict of more than twenty years with the republican energy of France and the mighty genius of her emperor, had established the naval supremacy of England, and left to her army the chief glory of liberating Europe from the universal conqueror; while the financial strain of the war had proved her almost unlimited resources. But the trials involved in that strain and the burdens it entailed—the high thoughts which stirred men's minds during the struggle, and the state of things which they had to face when peace gave time for domestic politics,—brought to a crisis a whole train of questions, constitutional, legal, and social, commercial and financial, of which the most pressing were settled during the twenty-two years from the end of the war to the accession of the Queen.

She found Parliament and the municipal corporations reformed; the severity of the criminal laws mitigated, and the whole legal system in a regular process of amendment; the political disabilities of Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics repealed; taxation not merely lightened after the burdens of the war, but more and more brought under the rule of sound principles, among which that of commercial freedom was fast gaining ground; the curse of slavery annulled in her colonies, and a good beginning made in breaking the bondage of ignorance at home. As the climax of all these improvements, and the means of carrying out all that still remained to be done, the constitutional relations of the co-ordinate powers of the state were for the first time clearly recognized by all parties, and fixed on a firm basis, which has been strengthened during every year of the Queen's long reign, alike by the growing political intelligence of her people, and by her own loyal resolve never to overstep the limits of her authority, any more than to suffer it, through indolence or weak concession, to be degraded into a dead letter or an empty form. The great principle of ultimate self-government by the people, acting through duly constituted authorities responsible to itself,—which some find in the primitive constitution of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and which, at all events, was solemnly affirmed by Edward I., when he first gave Parliament its full form by summoning the Commons to deliberate with the other two estates of spiritual and temporal peers, affirming that "What concerns all should be by all approved; and common dangers should be met by remedies provided in common;"—this fundamental principle of our constitution had, after a long and gradual development wrought out by vehement struggles under the Tudors and Stuarts to the height of armed conflict, been finally established at the Revolution. Whether the doctrine of an original compact

between prince and people,—in which he promises to govern according to the laws, and they on that condition accept him as king of their own free will,—were, as some doubt, a theoretic figment, or, as others affirm, a vital principle, attested at each coronation of a new sovereign; this doctrine was then solemnly recognized by the only authority capable of giving a decision. The people, as represented in the Convention of 1689, by a resolution which received full parliamentary sanction in the Bill of Rights, pronounced the abdication of James II. expressly on the ground of his “having endeavoured to subvert the *constitution of the kingdom* by breaking the *original contract between king and people*.” Henceforth and for all future time, until at least some new Parliament shall reverse this judgment, the doctrine, whatever its authority before, became a fundamental *fact* in our constitution; and it lies at the root of the Act of Settlement, the sole title under which our present line of sovereigns hold their crown, and by which all other possible claimants are for ever excluded. This last condition of our royal succession is too often forgotten, while people amuse themselves with curious questions of the reversionary rights of other descendants of the Stuarts, whose claims, superior on the hereditary ground to those of the House of Brunswick, were in fact set aside purposely and *once for all* by the Act of Settlement.* Doubtless in the case, happily beyond all reasonable conjecture, of a new settlement becoming necessary, Parliament would again, as always before, have due regard to the hereditary principle; but the *right* of any new line would be created solely by its appointment, as the organ of the people’s choice; and meanwhile the succession stands entailed on the descendants of the Electress Sophia, being Protestants, *to the exclusion of all other persons whatsoever*.

The practical development of these principles was still left to be slowly wrought out during the century and a-half between the Revolution and the accession of Victoria. The supreme legislative authority of Parliament, when King, Lords, and Commons worked together in harmony, had to be so interpreted as to provide a peaceful solution of cases in which they came in conflict; and that solution was found in the ultimate expression of the people’s will, when fairly tested through their representatives, without annulling the rights of the other branches of the legislature. The Upper House still exercises with full freedom, and often with such happy effect as to make us “thank God we have a House of Lords,” the power of initiating bills and of throwing out those sent up from the Commons; but it no longer insists on frustrating the clear desire of the nation, or bringing a great question to a dead-lock, when it has reached a stage at which either peers or people must give way. The sovereign retains the full right, let us rather

* All shadow of doubt as to the full meaning and extent of the Act was removed by a vote expressly negating an attempt to reserve hereditary rights. “While the first bill regulating the succession was in the House of Commons, a proviso was offered by Mr. Godolphin, that nothing in this Act is intended to be drawn into example or consequence hereafter, to prejudice the right of any Protestant prince or princess in their hereditary succession to the imperial crown of these realms. . . . It was rejected by 179 to 125.”—Hallam, “Const. Hist.” chap. xv.

say lies under the bounden duty—a right and a duty only the more clearly established by every attempt to question them—to bring every faculty of wise counsel and diligent work to the service of the State, in consultation with his ministers, but to leave to them the ultimate decision, as on them falls the sole responsibility—the sovereign himself being inviolable and legally unable to do wrong—of every act that belongs to the prerogative of the Crown, and of every measure proposed to Parliament in his name. Should the ministry decline the responsibility of a policy on which the sovereign insists, or the sovereign maintain an insuperable objection to measures deemed essential by his advisers, they have the option of retiring from his service, and he has the right to dismiss them and, in either case, to choose whom he will to act with and for him. But all this is strictly limited in practice; for it seems now to be established that, as the king cannot be made responsible for the dismissal of a ministry, that responsibility devolves on those who accept their vacant places; and, in the case of a voluntary resignation, the failure to find successors who will carry out the sovereign's policy, may make it necessary for him to recal his advisers and agree with them on the policy in dispute.

The difficulties arising out of such disagreements between king and ministers have been practically neutralized by the relations established between the ministry and Parliament. The principle has been fully settled, that no minister can continue in office without possessing the confidence of the House of Commons. Under peculiar circumstances, indeed, he may govern for a time, and even carry measures of the first importance—like the Reform Bill of 1867—through the sufferance or disunion of opponents, whose forbearance serves him, for the while, in lieu of confidence: but a vote of want of confidence, or a defeat which implies the same, is the inevitable signal for his resignation; unless, on an appeal to the people by dissolving Parliament—a step not to be taken without some fair prospect of success—the new elections should turn the balance in his favour. In the time of George III., the sovereign's strong will could maintain Lord North, as the instrument of resistance to the American colonies, against a hostile Parliament, till the force of events proved too strong; and the same sovereign's choice upheld the young William Pitt against Fox and North with an overwhelming majority at their backs, till a new election bore back king and minister in triumph on a wave of popular feeling. The like experiment, the last of its kind, was tried nearly fifty years ago, in the reign of the Queen's predecessor; when William IV. suddenly dismissed the ministry of Lord Melbourne on a pretext of transparent weakness, and sir Robert Peel undertook the government with a new Parliament. But when the Parliament of 1835 declared unmistakably, not so much against his measures as against his acceptance of office and attempt to hold it under such circumstances, the principle may be regarded as having been finally established, that the king's choice of his advisers—though still a power of no small influence in the state—is held in check by the consent or refusal of Parliament—and in practice of the House of Commons—to support the men of his choice. Under the actual conditions of government by

party, that choice is in fact generally prescribed, as between the great party leaders; but still with no small range as to the persons whom the sovereign may select. The present reign will furnish, as we proceed, some examples of the weight of the sovereign's decision, whom to "send for" to form a ministry.

This requirement of confidence from Parliament, as the condition of a minister's holding office, supersedes that old rough remedy for misgovernment, impeachment, except, of course, as a penalty for the case, almost unknown of late years, of criminal misconduct. It has also practically superseded the still undoubted right of the sovereign to refuse assent to a bill that has passed the two houses, by removing all occasion for its exercise. For, as the royal will is only exerted through a ministry in possession of the confidence of Parliament, the assent of the crown to every measure that passes the two houses is already implied, either by the initiative taken by ministers in proposing it, or by their consent to it if proposed by others, for its being carried against them would involve their resignation. No more striking contrast could be imagined, between an artificially manufactured constitution and one possessing the vitality and endurance due to a spontaneous growth, than is presented by the working of this royal prerogative, without which the sovereign would seem to have no voice in legislation. For that reason the French constitution of 1790 preserved it to the king, with the sole effect of making him ridiculous as *Monsieur Veto*, and insuring the downfall of his power on the first attempt to put it in practice; while in England the formula "*Le Roy s'avisera*"—so often uttered as late as the reign of William III.—has long been unheard, but the real influence of a wise sovereign in the conduct of affairs, brought to bear upon ministers in private counsel, and exercised under their responsibility in their public measures, is still a vital power in the state.

Such were the great constitutional questions, which had happily reached their final settlement in preparation for the accession of Queen Victoria. Nor was it a slight advantage that she came, in the innocence of youth, with a training which was believed to be good and wise, to succeed her aged uncles, of whom one had strained the patience of his subjects to the point of breaking, and the other had in many ways sorely tried their confidence. To all this was added the chivalrous feeling of respect for a woman who had just emerged from girlhood; and the crowning influence for good was soon added, in a Consort, whose depth of wisdom and height of virtue have but lately become fully known in the records of his life.

If the accession of Victoria forms a new era from which the nation seemed to make a fresh start in life with its youthful Queen, the point at which we resume the history of her reign forms an epoch as striking in our own history, and far more critical in that of Europe and the world, with which our own is inseparably intertwined. During the twelve years' interval, the impulse of organic change had exhausted itself in the successive measures which followed in the wake of Parliamentary Reform; and the feverish tendency among the lower orders to push forward towards republican equality had broken forth and collapsed in the abortive excesses

of Chartism, with a mixture of tragedy and ridicule. The one cause, which might have bred sedition in Great Britain, and made Irish disaffection really formidable—the distress and hunger due to bad seasons and the potato disease—had proved the occasion for settling another of the great questions which had divided the people and given rise to a vehement agitation. The taxation of the people's food for the supposed protection of native agricultural industry, condemned in public opinion by the reasonings of the Anti-Corn-Law League, had been found impossible to maintain when the staple food of Ireland had perished, and a bad harvest, following on several others, was sending up corn to famine prices in England. Nor was it a small advantage that the change was made with a near approach to unanimity, through its being forced upon the party who would naturally have opposed it, but who had been prepared for it by the previous advances of their leader towards Free Trade during four years of a brilliant administration. Borne into office in 1841 by a decisive tide of popular reaction against the growing weakness and especially the financial incompetence of the party which had held the government for eleven years since the crisis of Reform, sir Robert Peel proved himself the worthy heir of the financial and commercial policy of William Pitt; and the fruits, of which the earnest had just appeared from the Commercial Treaty of 1786, when it was swept away by the Revolution, were gathered with startling rapidity from the reformed tariff, which almost entirely removed the burden of taxation from articles of necessary food and from the raw material of manufactures. The prosperity which resulted from these changes, and the free commerce which brought the harvests of the world in aid of the produce of our own small islands with their uncertain climate, were doubtless the chief causes of that loyal spirit of contentment, against which the last effort of the Chartists, to kindle a new flame of sedition from the fires of revolution that raged upon the Continent, broke harmless on the 10th of April, 1848. The final triumph of the policy, of which this was one of the first-fruits, marks the epoch at which we resume our narrative, by the date fixed for the final abolition of the Corn Laws, on the 1st of February, 1849.*

We may here repeat the words in which the Queen announced these happy results in opening Parliament† on that same day, as a fitting link of our resumed narrative with what has gone before:—"I observe with satisfaction that this portion of the United Kingdom has remained tranquil amidst the convulsions which have disturbed so many parts of Europe. . . . It is with pride and thankfulness that I advert to the loyal spirit of my people, and that attachment to our institutions which has animated them during a period of commercial difficulty, deficient production of food, and political revolution."

* See vol. viii. p. 562.

† This was the second session of the Queen's Third Parliament, the fifteenth of the United Kingdom, elected in the autumn of 1847.

CHAPTER II.

State of Parties—Lord John Russell Premier—Sir Robert Peel and the Opposition—The Protectionists: Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli—Government on Sufferance—Topics of the Queen's Speech—Foreign Affairs—State of Europe since 1816—France—Italy: Election of Pius IX.—The Second French Revolution—War in Italy—Successes and Reverse of Charles Albert—Movement for Union in Germany—State of the Confederation—Revolutions at Vienna and Berlin—Parliament at Frankfort—The Vicar of the Empire—War in Schleswig-Holstein—Civil War in Austria—Revolt of Hungary—Francis Joseph Emperor—The Roman Republic—Foreign Politics in England—Lord Palmerston Foreign Minister—Principles of English policy—Lord Minto in Italy—Mediation in Sicily; and in North Italy—Mr. Disraeli on Foreign Policy.

THE government had been conducted, since the fall of sir Robert Peel in 1846, by LORD JOHN RUSSELL, with lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, in face of an opposition disorganized by the rupture made in the great Conservative party by the circumstances under which the Corn Laws had been repealed. SIR ROBERT PEEL, still its nominal leader, held a position of honourable reserve and forbearance towards the only government possible for the time, and supported them against the attacks renewed with increasing vigour by the ardent and rising remnant of the party who were now known as *Protectionists*. That party was led in the House of Lords by the keen and cultured intellect, the vehement spirit, and the brilliant eloquence of LORD STANLEY.* In the Commons, MR. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, whose audacious genius, sustained by an indomitable purpose, and tempered by qualities as yet undeveloped, had won him the precedence which he held for thirty years till death, now first appeared as the recognized leader of the party, in succession to lord George Bentinck, who had died the year before. It is a mark of the changes made in the course of a generation, that the last of these leaders, lord Beaconsfield, passed away in 1881, after twice filling the high place which few, save himself, then expected him to reach; while, at the same epoch, of the members of lord John Russell's cabinet, the only survivors were, by a curious coincidence, three members of the same family, earl Grey, sir George Grey†, and sir Charles Wood (lord Halifax).

* Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, born in 1799, known as lord Stanley (by courtesy) from the death of his grandfather in 1834, had been summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony of Stanley of Bickerstaffe in 1844. In 1851 he succeeded his father as 24th earl of Derby, and died on Oct. 23, 1869.

† Since deceased (1882).

The general aspect of domestic politics may be described as the continuance of that state of *government on sufferance*, which had resulted from the disorganization of parties in 1846, and which lasted till 1852; when the Conservative party, re-united under lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, having made their first brief experiment in office, gave way to the strong government formed by the coalition of sir Robert Peel's surviving followers with the Liberals.

The speech from the throne gave the gratifying intelligence, that commerce was reviving, that the revenue showed signs of progressive improvement, and that "the present aspect of affairs has enabled me to make large reductions on the estimates of last year." Though insurrection had been suppressed in Ireland, there was still a spirit of disaffection which called for the continuance of extraordinary powers for a time, while remedial measures were suggested, especially the amendment of the Irish Poor Laws. The chief legislative proposal for the United Kingdom was the crowning of the edifice of free trade by a change in the Navigation Laws, which was recommended in these cautious terms:—"If you should find that these laws are in whole or part necessary for the maintenance of our maritime power, while they fetter trade and industry, you will no doubt deem it right to modify their provisions."

The renewed war with the Sikhs on the north frontier of India caused the very serious announcement that "A rebellion of a formidable character has broken out in the Punjaub, and the Governor-General of India has been compelled, for the preservation of the peace of the country, to assemble a considerable force, which is now engaged in military operations against the insurgents."

Besides the general allusion to the troubles of the Continent, there was a special reference to the joint intervention of England and France in the affairs of Sicily, in the hope of stopping further effusion of blood, and to the negociation which the two powers were conducting with the King of Naples, "calculated to produce a permanent settlement of affairs in Sicily." To understand this reference, and the general policy of England, as conducted by lord Palmerston, with regard to the conflicts that were raging on the Continent—a policy which was one chief mark of attack by the opposition—a brief retrospect is necessary. Ever since the settlement of Europe by the Treaties of Vienna and the ascendancy gained by the despotic principles of the Holy Alliance over the Continent, the twofold spirit of liberty and nationality had been fermenting the more dangerously for its suppression, which denied it a vent save by revolution. To trace its working in the several states belongs to the history of Europe. The close alliance and mighty armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, maintained what their rulers called order; while Germany, broken up into petty states, and absorbed to a great extent in ideas rather intellectual than political, cherished only as a dream of the future a free and united Fatherland. In Italy, dominated in the north by the arms of Austria, which were ready also to support the corrupt government of the Papal States, and in the south by the despotism of Naples, of which an ignorant and indolent populace were

at once the slaves and instruments, the like ideas of unity and freedom wrought more actively in the form of secret conspiracy.

In 1830, the first great rupture of the dead surface calm, which the powers called peace, gave liberty to France and Belgium; with a result so permanent in the latter case, that the little kingdom, and Holland, made more tranquil by the separation, were the only continental kingdoms unshaken by the convulsions of 1848. Meanwhile France was experiencing that disappointment of each successive promise of well-ordered freedom, which had been her fate for half a century and was doomed to be still long repeated. A constitutional monarchy, raised on republical foundations, but hampered by a narrow franchise; and deeply tainted with corruption in many forms, was breaking down under the policy of "resistance" to popular demands, when the certain explosion broke out in the quarter where it was least expected.

The external pressure of the Austrian arms had served to conceal the powerful working of the party of "Young Italy" through the restless intrigues of Mazzini and the steadier policy of Cavour, till the very princes who were known to the world as despots found it needful for their own safety to head and endeavour to direct the movement, which offered them the tempting bait of their own emancipation from the galling ascendancy of Austria. Strange to say, the signal for revolution was given, however unconsciously, from what was deemed the very focus of civil as well as spiritual despotism. The world scarcely knew how firmly the idea of a free civic union had centred about Rome in the nobler minds of Italy in every age; and when Pope Pius IX. (elected June 16, 1846) began a course of administrative reforms, it was hoped that the cause of Italy had found its natural head. In 1847 the Pope proclaimed an amnesty for all political offences, authorized a national guard, and granted municipal institutions to the States of the Church. The Grand Dukes of Lucca and Tuscany made like concessions; and even the hated and despised tyrant of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand II., warned by disturbances in Naples and an open insurrection in Sicily—where the bombardment of Palermo won for him the nickname of Bomba—found himself obliged to grant a constitution (January, 1848). The Austrian occupation of Modena, Parma, and Ferrara, as the means of coercing the duchies and Rome, decided Charles Albert of Sardinia to assume the leadership of the Italian cause, which had been pressed upon him by Cavour and Massimo d'Azeglio. In February, 1848, he proclaimed the *Statuto*, which became the organic law of Italy; and in the same month, in France, the decision of M. Guizot's ministry against reform provoked the new revolution which drove Louis Philippe an exile into England under the travelling name of William Smith.*

This new victory of republicanism at its European centre gave the signal and encouragement to the revolutionary movement in all quarters. Lombardy and Venice rose in open revolt; and, when the Austrians laid siege to Milan, Cavour's organ, the *Risorgimento*, made this passionate appeal to arms:—"There is but one path open for the nation, the country,

* The progress of this second French Revolution has been followed in vol. viii.

the king—war! War at once and without delay! Lombardy is in flames: Milan is besieged: at all costs we must go to succour her" (March 23rd). Under the Italian tricolor of red, white, and green, in place of the royal flag of Piedmont, Charles Albert advanced to a rapid series of unhopèd-for successes, till, after his victory at Goito and the capitulation of Peschiera (May 29th and 30th), his officers saluted him "King of Italy." But the premature title proved a fatal mockery. His unwilling allies were already deserting the cause which they had joined from fear rather than favour. A fortnight before, the army of the faithless Bomba had crushed the liberals of Naples with the aid of the lazzaroni, and was now renewing the war against his Sicilian subjects. The Pope hesitated to grant the desire of Rome to march to the aid of Charles Albert. The Austrians, rallying within the quadrilateral of fortresses,* of which only one was lost, regained the mastery of all Venetia, except the city defended by her lagoons. Resuming the offensive with indomitable vigour, though in his 82nd year, Field-Marshal Radetzky defeated Charles Albert at Custoza (July 23rd), and drove him back to Milan; and his loss of Lombardy was confirmed by an armistice in the same month in which Messina was reduced by the bombs of Ferdinand (September 21st). The Italian cause seemed lost, but for the steadfastness with which Cavour and his associates of the moderate party laboured to check a rash renewal of the war, while watching over the faithful execution of the *Statuto*.

But it was not alone the prospect of Italian regeneration that engaged the sympathies of England and the anxieties of her statesmen. The great revolutionary movement seemed to have struck the hour—long dreamed of but deemed beyond the practical reach of hope—of a united Germany. No vital germ, even, of such unity was contained in the Federal Constitution, as settled by the Congress of Vienna. The petty principalities had no principle of cohesion, while religion and other interests formed permanently repulsive forces between the North and South; and the bond of union which might have been supplied by a powerful head was elaborately excluded. The presidency given to the Emperor of Austria, as a fictitious successor to the old imperial dignity which had come to an end in 1806—though his German states were but a small part either of his own empire or of Germany—was sure to be contested by the growing energy and ambition of Prussia, the representative of the progressive forces in the Confederation. In Frederick William IV. Prussia had at this time a king, whose enthusiastic but unstable character prepared him to be the ready but untrustworthy instrument of the popular movement, which Austria was made powerless to oppose, not only by the insurrection of Italy, but by revolution in her own capital.

In the same month of March, 1848, which was marked by the rising of Lombardy and Venice, an insurrection at Vienna drove Prince Metternich into exile, who had been the life and soul of imperial despotism (March 13th),

* This famous quadrilateral consists of Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, and Verona and Legnano on the Adige.

simultaneously with a whole week of disturbance and fighting in the streets of Berlin, which ended in the king's granting liberal reforms, and appealing to his people in a suppliant tone (March 18th). Four days later he published a proclamation, recommending the cordial union of the German princes and people *under one guiding hand*, proposing *himself* to be that leader, and "fusing and dissolving the name of Prussia into that of Germany"; and as a sign of this new era he assumed the German tricolor of black, red, and gold. On the 30th of March the Diet at Frankfort declared for a new Federal constitution, to be established by a Constituent Assembly, or Parliament, representing all the German states, which met at that imperial city on the 18th of May, the very day on which a new insurrection at Vienna drove the Emperor from his capital to Innsbrück in the Tyrol. While framing the constitution of a new German Empire, the parliament at Frankfort chose an executive head in the person of the Archduke John of Austria, with the title of *Vicar of the Empire* (July 12th). The writer of this record retains a vivid impression of the festive scene exhibited at Cologne on the visit of the Archduke with the King of Prussia to celebrate the sixth centenary of the foundation of the cathedral, whose completion was to be accomplished by the contributions of all Germany, as the sacred symbol of its accomplished union (August 15th). Ascending the Rhine under the bright sun of August, the banks were seen alive with festive groups, and the sombre ruined castles lighted up with the bright hues of the German tricolor. Salutes were fired from the towns in response to those which sounded from steamers crowded with armed contingents, bound on an errand which formed a curious episode in the German national movement, the crusade for the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein from the rule of Denmark. This interesting but tangled subject will find a fitter place in the record of the much wider issues which were involved in its solution.

While the Frankfort Assembly lingered over its work with very doubtful prospects, and the King of Prussia, who seemed designated for the imperial crown, had already begun a reactionary policy at Berlin, the Austrian revolution had blazed forth into a civil war. A constituent assembly met at Vienna on July 22nd; but, as in all the other disturbed states of Europe, except Sardinia, the mixture of excitement and distrust was too strong for the patient work of political construction. Upon a new insurrection at Vienna, stained by the assassination of count Latour, the minister of war (Oct. 16th), the emperor proclaimed his resolve to coerce his rebellious capital, which was taken by prince Windischgrätz with an army of 75,000 men, among whom a chief part was formed by the Croats under their Ban Jellachich (Nov. 1st). The Austrian power was saved from her own people by her Slavonic subjects.

The capture of the city was preceded by the defeat of an Hungarian army which had marched to its relief, for Hungary, the chief possession of the Austrian crown, was now in armed rebellion against its king. It seems proper here to clear up some vagueness in the ideas which are often connected with the Austrian Empire. It is from one of the lesser portions of his dominions that the sovereign takes the imperial style which was

assumed in 1805, on the eve of the renunciation (in 1806) of the ancient august title which had been handed down through a thousand years from Charles the Great.* By these two acts FRANCIS II., "Emperor (elect) of the Holy Empire," became FRANCIS I., "Hereditary Emperor of Austria." Till then he had been only an Archduke in virtue of his Austrian duchy, and king of Hungary and Bohemia; but the ducal and royal crowns were as separate as those of England and Scotland under the Stuarts before the Union, or as those of England and Hanover under the Georges.

The Hungarians, sharply severed from their sovereign's other states by their Magyar blood, and especially divided from his Slavonic subjects by a mutual antipathy, were jealous of their rights under the ancient crown of St. Stephen, which they had saved when they rallied to the cry, "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa" (*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa*). Their independence had been guaranteed by the imperial diet in 1790; but it was exposed to attempts at infractions for the sake of consolidating the new Austrian empire. This is not the place to describe the specific grievances which moved the Hungarians to take advantage of the general disturbances of 1848. They broke out into open revolt in September, and their diet appointed a provisional government under Louis Bathany and Louis KOSSUTH, whose name became afterwards the symbol of Hungarian nationality. At the end of that month they defeated the Slavonic forces led against them by the Ban of Croatia, who, as we have just seen, had his revenge a month later under the walls of Vienna. At this crisis in the affairs of Austria, a family council arranged the abdication of the imbecile emperor Ferdinand in favour of his nephew Francis-Joseph, a youth of eighteen, who at once made a stand against the revolution (Dec. 2nd). The Hungarians, who recognized no king till he had been accepted by their diet and invested with the crown of St. Stephen, rejected the new sovereign, and the diet branded as traitors all who should acknowledge him (Dec. 8th). The Austrians, while the war was suspended in Italy, pressed the Hungarians hard, and Buda-Pesth† was taken by Windischgrätz (Jan. 5, 1849); but a victory won by General Bem at Hermannstadt turned the tide, till, as we shall see, Austria called in the armies of Russia to her help.

At Rome also the fair promise of peaceful revolution led by a reforming Pope had been dashed by his own hesitation and by acts of sanguinary violence on the popular side, from which Pius IX. escaped in disguise to Gaëta, in the territory of Naples, whence he issued a protest against the acts of the provisional government, while the French Republic, now under the presidency of Louis Napoleon, sent an armed force to Civita Vecchia for his

* For a further explanation the reader is referred to the one work which exhausts the whole subject of the Empire and the Imperial titles, Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire." The title of Emperor *elect* (though the limitation was often ignored) is proper to emperors who were never crowned at Rome, including all those of the last four centuries, besides many earlier. From Maximilian I. inclusive (1493), the only "Roman Cæsar" who was crowned as Emperor was Charles V., and he was crowned at Bologna, not at Rome.

† The twofold capital of Hungary, situated on the opposite banks of the Danube, like London and Southwark on the Thames.

protection (Nov.). Within a few days of the meeting of the British Parliament, a constituent assembly at Rome declared the Pope deposed from his temporal government, and proclaimed a Republic under a triumvirate, of whom Mazzini was the chief (Feb. 8, 1849).

While the British people watched these vast agitations with a mixture of deep interest, sympathy qualified by distrust of the means and issue, and thankfulness for their own peace,—proved all the more by the futile attempt to disturb it on the memorable 10th of April,—the anxieties and labour entailed upon the Queen and her government may be measured by the following passage from the “Life of the Prince Consort”*:—“In a letter to Prince Albert (19th June, 1849) lord John Russell states, on the authority of lord Palmerston, that during the year 1848 no less than 28,000 despatches were received or sent out at the Foreign Office. ‘These 28,000 despatches in the year,’ the Prince says in his reply, ‘lord Palmerston must recollect, come to you and to the Queen, as well as to himself.’” The name of Palmerston had long become almost a magic by-word on the Continent, of mingled fear, respect, and hatred, as the symbol, not only of England’s resolve to protect her own subjects in the spirit of the ancient formula, *Civis Romanus sum*, but of a readiness to support the cause of liberty, sometimes with too little regard to the rights of independent states, or the limits of our power to enforce the counsels of equity and humanity. The fierce debates are now at rest which attended the course of the great statesman, who died at the height of honour of which all parties deemed him worthy; and the calm judgment of history on his foreign policy will probably differ little from that pronounced by the biographer of the Prince, with reference to this anxious time:—“At any moment circumstances might arise to involve this country in serious complications. While England could not stand aloof in cold indifference from what was passing around, it was above all important that she should maintain an attitude of complete neutrality in the conflicts which were everywhere going on between governments and people, so as to afford no cause for irritation on either side, and at the same time maintain her influence unimpaired, should the opportunity arise for successful mediation, or appeal be made to us at any time with this view. However we might as a nation desire to see other nations as free in their institutions and fortunate in their government as ourselves, it could only be from within—by the fitness of these nations for them, and by their own determined perseverance to obtain them—that these blessings could be secured. The existence of these conditions had yet to be proved, and in the meantime sound policy demanded that nothing should be done by us to offend or alienate the existing governments, who, if they should succeed in subduing the revolutionary forces which were now arrayed against them, would not be likely to forget that we had borne hard upon them in their hour of trouble. The necessity for this line of policy—a deviation from which might have left us without allies among the sovereigns of Europe—was constantly present to the minds of the Queen and Prince. Every com-

* Vol. ii. p. 64.

munication on foreign affairs, every phase of the almost daily changes in the current of events, therefore, engaged their most earnest attention. The discharge of this most anxious duty was made still more anxious by the fact that lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was somewhat prone to forget, in his enthusiasm for constitutional freedom, that, as England was not prepared to wrest it for other countries from their sovereigns by force of arms, despatches full of unpleasant truths unpleasantly put could only occasion sore and angry feelings towards this country, without advancing in any degree the cause which they were intended to serve."

Lord Palmerston's diplomatic intervention in the affairs of Italy was not uninvited. When Pius IX. had embarked on his reforms, and Austria had made the threatening move of occupying Ferrara, the Pope (with whom our jealousy for Protestantism had hitherto forbidden diplomatic relations) expressed the desire that our government would give him the assistance and moral support of some person of rank and experience. Accordingly lord Minto was sent to Rome in November, 1847, with directions to visit Turin and Florence on the way, conveying the assurance of English sympathy and encouragement to the courts of Sardinia and Tuscany. But more than this, he was to express to Charles Albert the pleasure with which her Majesty's government had heard of his promise to defend the Pope against Austria, and their surprise and regret at the threats of that power. After declaring the wisdom of progressive improvements, in terms which sound as commonplaces in English ears, but which foreign sovereigns, would probably resent as a lecture in constitutional principles which were not theirs, lord Palmerston's instructions declared that "Her Majesty's Government consider it to be an undeniable truth, that if an independent sovereign, in the exercise of his deliberate judgment, shall think fit to make within his dominions such improvements in the laws and institutions of his country as he may think conducive to the welfare of his people, no other government can have any right to attempt to restrain or to interfere with such an employment of one of the inherent attributes of independent sovereignty."* Before long the echo came back of an appeal to those attributes by sovereigns whose deliberate judgment rejected the improvements which *we* insisted on as conducive to the welfare of their subjects. The lesson in political wisdom and sovereign rights was enforced by what would sound to hopeful ears like a promise and threat of action; for lord Minto was authorized to say "that Her Majesty's Government would not see with indifference any aggression committed upon the Roman territory, with a view to preventing the Papal Government from carrying into effect those internal improvements which it might think proper to adopt." But the only fruit of the mission was the "*Vivas*" with which lord Minto was everywhere received: the papal court was deaf to all suggestions of support to us in Ireland in return for our sympathy with Rome. His efforts, also, at mediation between the King of Naples and the Sicilians, on the invitation of both parties, were frustrated by the news of the French Revolution. The joint inter-

* Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 35, first ed.

ference of the English and French fleets, to check the horrors attending the bombardment of Messina and Palermo, produced only a temporary armistice ; and the conveyance of some supplies to the insurgents furnished a ground of attack in Parliament.

Northern Italy seemed for a time to offer a more hopeful field for mediation. Stunned by the first successes of Charles Albert, and believing that Lombardy was lost, the Austrian Government asked for the "good offices" of England, going so far as to consent to give up that province, while lord Palmerston held that Charles Albert and his people had won a right to insist on a part, at least, of Venetia. In these negotiations Palmerston held fast to the traditional policy of the maintenance of the Austrian Empire, as "an object of general interest to all Europe, and to no country more than England ;" and he suggested that very measure of changing the reigning prince, which afterwards saved the empire. But unfortunately he was regarded at Vienna as the friend of Italy and the revolution ; and meanwhile the tide of war turned against Sardinia. France was now only restrained from marching to the help of Italy by England's joining her in a new effort of joint mediation, the first fruit of which was the armistice in September. A conference was at length arranged to meet at Brussels ; but no conference can do more than work out the details of an agreement on bases previously settled ; and now, while lord Palmerston no longer asked for Venetia, the successes of Austria emboldened her to refuse to give up Lombardy, and she ultimately declined to send a representative to Brussels.

The mediation was still in suspense when Parliament met, and Mr. Disraeli assailed the foreign action of the Government in that style of invective, which he once pronounced "an ornament of debate." Contrasting the promise of reduced estimates with the state of the whole Continent, he exclaimed : "Look at the state of France ! Look at the state of the whole centre of Europe ! I find in France a Republic without Republicans, and in Germany an Empire without an Emperor : and this is progress ! There wanted but one ingredient in the mess to make the incantation perfectly infernal. A Republic without Republicans, an Empire without an Emperor, required only mediation without an object to mediate about ; and the saturnalia of diplomacy would mix with the orgies of politics." Events soon proved that the picture was drawn with the insight of true genius ; but the mediation so sarcastically described was not quite fruitless. "The fact remains"—as the Prince's biographer says with truth—"that, by engaging France in that mediation, lord Palmerston bound France to a peace policy in the North of Italy, and thereby averted the hazard of an European war."^{*}

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 163.

CHAPTER III.

Domestic Politics—Mr. Disraeli on Free Trade and Reciprocity—Protectionist Agitation—The Navigation Laws—Their Origin and Modifications—Huskisson's Reciprocity Acts—Their Repeal proposed—Sentiment of the Opposition—Their Repeal carried—Debate on Local Taxation and Burdens on Real Property—Mr. Disraeli's Motion on the State of the Nation—Speech of Sir Robert Peel—Victory of Ministers—Sir Robert Peel's Letter to his Tenantry—New Scheme of Mr. Disraeli—Mr. Cobden's Challenge—His Speech at Aylesbury—Agitation for Financial and Parliamentary Reform—Lord John Russell on the "Manchester School"—Question of Jewish Disabilities—Election of Baron Rothschild—Debates in Parliament: Gladstone, Disraeli, Peel—Repeated Elections of Baron Rothschild—New action of Mr. Salomons—Sequel of the Contest—Compromise in 1858—"Parliamentary Oaths Act" of 1866—"Promissory Oaths Act" of 1868.

In domestic politics, the party led by lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli seized the occasion offered by the Queen's Speech to declare their resolve not to give up Protection for a lost cause, and to offer an uncompromising resistance to the repeal of the Navigation Laws. Mr. Disraeli maintained that Free Trade had failed in the trial, and ought to be superseded by a system based on reciprocity,—a declaration which lord Beaconsfield knew how to brush aside, when a season of distress revived the cry of reciprocity, thirty years later. He sounded the key-note of his future policy by declaring that his party stood there, not only to uphold the throne but the Empire, to vindicate the industrial privileges of the working classes and the reconstruction of the colonial system, and "to uphold the Church, not only assailed now by Appropriation Clauses, but by visored foes." Outside the walls of Parliament the Protectionists rallied their forces at a great meeting under the presidency of the duke of Richmond (May 1st). Resolutions were passed, that Free Trade had failed to produce the benefit predicted by its promoters, and had been followed by deep injury to many of the great interests in the country; and the meeting agreed to form a "National Association for the Protection of British Industry and Capital." At a later meeting in Drury Lane Theatre, under the same noble president (June 26th), lord Malmesbury avowed his belief that it was not yet too late to retrace the steps so rashly taken in 1846. He hoped the time would never come when the Free Trade theory would be consummated; "but should it please God in His anger that it should be effected, then would this great kingdom soon return to its normal and natural state—a weather-beaten island in a northern sea." The "soon" has had no visible part of its fulfilment in one

generation. Amidst such resistance and alarms, the principles of Free Trade were maintained and extended by the convictions of the nation and the support given to the government by the old Conservative party under sir Robert Peel. On the 14th of February, Mr. Henry Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, obtained leave to bring in a bill "to amend the laws in force for the encouragement of British shipping and navigation." Though these terms indicated the policy on which the Navigation Laws had been long maintained, and on which their repeal was now resisted by the Protectionists, yet their actual origin gives a striking example of the temporary and incidental issues on which great questions of policy are often determined. From an early period in our history there had been legislation for the encouragement of shipping and the training of mariners for the naval service, in which lies the surest strength and defence of England; but the exclusion of foreign vessels from English maritime commerce was simply a measure of retaliation against Dutch commerce, to punish the United Provinces for their refusal of a close alliance with the English Commonwealth. In October, 1651, on the motion of Whitelock, the Long Parliament passed an act, the substance of which was re-enacted in 1660, by "an act for the encouragement and increasing of shipping and navigation" (12 Charles II. c. 18). It provided that no goods should be imported into England from Asia, Africa, or America, except in an English-built ship, navigated by an English master, and having at least three-fourths of its crew English. Besides this, goods imported in a foreign ship from any European state were subject to a higher rate of duty than if imported in an English vessel. But, long before the time when these restrictions were condemned by the theory of free trade, they had been largely surrendered to the force of circumstances. Another great maritime republic sprang from our own bosom, to retaliate on the mother country the measure to which she became subject as a foreign state; and the Treaty of Ghent ended the conflict by placing the ships of Great Britain and the United States reciprocally on the same footing (1815). By an act of 1822, the provisions affecting Asia, Africa, and America, were repealed, and important relaxations were made in those relating to European commerce. Next year, a threat from Prussia of retaliatory duties on English ships, unless some relaxation were granted in her favour, led to the "Reciprocity Acts" of Mr. Huskisson, which authorized the king in council to permit the importation and exportation, at the same duties to which goods imported in British vessels were liable, of goods in foreign ships of such countries as should levy no discriminating duties on goods imported in British vessels; the vessels themselves, also, being subject only to the same tonnage-duties as the British; but, on the other hand, power was given to impose additional duties on the goods and shipping of those countries which should levy higher duties on British vessels than on their own.* Under these acts treaties of reciprocity had been concluded with the chief European states; and it now seems strange that the shreds left of the system, which had been thus given up in principle, should have been fought

* Porter's "Progress of the Nation," sect. iii. ch. ix.

for as if the safety of England's flag depended on their retention, rather than on the native energies of her sea-loving sons, and their enterprize in using the natural advantages which, until she sink into corruption and sloth, must secure her maritime prosperity, if not ascendancy. But it is the office of history to do justice to all sides of the great debates which have brought us to our present state; and we must respect the earnestness with which opinions, till lately held by most men as essential to the nation's welfare, were maintained to the last effort of a losing fight. As in other branches of the great Free Trade question, the losses inflicted on all for the supposed benefit of a few were obvious, and the theory which was frankly referred to in the Queen's Speech—"that these laws are in whole or in part necessary for the maintenance of our maritime power"—was but a traditional sentiment, since disproved in practice by the surer methods devised for manning the navy and keeping up a reserve of seamen, without protection or the press-gang. But a sentiment which appealed so strongly to the patriotism of the nation that boasts to "rule the waves," found many supporters besides the extreme Protectionists. Though the bill was supported by the followers of sir Robert Peel—Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Gladstone speaking in its favour—its opponents counted 210 against 266 who voted for the second reading (March 12th); and its success was only ensured by the surrender of the part which admitted foreign nations to the coasting trade throughout the Empire, and to that between British possessions. With these exceptions, the bill repealed the old navigation laws, but it reserved power to the Queen in council to deal with countries which imposed restrictions on British ships and goods, by placing them "on as nearly as possible the same footing in British ports as that on which British ships are placed in ports of such country," and to meet differential duties on British ships and goods by the addition of countervailing duties on those nations acting thus to Britain. The third reading was carried by 275 votes to 214 against the vehement opposition led by Mr. Disraeli; sir James Graham making a powerful speech in its support (April 23rd). The fate of the measure and the Government still hung doubtfully on the decisions of the Upper House, where, after a debate prolonged till half-past four in the morning, it passed the second reading by the narrow majority of 10; 173 votes to 163 (May 8-9th). Lord Stanley's amendment to the first clause in Committee having been defeated by 116 to 103 (May 21st), there was no further opposition, and the bill received the royal assent on June 26th (12 and 13 Victoria, cap. 29).

Closely akin to the question of Free Trade—at least as one between the landed interest and the other classes of the people—was the contention, which Mr. Disraeli maintained in a speech of two hours, that the whole of the local taxation of the country falls mainly, and presses with undue severity, on real property, to which Mr. Hume moved an amendment expressing the opposite extreme view, as held by the Radicals. After a powerful debate for three nights, the amendment and the resolution were both negatived, Mr. Hume being supported by only 70 votes to 394; Mr. Disraeli by 189 to 280 (March 15th). The numbers form a measure of the strength

of parties, a generation since, on one of the questions most deeply affecting the different interests of a really united people.

Before the session ended, Mr. Disraeli rallied his forces for a last gallant effort, in the form of a motion that the House resolve itself into Committee on the state of the nation. In a long and eloquent speech he assailed the two great parties and their leaders, but above all the whole policy of Free Trade and the manner in which it had been carried into effect; and this time he made a definite proposal for restoring a certain measure of Protection to native agriculture. His proposal marks the vast change that eight years had wrought. The proposal of lord John Russell for a fixed duty of eight shillings on the quarter of wheat had been rejected in 1841 by an overwhelming defeat at the hustings; and in 1849 the highest hope of protection was pitched at a fixed duty of five shillings! Towards the end of the two nights' debate, sir Robert Peel—who had generally left the former discussions of this session to his lieutenants, Graham, Gladstone, and Cardwell—rose to the height of the occasion. Replying to the attempt to explain the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the revived prosperity which had by this time indisputably set in, as “a lucky accident,” he declared, with the impressive solemnity that marked his most earnest utterances in debate:—“My belief is, that it pleased Almighty God to listen to your prayers, to turn scarcity and dearth into cheapness and plenty, and so to direct and prosper your consultations on the brink of a great precipice and on the coming of a tremendous calamity, that you ‘established peace and happiness’ on the foundations of ‘truth and justice.’ You have reaped the reward of that policy. You have passed unscathed through the sternest trials to which the institutions of any nation ever were subjected. You stood erect amid the convulsions of Europe. And now you have a proposal made to you of some paltry fixed duty. Take then your 5*s.* duty, and consider what it is. If it be 5*s.* on wheat, it will give you 2*s.* 6*d.* on barley, 2*s.* on oats; that is, 1*s.* 6*d.* more on barley and 1*s.* more on oats than you have at present *—an equivocal advantage at the best. But by every consideration which can influence consistent and rational legislators, by the highest suggestions of a generous policy, by the boldest calculations of the lowest and most selfish prudence, I implore you to reject this proffered boon. I implore you not to sacrifice nor to barter the glorious heritage you have obtained by your sagacious and most timely policy, for the smallest and most worthless policy for which the greatest advantage was ever surrendered, since the days of him who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.” The vehement cheering from all parts of the House, which responded to the last great defence of the chief work of his life it was to hear from the great leader, was strangely mingled with the ironical laughter with which the Protectionists derided his sincerity! A more pleasant mirth marks lord Palmerston’s report of the result in a letter to his brother (July 7th):—“Our division this morning on Disraeli’s

* It should be remembered that sir Robert Peel had left a duty of 1*s.* per quarter all round, for purposes of registration, which, through the great importation of foreign corn, rose to a considerable tax, and was removed by Mr. Lowe’s budget in 1859.

motion 'On the State of the Nation' was 296 to 156—a majority of 140! on a motion declared to be a question of confidence or no confidence in the Government."*

Such a division gave strong assurance that the recent legislation would be the permanent establishment of Free Trade, and justified the prediction of sir Robert Peel, in a weighty letter to his own tenantry on "The Present State and Prospects of Agriculture" (Dec. 28th):—"It is my firm persuasion that neither the present nor any future Parliament will consent to reimpose duties upon the main articles of human food, either for the purpose of protection or revenue." The acceptance of the decision by a portion of the farmers was shown by the dissolution of the Oxford Society for the Protection of Agriculture, on the ground that it was useless, and never had been nor was ever likely to be of use, besides being an anomaly, inasmuch as the farmers had now nothing to protect (Dec. 2ud). But such resignation was exceptional, and Mr. Disraeli especially maintained the lost cause with unabated zeal. At the first meeting of the Bucks Association for the Relief of Real Property, held at Aylesbury (Oct. 31st) he propounded a scheme of a sinking fund, to be raised by a duty on foreign imports, for the diminution of the burdens on landed property. On the other side, Mr. Cobden, in a speech at Leeds, threw out a challenge to the Protectionists to meet him on their own ground and let him argue with the landlords and farmers face to face. Mr. Disraeli replied, at a Protectionist meeting in his own county, that he would meet the honourable gentleman on the floor of the House (Jan. 8, 1850). But on the next day the people of Aylesbury gave Mr. Cobden his opportunity at a public meeting. The successful champion of the Anti-Corn-Law movement was himself the son of a yeoman farmer in Sussex, and the munificent gift subscribed as a testimonial for his services had enabled him to re-purchase the small estate on which he had been born. In his own practical style of speech, he was illustrating the relations between landlord and tenant from the management of this estate, when a voice asked, "How did you get it?" "I am indebted for it"—he answered—"to the bounty of my countrymen. It was the scene of my birth and my infancy; it was the property of my ancestors; and it is by the munificence of my countrymen that this small estate, which had been alienated from my father by necessity, has again come into my hands and enabled me to light up afresh the hearth of my father, where I spent my childhood. And I say that no warrior- duke, who owns a vast domain by the vote of the Imperial Parliament, holds his property by a more honourable title than I possess mine."

This year was marked by no great financial measure or reduction of taxes; the budget of sir Charles Wood showing an almost even balance of estimated income and expenditure, namely, £52,252,000 and £51,515,064 respectively. The figures are worth recording, especially in comparison with the vastly increased estimates thirty years later; but at this time the cost of collecting the revenue was not included in the account. Adding this to both

* Ashley's "Life of Palmerston," vol. i. p. 120.

sides, the national income and expenditure for 1849-50 may be roughly stated at 60 millions. It is now nearly half as much again. But even then the expenditure was condemned by the Radical party as excessive. Mr. Cobden took the lead in a meeting at Manchester (Jan. 10th), which pledged itself "to co-operate with the Liverpool Financial Reform Association in its efforts to reduce the expenditure to, at least, the standard of 1835, and to secure a more equitable and economical system of taxation;" and accordingly he made a motion in the House, which was seconded by Joseph Hume, for a reduction, especially in the army and navy estimates, which should bring down the expenditure to that standard, namely, £44,420,000 (Feb. 26th). The proposal was negatived by 275 to 78; and no better success attended Mr. Hume's motion for a further reform of Parliament on the basis of household suffrage, vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, and an equal proportion of representatives to electors, which was rejected by 268 to 82 (June 4th). Half of this proposal has since been carried into effect; the first article by a Conservative Government; the second by the Whigs, who then, by the mouth of lord John Russell, reproached the "Manchester School" of politicians for what was called their un-English spirit. While paying a tribute to their knowledge of certain economical questions in which they were particularly interested, lord John charged them with a "certain narrowness of understanding concerning the great principles on which our ancestors founded the Constitution of this country, and which we their successors humbly admire and endeavour to follow." The agitation for the twofold object was kept up by the Metropolitan Financial and Parliamentary Reform Association, which held its first meeting on May 22nd; but events were at hand, destined to postpone one-half of the programme and to scatter the other to the winds.

Another contest, that for the removal of all civil disabilities on the ground of religion, reached during this session a stage which was evidently "the beginning of the end." The Jews, whose stake in the country, intelligence, and loyalty, placed them on an equality with the worthiest of their fellow-citizens, were excluded from Parliament by the indirect operation of the words "on the true faith of a Christian," which the House of Lords had introduced into the oath of abjuration, during the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829, to make it the more binding on the consciences of Roman Catholic members. Since the beginning of the reformed parliament, several attempts had been made to alter the oath in favour of the Jews; and bills had passed the Commons, only to be rejected by the Lords. Meanwhile the Jews had been relieved from municipal disabilities, first by a special act enabling Mr. David Salomons to serve the office of Sheriff of London, to which he was elected in 1835, and finally by a general act in 1846. At the general election of 1847, baron Lionel de Rothschild was returned by 6,792 votes, as one of the four members for the City of London. On the motion of lord John Russell, who, besides being Prime Minister, sat as the baron's colleague for the City of London, the House passed, by a majority of 253 to 183, a resolution affirming the eligibility of Jews to all functions and offices to which Roman Catholics were admissible by law (December 17, 1847). A

bill to give effect to this resolution passed the Commons by decisive majorities, but was rejected in the Upper House by 163 votes to 128 (May 25, 1848. Among the memorable incidents of these debates was the support given to lord John's resolution by Mr. Gladstone, then the Tory member for the University of Oxford, and by Mr. Disraeli, who appealed to the House "to perform a great act of national justice, and to discard the superstitions of the dark ages, which were influencing them to oppose it." Sir Robert Peel also spoke and voted for the bill. In the session of 1849 a bill for the same object was again passed by the Commons, and thrown out in the Lords by 95 to 70 (June 26th). Upon this baron Rothschild resigned, in order to refer the question back to the people as represented by his constituency, who re-elected him to the seat which he retained for nearly the whole thirty years that elapsed till his death in June, 1879. The sequel of the controversy may be fitly told here. Next session baron Rothschild again presented himself at the table (July 26, 1850), but withdrew on the Speaker's refusal to swear him on the Old Testament only. The House having decided this point in his favour, he recited the oath, dropping out the words "on the true faith of a Christian." He was again ordered to withdraw, but the motion of sir Frederick Thesiger to declare his seat vacant by the issue of a new writ was negatived. A few days later the House decided against his right to vote or sit in the House till he had taken the oath in the form appointed by law, and pledged itself to a measure for the relief of the Jews next session.

In that session, while baron Rothschild continued to sit below the bar, awaiting the promised admission relief, alderman Salomons, having been elected for Greenwich in 1851, took a bolder course. Having, like the baron, recited the oath without the words "on the true faith of a Christian," instead of obeying the Speaker's order to withdraw, he passed to a seat in the House amidst a tempest of cheering and shouting. Lord John Russell declared that the government had no intention at present to institute proceedings against Mr. Salomons; but by sitting in the House and voting without having taken the oaths, he incurred a penalty of £500, which was enforced by a judgment of baron Alderson on the suit of an informer.

The contest was prolonged during the next Parliament on a more general measure for the amendment of the Parliamentary Oaths, and baron Rothschild was again returned for the city at the general elections of 1852 and 1857. When the Lords once more rejected the Oaths Bill, which had passed the new House of Commons, the baron again resigned his seat, and was re-elected for the fifth time (July, 1857). To complicate the contest, which had now lasted for ten years, the baron was recognized as a member in all respects, except sitting in the body of the House and voting;* and in the following session he was appointed one of the managers of the conference between the Houses on the Lord's amendments to a new Oaths Bill which had at length been introduced as a compromise. In the short sitting

* In the case of sir Joseph Jekyll (1815) the constitutional doctrine had been established, that a member is capable of sitting on a Committee although he has not been sworn at the Clerks' table.

before Christmas (December 10, 1857), lord John Russell had brought in a bill to substitute for the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, a single form of oath, in which the words "on the true faith of a Christian" were retained, but a clause of the bill permitted the omission of these words when a Jew was sworn. This bill passed the Commons without debate; but the Lords threw out the clause relating to the Jews. A conference between the Houses resulted in the acceptance of a compromise proposed by lord Lucan, that each House should have the power of modifying the form of the oath for its own members. A bill to this effect was passed, as well as the bill for substituting one form of oath for all occasions on which the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, were required by law to be taken (21 and 22 Victoria, cc. 48 and 49: July 23, 1858); and three days afterwards baron Rothschild at length took his seat (July 26th). The "Jews' Relief Act" further declared that no person of the Jewish profession of religion should be capable of holding the offices of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain or Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and that any ecclesiastical patronage possessed by Jews should be exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It seemed to have happened fittingly that these measures, though fought out for twelve years by lord John Russell, should have become law when the House of Commons was led by Mr. Disraeli; who throughout the whole contest had strenuously upheld the cause of the race from which he sprang.

The compromise which still left each case to be decided at the pleasure of either House was superseded eight years later by an act, which also relieved the scruples felt by Roman Catholics, requiring all members of Parliament to take one uniform oath, swearing to "be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty, Queen Victoria" (or the sovereign for the time being), and promising to maintain and support the succession to the crown as limited by the Act of Settlement under William III.* This act not only retained the penalty of £500 for any member of either House voting without having taken the prescribed oath, but also, in the case of a member of the House of Commons, declared that the seat of the recusant should be vacated. A later act † has still further simplified not only Parliamentary but all Promissory Oaths required by law to be taken by the chief officers of State, including Privy Councillors, members of either House of Parliament, the judges of the superior courts, and clergymen; besides certain special oaths pertaining to their respective offices; and the oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, are no longer to be taken by any person. The general oath is in the following simple terms:—"I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, according to law. So help me, God." Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists are allowed to make an affirmation instead of the oath, by Acts passed in 1855 and 1859. The re-opening of the question by the case of Mr. Bradlaugh does not yet belong to history [1882.]

* 29 Victoria, cap. 19: April 30, 1866.

† 31 and 32 Victoria, cap. 72: July 31, 1868

CHAPTER IV.

State of Ireland—Transportation of Smith O'Brien, &c.—Their later course—Lesson of the Rebellion—Further Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*—Aid for Irish Distress—The Queen's Visit to Ireland—Enthusiastic Welcome—Impressions left behind—State of the Land and People—Importation and Prices of Food—Poor-Law Relief—Emigration: The Irish Exodus—Decrease of Population—Sale of Encumbered Estates—Diminution of Crime—*Habeas Corpus Act* restored—The Queen's Colleges and University—Roman Catholic Opposition—New Royal University—Orange Disturbances: Affair of Dolly's Brae and dismissal of Lord Roden—Act for Suppressing Party Processions—Lord John Russell's testimony to the State of Ireland.

IN the Parliamentary Session of 1849, the condition of Ireland had claimed attention even before the controversy related in the preceding chapter; and it might well be said of the statesman who had to grapple with it—

“Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.”

The embers of suppressed rebellion smouldered beneath the desolation of famine. The unhappy leaders who had taken up arms, Smith O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donoghue, lay under sentence of death, their appeal on writs of error having been rejected by the Irish Court of Queen's Bench (Jan. 16th). The sentence was soon afterwards commuted to transportation for life; and they, as well as other leaders who had been condemned for “treason-felony,” were carried to Australia. The parole, on which they were released after a time, was broken by John Mitchel, on a plea of such questionable honesty, that Smith O'Brien refused to take part in the escape (June 9, 1853). The good faith of this true, though misguided, Irish gentleman was rewarded with a pardon; the condition of absence from England was ultimately withdrawn; and after returning to a quiet country life in Ireland, he died in Wales in 1864. His end was in striking contrast with the turbulent career of Mitchel, who settled in Virginia, and became a violent advocate of slavery and the Confederates, while “Meagher of the sword,” who had also escaped from Australia, fought on the Federal side. Returning to Ireland, where a legal flaw secured him from the penalties to which he was still exposed by exemption from pardon on account of his escape, Mitchel was elected as member for Tipperary in 1875; but the House of Commons declared the election void; and he died before the new election came on. In ability and energy, the editor of the “United Irish-

man" had been the most conspicuous of the rebels, and his conviction had been a death-blow to the cause, which the later outbreak of Smith O'Brien extinguished in a tragi-comic ridicule. A distinguished fellow-countryman says of him:—"He should have died before. The later years of his life were only an anti-climax. His attitude in the dock in 1848 had something of dignity and heroism in it, and even the staunchest enemies of his cause admired him. He had undoubtedly great literary ability, and, if he had never reappeared in politics, the world would have thought that a really brilliant light had been prematurely extinguished."* Of the other leaders of "Young Ireland," Charles Gavan Duffy, editor of the "Nation," whom two juries had refused to convict, entered Parliament, and, having afterwards emigrated to Victoria, became prime minister of that colony. Darcy McGee was likewise distinguished for his loyalty and good service as a minister of the Crown in Canada, where he died by an assassin's hand. John Martin and Patrick J. Smyth won the admiration of the House of Commons, the one for his firm but respectful steadfastness to his principles, the other for union of the same qualities with brilliant eloquence. These restitutions to honourable and loyal service added force to the lesson taught by the events of 1848-9, that Ireland's path to happiness does not lie through revolution; while both parties could rejoice together, that the conflict had not been embittered by a single execution.

For the time, however, the hope of reconciliation seemed still remote. On the 26th of January, 1849, lord Clarendon, the lord-lieutenant, wrote to the Home Secretary, sir George Grey, urging the necessity for a further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in order "to secure for Ireland that continued repose which is so vitally essential to her prosperity, to protect the country from the renewal of an agitation for objects which cannot be attained, and which for many years has disturbed its tranquillity, searing away capital, destroying confidence, and rendering impossible the steady application of industry." In moving a bill for continuing the existing suspension of the Act for six months (Feb. 6th), sir George Grey argued that, though none were now in arms against the Crown, the secret organizations, which had stimulated the late insurrection, were still in existence. The suspension had done much to stifle the rebellion, and the simple question now was, whether it was wise to take off all restraint upon agitation, and to run the risk of a repetition of last year's troubles. The vehement opposition of Mr. John O'Connell (son of the great agitator) and other Irish members was overborne by 221 votes against 18, and, after another animated debate, in which sir Robert Peel gave the Bill a reluctant support, the second reading was carried by 275 to 33 (Feb. 9th), and it became law on Feb. 27th.

The day after its introduction, lord John Russell moved for a further grant of £50,000 for the relief of Irish distress in those unions in which it was found impossible to collect a sufficient rate; and after much opposition, both from Conservatives and Radicals, to the continued application of the

* Justin McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," vol. ii. p. 35.

English taxes to that purpose, the vote was carried by 220 to 143 (Feb. 12th). Another remedial measure, passed after much debate (May 12th), was the "Poor Law Rate in Aid" Bill, for levying a rate of 6*d.* in the pound throughout all the Irish Unions for the relief of the distressed districts, and £100,000 were voted on the security of this rate.

The general restoration of order and signs of returning prosperity seemed to offer a fit occasion for the long-projected first visit of the Queen to Ireland, which, it might well be hoped, would give a lively impulse to renewed confidence between the sister kingdoms. This would be all the more felt, the Prince wisely suggested, if the expense and parade of the projected visit were spared, in consideration of the distress which was still great, and it were made rather a yachting excursion. Concurring in these views, lord Clarendon wrote to lord John Russell (June 7th):—"Since Her Majesty came to the throne, there has been no period more politically propitious for her coming here than the present one. Agitation is extinct; repeal is forgotten; the seditious associations are closed; the priests are frightened; and the people are tranquil. Everything tends to secure for the Queen an enthusiastic reception; and the one drawback, which is the general distress of all classes, has its advantages, for it will enable the Queen to do what is kind and considerate to those who are suffering." *

Sailing from Osborne on the day after Parliament rose (Aug. 2nd), the royal yacht anchored the next evening in the Cove of Cork, and the port of Cove now received the new name of Queenstown, as Dunleary (the port of Dublin) had been called Kingstown in memory of the disembarkation of George IV. Entering a chief stronghold of disaffection,† the Queen and Prince were at once assured by their reception at Cork that the Sovereign's personal visit was the true way to the hearts of the people, who poured forth to welcome her in crowds, "noisy, excitable, but very good-humoured, running and pushing about, and laughing, talking, and shrieking." It was the same at Waterford; and when the royal party landed at Kingstown (Aug. 6th), "it was a sight never to be forgotten—a sound to be recollected for ever. Ladies threw aside the old formula of waving a white handkerchief, and cheered for their lives; while the men, pressing in so closely as to throng the very edges of the pavilion, waved whatever first came to hand—hat, stick, wand, or coat (for the day was very hot)—and rent the air with shouts of joy, which never decreased in energy till their Sovereign was out of sight." The royal children‡ were objects of universal attention and admiration. "Oh! Queen, dear!" screamed a stout old lady, "make one of them Prince PATRICK, and all Ireland will die for you!"§—and the Prince

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 192.

† One fact will prove that this is no mere figure of speech. On Jan. 1, 1849, when the prisoners in Ireland exceeded the gaol accommodation in the ratio of 10 to 7, the most crowded of all was the county prison of Cork, which, built for only 500, contained 1,184.

‡ It happened to be the fifth birthday of Prince Alfred, who accompanied his parents, with the Princess Royal (then in her ninth year), the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Alice,—the Princesses Helena and Louise staying at Osborne.

§ "The Times," quoted in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 207.

born next year bears the names of Arthur Patrick, and the title of duke of Donnaught.

The climax of joyful welcome was reached on the entry into Dublin—the city where O'Connell had so lately thundered for repeal, and denounced “the brutal and bloody Saxon”—where Mitchel and “Meagher of the sword” had daily published truculent lessons in street-fighting, and where, but a few months before, the courts of law had been the daily scene of thrilling struggles, on which hung the issues of life and death, liberty or a felon's exile. Now, under a brilliant sun, “every window, roof, and platform, from which the procession could be seen, was thronged with cheering crowds. Every hedgerow in the suburbs was festooned with flags; the poorest cottages had their wreaths of flowers and evergreens. In the capital of a country which had so recently been ‘in open revolt and under martial law,’ nothing but the most demonstrative loyalty was to be noted. . . . The four days spent in Dublin were one continued jubilee.”* The welcome was simply equalled because it could not be surpassed even by the loyal people of Ulster at Belfast, whence the royal party finally sailed for Greenock on their way to Balmoral (Aug. 12th).

A few days later lord Clarendon wrote to sir George Grey:—“The enthusiasm here is not abated. . . . The Queen's visit, moreover, will be associated with a turn in the tide of their affairs after four years' suffering, with an unprecedented influx of strangers and expenditure of money; and as they will contrast this year with the last, their conclusions will be unfavourable to political agitation. So even I, who am never very sanguine about things here, cannot help sharing in the feelings of hopefulness that pervade the whole country.”† With this letter was forwarded a brief but affecting testimony to the state of the Irish peasantry, then just emerging from the depths of famine. Recognizing the fact that “the Prince thoroughly understands how much the regeneration of Ireland depends upon improved agriculture,” lord Clarendon enclosed for his Royal Highness a letter from Secretary Redington, who was paying a visit to Galway, in terms which seemed to echo the hopes to which the Prince had given utterance to the Royal Dublin Society—“that the promise of a plentiful harvest, of which your fields bear such hopeful evidence, may be the harbinger of a termination to those sufferings under which the people have so lamentably, and yet with such exemplary patience, laboured.” And now Mr. Redington wrote:—“My eyes rested, as I crossed the island, throughout upon one prospect of abundance. Such corn crops, such potatoes, and such green crops, I never before saw. . . . The appearance of the people is no longer what it was. You see little, if any, *famine* in their faces. They are in good spirits, but their clothes speak *openly* their misery.”

The abundant harvest was safely gathered in, preceded and followed by others throughout the United Kingdom; so that the price of wheat, which had risen from 54s. 8d. a quarter in 1846 to 69s. 9d. in 1847, fell to 50s. 6d.

* “The Times,” quoted in the “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. pp. 207, 208.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 213.

in 1848, 44s. 3d. in 1849, and 40s. 3d. in 1850.* Meanwhile the imports of corn, flour, and meal of all kinds into Ireland, which had been a little above four millions of quarters in 1846-47 (Sep. 1st), and two millions in 1847-48 (the decrease being presumably a measure of the diminished purchasing power), was raised during the *half-year* from Sept. 1848 to Sept. 1849 to eight and a-half millions of quarters, chiefly through the efforts of the British Government and people to feed the starving people, for whose relief a total of ten millions sterling was added to the National Debt, besides what was raised by private contributions.† Together with the cycle of abundant harvests, the operation of Free Trade, and the discoveries of gold in California and Australia, brought into the British kingdom a rising tide of prosperity, in which Ireland had her share.

Turning to the evidence of the Irish Poor Law statistics for the year ending May 14, 1847, the expenditure for the relief of 333,000 paupers was nearly £568,000, the average rate being 10¼d. Within a year, the number of persons relieved had risen to nearly a million and a-half, and the expenditure to above £1,200,000; while for the year ending September, 1849, the expenditure exceeded two millions sterling. The slow recovery from such depths of distress is witnessed by the fact that in the next year there was still an expenditure of nearly a million and a-half in relieving above a million of poor in unions and out of doors; but the number of paupers fell to about three-quarters of a million in 1851, at the cost of £1,100,000; which decreased in the next year by £280,000; and in 1853, the numbers relieved were little over 400,000, and at a cost of £786,000. All this time, besides the poor at home, thousands more found their way to England crowded on the steamboat decks, to seek work or relief here; ‡ but many of them were on their way to the Colonies or the United States, besides the thousands who were borne away thither from the Irish ports. For by this time the tide of emigration had set out with the force which gave it the popular name of the "Irish Exodus." Out of the total of nearly three and a-half million emigrants, who left the United Kingdom during the period of nearly forty years from 1814 to 1852, *more than one-half* (nearly 1,800,000) emigrated in the *six* years beginning with 1847; the average annual emigration reaching nearly 300,000; and of these the great bulk were Irish, of whom more than 1,300,000 tore themselves from their loved

* These were the averages for Great Britain. In Ireland the progressive fall of price is seen in the returns for 1849, 1850, and 1851, namely, 10s. 3½d., 9s. 4¼d., 8s. 11¾d., respectively. The fall in barley and oats was proportionate; and this was in spite of the comparative loss of the potato as the staple food of the people.

† The balance of advances from the Treasury, remaining unpaid at the end of the year, amounting to about five and a-half millions, were consolidated by Act of Parliament (1850) into a loan repayable in forty years. This debt was remitted in 1853 (see chap. xiii.).

‡ At Liverpool alone (the returns for Glasgow, Bristol, and other ports are not at hand) the deck passengers from Ireland were 240,925 in 1849; 251,000 in 1850; 283,503 in 1851; 232,331 in 1852; 233,652 in 1853; and 32,415 in the first three months of 1854. Of these about one-third appeared to be paupers; the rest were emigrants, land-jobbers, and so forth.

Erin during those six years. The tide reached its height in 1852, for which year the emigration was twenty-three and a-half per cent. above the average, another sign of the great law by which a *maximum* effect generally follows some time after the cause has passed its climax. But another and more gratifying reason can be assigned in the case before us. One strange feature of the great Irish problem—proving that the fault of what has often seemed its hopelessness does not lie solely in the character of the people—is the change that comes over the peasant when he settles in a new land, where he has scope for his powers of work and his habits of frugality. We might almost apply to him the glowing words in which one of Ireland's greatest orators described another sort of emancipation:—"No sooner does his foot touch the foreign soil than his fetters" (whether of evil habits or of sullen suffering) "at once fall off, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of" the new opportunities given to the virtues which lie at the base of his complex nature. For the most part prospering in their new abode, the first thing the emigrants did was to save up the means of sending for the relations and friends left behind; and the tide of emigration still set outwards, till the relief to a redundant and wretched peasantry began to turn into a source of anxiety lest the people should become too few for the land. The ensuing decennial census revealed the startling fact, that from 8,175,124 in the year 1841, the population of Ireland had fallen to 6,515,794 in 1851; nor did it stop there, but declined more than another million in the next twenty years, to 5,764,543 in 1861, 5,402,759 in 1871, and 5,159,839 in 1881. The meaning of this later decrease belongs to the records of the coming years.

It was hoped that the void thus made would be in great measure filled up, and that a fresh supply of capital, skill, and energy, would be opened for Irish agriculture, by the working of the Act (12 and 13 Vic. cap. 77, passed July 28th) which gave facilities for the sale of encumbered estates, under the direction of three commissioners, whose court began its operations in the autumn. It effected a vast amount of good in freeing large tracts of land from the incubus of a nominal proprietorship, sunk in embarrassments which stopped not only all improvement but the most ordinary good cultivation of the soil and justice to the tenants and the peasantry. But the poverty of the people disappointed the hope of their purchasing the land to any great extent, and their ideas of their own rights in the soil, their jealousy of new and foreign proprietors, the fresh disorders that broke out before long, checked the influx of British capital and labour, and later events have made this record nearly obsolete.

Meanwhile it remains to trace the gratifying evidence of returning order and security in the decrease of recorded crime. The climax of offences, ordinary, agrarian, and political, as attested by the numbers brought to answer for them, was naturally reached at the close of 1848, when an armed rebellion had just been quelled, but disaffection and conspiracy still required the suspension of the ordinary safeguards for the liberty of the subject. On the 1st of January, 1849, no less than 10,663 prisoners were in custody, crowded of necessity into gaols which had been built for 7,230. The

number of committals on criminal charges, which had risen from 18,492 in 1846, to 31,209 in 1847, 38,522 in 1848, and 41,989 in 1849, declined to 31,326 in 1850, 25,369 in 1851, 17,678 in 1852, and 15,144 in 1853. The meaning of these figures becomes clearer by comparing Ireland with Great Britain. In the former country they have reference to a population of about eight millions in 1841, but much less at the time to which they relate. In Great Britain, with a population not far short of nineteen millions in 1841, increasing to above twenty millions in 1851, the number of committals maintained an almost steady average of about 30,000 (though with some increase in the year of distress and trouble, 1848). The comparison further tells a tale of one special difficulty which always besets the administration of justice in Ireland, the reluctance of juries to convict men of their own class, especially for crimes arising out of agrarian and political troubles. Alike for the larger and smaller numbers given above, the proportion of convictions to committals may be roughly stated at one-half, or sometimes less, while in Great Britain the ratio was from two-thirds to three-fourths and more.

On September 1, 1849, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland was allowed to expire at the end of the six months for which it had been renewed, nor was its suspension required again till 1866, when foreign troubles in America had again given an impulse to the new Fenian sedition in Ireland. The great scheme of sir Robert Peel for creating a bond of social union between the Catholic and Protestant youth of the upper and middle classes, while raising the culture of both, was now brought into full operation by the opening of the Queen's Colleges; and in the following year the scheme was completed by the foundation of the "Queen's University in Ireland," with power to grant degrees to students of the three Queen's Colleges, at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The fair representation of the authorities of the colleges on the senate of the university brought it much nearer to the ancient models of a real university than the modern form of a board which examines without educating (August, 1850). The experience of thirty years proved the excellence of the education thus provided; but, from the very first, its reconciling purpose was defeated by the refusal of the Roman Catholic Church to accept the principle of a common secular education, which left religious teaching to be provided otherwise. Like the old University of London (now University College), the Irish seats of learning were nicknamed "godless colleges." They were condemned by the Roman propaganda and the Pope, whose sentence was accepted by a small majority of the Irish Catholic bishops in a synod at Thurles, just a month after the foundation of the Queen's University. On the other hand, successive governments refused a charter, with power to grant degrees, to a Roman Catholic University established at Dublin; and the demand of a state endowment for Catholic university education was made less admissible than ever by the disendowment of the Irish branch of the Church of England. An attempt to solve the problem contributed to the downfall of Mr. Gladstone's ministry. but meanwhile effected the abolition of religious tests in Trinity College, Dublin (1873).

At length, just thirty years after the opening of the Queen's Colleges, the government of lord Beaconsfield attempted to solve the question by founding a new examining university for granting degrees, scholarships, and prizes open to all candidates, on the model of the University of London; in which the Queen's University has been absorbed, the colleges being left on their existing footing. This "Royal University of Ireland" was fully constituted in 1880.

The record of Irish troubles in 1848-49 would be incomplete without some mention of another source of disturbance. The Orange Clubs, which had been dissolved in 1836, in consequence of a parliamentary enquiry into their excesses, were revived in 1845, in antagonism to the rising spirit of sedition, the collapse of which stimulated the Orangemen to unseemly triumph. On the anniversary so often signalized by fatal party conflicts (July 12, 1849), a collision took place at Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, between a party of Ribandmen and an Orange procession on its way to the park of the earl of Roden, who had long been a leader in the cause of Protestant ascendancy. Forewarned of the probability of a fight, Government had sent to the spot a force of police and military; but their presence did not prevent the exchange of shots, with a fatal result to several of the Ribandmen. The affray led to much angry correspondence between the Irish government and the Orange leaders. The magistrates of Castlewellan, of whom lord Roden himself was chairman and Custos Rotulorum for Louth County, refused to take informations against the Orangemen, who were alleged to have been the aggressors (August 13th), and they repeated the refusal as a defiant answer to a letter of the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary to the Chancellor, recommending the dismissal of lord Roden and two other magistrates from the Commission of the Peace (October 6th and 9th). Their dismissal led to a vehement demonstration of sympathy from the Orangemen of Belfast (October 30th), and to an attack on the Government by lord Stanley in the ensuing session (February 18, 1850).

Three days before that angry debate in the Lords, the Commons had heard from lord John Russell—in proposing the consolidation of the loan still due to the treasury for advances to relieve the late distress in Ireland—a full statement from its origin to the brightening prospects of the country through the cessation of famine, the decrease of pauperism, and the revival of a spirit of industry and enterprise. He said that society in Ireland appeared on the brink of a great and salutary change; the relations of landlord, tenant, and labourer, were becoming assimilated to those of more civilized lands; agrarian crime had diminished; and the best prospects existed for the ultimate condition of the people. On the same evening a Bill for suppressing party processions in Ireland was read a second time, and it became law on the 15th of March. In the same session Acts were passed for the conduct of elections in Ireland and a new settlement of the Irish parliamentary franchise, after a sharp contest between the two houses on the question of a £15 or £12 rating in counties; the Lords, who had adopted the former as an amendment, consenting ultimately to the latter. The borough franchise was fixed at £8 rating.

CHAPTER V.

State of the Continent—Sardinia renews War—Battle of Novara—Abdication and Death of Charles Albert—King Victor Emmanuel—French Expedition to Rome—Proclamation of General Oudinot—Giuseppe Garibaldi—Surrender of Rome—Restoration of Pius IX.—French Occupation—State of Germany—The King of Prussia refuses the Imperial Crown—End of the German Parliament—Armed Insurrections suppressed by the Prussian Army—The Federal Diet restored—The Revolt of Hungary put down by Russian Intervention—Severe Punishments—The Refugees in Turkey—Reception of Kossuth and Haynau in England—Lord Palmerston on the state of Austria—Cavour on the mistake of Revolutionary means—Attitude and Policy of England—INDIA—*Second War with the Sikhs.* Revolt of Moolraj at Mooltan—Lieutenant Edwardes—Siege of Mooltan—Defection of Shere Singh—Lord Gough's Repulse at Ramnuggur—Capture of Mooltan—Battle of Chillianwallah—Feeling in England—Sir Charles J. Napier appointed Commander-in-Chief for India—Lord Gough's Victory at Goojerat—Surrender of the Sikhs—Annexation of the Punjab.

THE recovery of Ireland from the depth of distress and the dangers of rebellion, by means which combined the smallest needful amount of coercion with generous measures of relief, is set in a most striking light by comparison with the scenes abroad, upon which the English people looked from their own tranquil shores. Their details belong to the history of Europe, but the general course of events upon the Continent had a close bearing upon the affairs of England at the time, besides being fraught with future consequences which have affected the whole subsequent tenor of our history. The first place in order of time, as well as in the sympathies of the English people, belongs to the sudden extinction of the bright hopes of Italian freedom. The protracted mediation of England and France having long been hopeless, on the expiration of the armistice hostilities were renewed by Sardinia (March 12, 1849). Radetzky, with an army recruited in strength and spirits, answered the challenge by crossing the Ticino (March 21st), and inflicting a crushing defeat on the Sardinians at Novara (March 25th). Charles Albert, who had exposed his life with desperate courage on the battle-field, called his generals around him and addressed them thus:—"I have sacrificed myself for the cause of Italy. I have risked my own life, the lives of my children, and I have failed. Since I have not succeeded in finding death, I must accomplish one last sacrifice for my country. I resign the crown, and abdicate in favour of my son." He died broken-hearted at Oporto after only four months (July 28th). His son, the duke of Genoa, who had displayed throughout the war the courage of which he was still to give so many signal proofs, took up the broken sceptre with

the steadfast singleness of purpose, which won for him the title of *Il Re Galantuomo*. It might well have seemed a vainglorious boast when, pointing his sword towards the Austrian camp, he exclaimed: *Per Dio l'Italia sarà*; but the King, who was proclaimed on March 26th as Victor Emmanuel II. of Sardinia, became, in eleven years, Victor Emmanuel I. of all Italy. The steps through which this great result was attained, however varied and sometimes questionable, were all governed by one regulating principle, abstinence from the revolutionary methods vehemently urged by an extreme party, and persistence in the policy of patience steadfastly maintained by statesmen like Cavour, who said of this crisis in his country's fate:—"We existed, and every day's existence was a gain." Meanwhile the Austrians, secure of Lombardy and with Venice in their grasp, granted an armistice. The catastrophe at Novara gave the signal for reaction at Florence, where the grand duke of Tuscany was restored to despotic power under the wing of Austria (April 12th). A peace was signed at Milan between Austria and Sardinia on the 6th of August, and on the 22nd Venice surrendered, after being defended by Daniel Manin for a whole year.

Rome, meanwhile, had exhibited the strange spectacle of its new Republic suppressed by republican France, in league with the restored despot of Naples. To maintain the power of the Pope was a part of the policy on which President Bonaparte, like his uncle, sought to found his own; and this policy was adopted by a majority of 112 in the French National Assembly. On the very day before the new republican constitution was published at Rome, its doom was sealed at Paris by the vote for an armed intervention in the States of the Church (April 16th), the pretext for which was stated in the proclamation of general Oudinot, on landing at Civita Vecchia ten days later. In the true spirit of Bonapartist republican imperialism, a sort of paternal right was assumed to regulate the common interests of liberty, order, and religion; just as, ten years later, Italy was asked to be content with a federation under the presidency of the Pope. It informed the inhabitants of the Roman States, that the French Republic had resolved to send a *corps d'armée* to avert great misfortunes from their country. "France does not arrogate to herself the right to regulate interests which are, first of all, those of the Roman people, and which extend to the whole of Europe, and to all the Christian world. She has only considered that by her position she was especially called upon to interfere, to facilitate the establishment of a *régime* equally removed from the abuses, which have for ever been destroyed by the generosity of the illustrious Pius IX., and from the anarchy of these late days. The flag which I have just raised on your shores is that of peace, order, conciliation, and true liberty. Round it will rally all who wish to co-operate in the accomplishment of this patriotic and sacred work."

The triumvirs, Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini, put forth an answer designed to rouse the Roman people against this violation of the soil of the republic, which they had already declared their determination to resist, holding France responsible for the consequences. Their defence was well supported by the enthusiastic courage of the future liberator of Southern

Italy, GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI,* and the first attack of the French was repulsed with loss (April 30th). Thereupon the Prince President telegraphed to general Oudinot his "great grief" at the "unforeseen resistance." "I had hoped (he added) that the inhabitants of Rome, opening their eyes to evidence, would receive with eagerness an army which had arrived there to accomplish a friendly and disinterested mission." The day after this admonition was despatched, Garibaldi had the further presumption to defeat an invading force of 7,000 Neapolitans at Palestrina (May 9th).† But his desperate valour could not prevent a lodgment of the French close to the walls on June 3rd; the final assault was made on the night of the 30th, and Rome surrendered on the morrow. On July 2nd the key of one of the gates was sent to the Pope at Gaëta, and his restored authority was proclaimed on the 15th; but he did not return to the Vatican till April, 1850. The French occupation of Rome was maintained till the end of 1866; and under its shelter the abuses of the papal government were restored, though the Prince President made a show of performing his part as mediator by a letter to Colonel Edgar Ney, the commandant at Rome, insisting upon a general amnesty, a secular administration, the adoption of the Code Napoleon, and a liberal government of the subjects of the Pope (September, 1849).

The collapse of the German experiment of unity was far more inglorious; but not without a bloody sequel. The republican constitution framed by the Frankfort Assembly, on the basis of universal suffrage, was sure of rejection by the German princes; and the election of an Emperor not only raised the question of precedence between Prussia and Austria, but stirred up the jealousy of the royal houses of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, against any subordination to Prussia. Besides all this, another power had to be reckoned with. Since the settlement of Europe at Vienna and the formation of the Holy Alliance, and especially under the unbending will of Nicholas, Russia wielded an influence in central Europe almost incredible to the generation which has grown up since the Crimean war. This was soon to be proved by her intervention to save Austria in Hungary, and none knew better than the King of Prussia how ready was her vast army to be let loose on Germany. A hollow compact between the Prussian and democratic parties at Frankfort secured the election of Frederick William as "Emperor of the Germans" by 290 votes in a house of 538 members (March 28th). But, by a remarkable coincidence, the election was made known at Berlin on the same day as the news of the Austrian victory at Novara; and the King of Prussia, irresolute by nature, might well shrink from having to make good his acceptance of the crown by a war with Austria, leagued with the four German kingdoms, and supported in the background by Russia. On the first two days of April, the Prussian Chambers voted addresses urging him to consent to the

* Born at Nice, 1807; died June 2nd, 1882.

† "Her Catholic Majesty" Isabella II. also sent a Spanish force to Gaëta to aid the Pope (May 27th).

offer which was formally made to him on the 3rd; but the deputies from Frankfort, who claimed to represent the wish of Germany, were courteously rebuffed by the answer that it was impossible for him to accept the honour "without the voluntary assent of the Crowned Princes and Free States of our Fatherland." After that consent had been formally asked and distinctly refused, the king's representative at Frankfort informed the Assembly that his master could not accept what was now "an unreal dignity," especially as it was tendered in connection with a Constitution which he could only regard as "a means gradually, and under legal pretences, to set aside authority, and to introduce the republic" (April 29th). This declaration against the whole movement was followed by a royal ordinance recalling the Prussian deputies from the Assembly, from which Austria had recalled hers upon the vote of March 28th. The violence of the republican party caused the withdrawal of the great body of moderate men; and a mere "Rump" of the Assembly withdrew from Frankfort, which was commanded by the arms of Prussia, to Stuttgart, where, after passing some violent resolutions, they one day found their place of meeting closed by the government of Würtemberg (June 16th). Such was the inglorious end of the Assembly which had at first given fair promise of creating a united Germany and reviving the Imperial dignity.

The contrast to these bright hopes is strikingly drawn in a letter written by Prince Albert, who had watched the whole movement with equal interest and misgiving. "You in Germany are at this moment entering upon a new epoch, which is again stained with blood. Poor country! How many people have perished since 1848! how many millions of men suffered! And, on the other hand, I would fain know of any one single individual, who finds himself better than he was before!" (May 14th).^{*} When this was written, the republicans had flown to that last resource, to which baffled political parties resort none the less because it is hopeless. The months of May, June, and July, witnessed a series of insurrections which were put down by the Prussian army, under the brother of the King, who had been the hope of the movement,—the Prince of Prussia, who was himself destined to receive the very imperial crown which had eluded his brother's weak grasp. But this could only happen when the time was ripe. A premature revolution could only affect to place "the likeness of a crown" on "what seemed its head." The reality was the inevitable proffer made by Germany, united to repel aggression, to her victorious leader.

The last stand of the armed revolutionists was made in Baden, where the remnant of their shattered force was starved into surrender at Rastadt (July 23rd). Among them were men of high station and culture, whom enthusiasm had led to give up offices and professorships for service in the ranks: of such the type was professor Gottfried Kinkel, whose imprisonment at Spandau and romantic escape evoked in England a sympathy combined with admiration for his intellect and manly beauty. The resistance of Holstein and Schleswig to their Danish sovereign, though prolonged with

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 199.

much bravery, shared the fate of the German movement which had supported it; and the integrity of Denmark was guaranteed by a protocol of the Great Powers, signed at London (August 23, 1850). The German federal administration was patched up for the time, by an agreement to place the executive in the hands of a mixed Austrian and Prussian commission, to which the archduke John resigned his authority (October 20, 1849); but the reconstitution of the confederation on its former basis remained a hopeless problem, fraught with bitter conflicts and reserved for the arbitrament of war. The King of Prussia again strove to redeem his pledges by granting a liberal constitution to his own subjects (February 6, 1850), and summoning a federal parliament to meet at Erfurt and consider the draft of a new constitution (March); but the scheme was rendered abortive by the influence of Austria, whose own effort to constitute a like assembly at Frankfort also failed (September, 1850); and the old Germanic diet was restored for a time at that imperial city (May 30, 1851).

It remains to notice the climax of the conflict on the plains of Hungary where the resistance was the most steadfast and excited the more sympathy in England, as the Hungarians were fighting for no mere revolutionary chimeras, but for their old national independence; as they were crushed by the intervention of a foreign power, the most despotic in Europe, without a claim of right or interest, except the aggressive policy, to distrust which had long been our true instinct; and that sympathy was inflamed to indignation by the cruel and unmanly severities inflicted not only upon the conquered, but on their sisters, daughters, and even their wives, who were flogged while husbands were forced to look on. It does not belong to our work to relate the incidents of the struggle, from the march of the Russian armies to the aid of Austria (May 1, 1849), to the utter defeat of the Hungarians at Temeswar by General Haynau (August 10th), the surrender of the traitor Görgey three days later, and the close of the war by the surrender of Komorn (September 27th). Louis Bathiany, who had been taken prisoner in January, was tried for treason and shot at Pesth; and many other chiefs had the like fate; but Kossuth, Bem, and other leaders had escaped to Turkey. The Porte gave a memorable example of fidelity to the law of nations by refusing to surrender them to the demands and threats of Austria and Russia; and, when Russia suspended diplomatic intercourse with Turkey, England supported the right of asylum, ever so dear to her, to the length of sending a fleet to Besika Bay (November, 1849). The dispute was compromised by the withdrawal of the refugees to Asia Minor; and Kossuth was afterwards received in England (October, 1850) with honours which were forcibly contrasted by the summary chastisement inflicted just before on the woman-flogger, Haynan, by the whips of Messrs. Barclay's draymen (September). During the war, the English Government had announced their decision, that the conduct of Russia gave us no title to intervene; but lord Palmerston's despatches and letters attest his deep interest and indignation; and he has left a weighty judgment on the result, which facts have fully verified. In a despatch to lord Ponsonby, our

ambassador at Vienna (September 9, 1849), after referring to the state of Italy, and reminding the Austrian Government that, "as they cannot hope to govern Italy always by the sword, such inextinguishable hatred is not an evil altogether to be despised," he proceeds:—"The rulers of Austria (I call them not statesmen or stateswomen) have now brought their country to this remarkable condition, that the Emperor holds his various territories at the good will and pleasure of three external powers. He holds Italy just as long as and no longer than France chooses to let him have it. The first quarrel between Austria and France will drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venice. He holds Hungary and Galicia just as long and no longer than Russia chooses to let him have them. . . . He holds his German provinces by a tenure dependent, in a great degree, upon feelings and opinions which it will be very difficult for him and his ministers either to combine with or to stand out against."*

The enthusiasts for freedom, on the other hand, had long before received, from one of their best and wisest friends, an equally prophetic warning of the mistake on which their hopes and efforts were wrecked; and the lasting lesson left by the events of 1848-49 may be read in the words which Cavour published in his newspaper (November 16, 1848):—"What is it which has always wrecked the finest and justest of revolutions?—The mania for *revolutionary means*; the men who have attempted to emancipate themselves from ordinary laws. The French constituent assembly creating the assignats in contempt of nature and economic laws;—*revolutionary means*, productive of discredit and ruin! The convention attempting to smother in blood the resistance to its ambitious projects;—*revolutionary means*, producing the directory, the consulate, and the empire. Napoleon bending all to his caprice, imagining that one can with a like facility conquer at the Bridge of Lodi and wipe out a law of nature;—*revolutionary means*, leading to Waterloo and St. Helena! The sectarians of June striving to impose the democratic and social republic by fire and sword;—*revolutionary means*, producing the siege of Paris and reaction everywhere. Wait but a little longer and you will see the last consequences of your *revolutionary means*—LOUIS NAPOLEON ON THE THRONE."

The interval of a year had gone far to hasten the predicted catastrophe; but the French chapter of the European reaction will be best recorded in connection with its issue.

Though ardent sympathizers with peoples striving for freedom chafed at the neutrality preserved by the English Government, while the tone of lord Palmerston's despatches not only offended the opposition, but troubled his own friends and colleagues,† the policy he maintained had its practical justification in England's exemption from any entanglement in the general

* Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 141.

† Of his own free speech with regard to colleagues who differed from him an example may be given from a despatch suggesting to lord Normanby the joint bold action of England and France in the affair of the refugees in Turkey:—"But all this is only my own personal opinion, and I cannot answer for the broadbrims of the cabinet."—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 143.

commotion,* into which she might so easily have been drawn. And accordingly the parliamentary attacks made on our foreign policy by the opposition, and by lord Brougham, who had constituted himself a universal censor, read now like little more than mere rhetorical skirmishes.

But meanwhile in the far East England herself had to wage a sharp war, which, seeming for a time to threaten a new shock to her Empire in India, ended by the splendid acquisition of the vast plain of the Five Rivers,† the seat of the most ancient Hindoo civilization, and the scene of Alexander's Indian campaign. The first war, in 1845-6, with the Sikhs—whom the death of Runjeet Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab," and while he lived the friend of England, had let loose upon our frontier—has been related in the preceding volume.‡ The peace made in February, 1846, in the name of the young Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, was soon broken by the unruly chiefs who owned but a nominal submission to his rule. One of these chieftains, the Dewan Moolraj, held the important city of Mooltan, commanding the chief passage of the Chenab—the united stream of the ancient Acesines and Hydaspes—about seventy miles above our frontier. It was determined to supersede Moolraj by a new governor, Khan Singh, who was accompanied by Mr. Vans Agnew and lieutenant Anderson. Their arrival at Mooltan was the signal for an outbreak of Moolraj's troops, in which the two English officers were barbarously murdered and Khan Singh wounded and made prisoner (April 18-21, 1848). The open rebellion of Moolraj, which threatened an insurrection through the Punjab, received an early check from the prompt gallantry of a young subaltern of the 1st Fusiliers, lieutenant Edwardes.§ Uniting his small British force with the troops of the Rajah of Bhawalpore, Edwardes met the army of Moolraj at Noonaree, and, after a nine hours' battle, drove them back in full rout to Mooltan, with the loss of six guns and all their stores and baggage (June 18th). He defeated them again under the walls of their city (July 1st), which was invested by general Whish (September 12th). The first entrenchment was already taken, when the desertion of the Sikh chieftain, Shere Singh, with 5,000 men, forced the general to raise the siege and retire to a position four miles south-west of Mooltan. While lord Gough, the commander-in-chief, was concentrating his forces at Ferozepore and Roree for the relief of the army before Mooltan, a new movement of Shere Singh converted the revolt into

* It is scarcely worth while to notice the trifling exception formed by the insurrection in the Ionian Islands (July, 1849) which excited some agitation at the time from the severity which the High Commissioner, Mr. Ward, was charged with having used in its prompt suppression.

† This is the meaning of *Panjab* (the more accurate spelling 'of Punjab)—the Sanskrit *panj* being the etymological equivalent of the Greek *πεντ-ε*, the Latin *quinque*, the German *fünf*, and the English *five*, in the family of Indo-Germanic languages; and *ab* "river," as in our *Av-on*.

‡ Vol. viii. pp. 544-5.

§ Major-general sir Herbert Benjamin Edwardes, K.C.B. (as he afterwards became), was born on the 12th of November, 1819, and died on the 23rd of December, 1868. He published an account of this campaign under the title of "A Year on the Punjaub Frontier, 1848-49."

a second war with the whole power of the Sikhs, so lately and hardly conquered. Separating himself from Moolraj (October 9th), he led his forces by skilful manœuvres across the Ravee, to the country north-west of Lahore, where he was joined by another Sikh army under Chuttur Singh, and afterwards by the Bunnoo troops under Ram Singh.

Turning his march against this formidable enemy, lord Gough found their united force of nearly 40,000 men, with twenty-eight guns, strongly entrenched behind Ramnuggur, on the right bank of the Chenab (November 21st). Having established a strong post on the left bank, lord Gough sent general Thackwell to cross the river several miles above and operate on the enemy's left flank. But the hot Irish blood of the old peninsular veteran * did not allow him to wait patiently for this movement. An attempt to surprise the advanced position of the Sikhs, on the next day, involved the attacking force in a great slaughter, with the loss of a gun; but ultimately the enemy were driven out of Ramnuggur, and on the following day they retired from the river (November 23rd). Ten days later, general Thackwell, having crossed the river at Vizirabad, came to an engagement with the whole force of the Sikhs. They attempted to outflank the much smaller British army; but a well-served cannonade broke their centre, and they retired during the night towards Jhelum on the river of the same name, the ancient Hydaspes (December 3rd-4th). On receiving the news that they were entrenched beyond that place, in a position stronger than that at Ramnuggur (December 18th), lord Gough, who had crossed the Chenab and joined general Thackwell, resolved to await the issue of the siege of Mooltan and the aid of the forces there engaged.

That place now became the scene of a fierce attack and a desperate defence. Reinforced by the Bombay troops, general Whish made an attack in four columns, drove the enemy in from the suburbs, effected a lodgement within 500 yards of the walls, and opened a terrific fire of shot and shell (December 27th-28th). On the 29th, the heavy guns were breaching the walls at a distance of eighty yards, causing immense damage to the town and the explosion of several small magazines. But this was nothing to the terrific explosion witnessed on the following day, when the principal magazine of the fort blew up, carrying the Dewan's mother and other relatives into the air, with several of his principal officers and many of his soldiers, and hurling mosques, houses, and massive walls, into heaps of ruin. It was said that there were 800,000 pounds in the magazine. Next day the Mooltanees made a desperate sortie against the troops under major Edwardes; but were beaten back with great loss by an attack led by sir Henry Lawrence (December 31st). On the second day of the new year, two British regiments and one of Native Infantry of Bengal advanced to an assault near

* Lord Gough had just entered his 70th year, having been born on November 3, 1779. He survived this campaign more than 20 years, dying on March 2, 1869. He had been created Baron Gough, of Chin-Scang-foo in China and Maharajpore and the Sutlej in the East Indies, in 1846, and in 1849 he was made Viscount Gough of Goojerat of the Punjaut and of the city of Limerick.



VINCENT HUGHES, R. I. S.

the Delhi gate, but the breach proved impracticable, and the troops moved round to the opposite side of the town, to find that the Bombay column had already effected an entrance. On the following day the capture of the enemy's last stronghold at the Dowlut gate completed the conquest of the city, but Moolraj still held out in the fort (January 3, 1849).

At this juncture lord Gough suddenly renounced his prudent plan of waiting for the junction of the Mooltan force, and began his march towards the Jhelum, with 22,000 men and 125 or 130 guns (Jan. 11th). On the 13th he found himself in front of the whole Sikh force under Shere Singh, strongly posted in a long line on the left bank of the Jhelum from Moong to Rossool. The village of *Chillianwallah* gave name to the fierce battle that ensued. Had the crisis allowed leisure for reflecting on one of the great cycles of history, it might have been remembered that the spot where a British army, having its base in the conquered peninsula of India, confronted the brave defenders of the Punjab, could not be far from that at which Alexander, advancing in the opposite direction, had encountered Porus twenty-one centuries before. Lord Gough assuredly allowed little time for such reflections. He had announced his intention of giving his troops a day's rest, when his whole purpose was altered by the provocation of some shot falling near him from a Sikh battery which was within range. Without any preliminary reconnoissance, he opened a cannonade on the enemy's centre, to which the Sikhs made a vigorous reply. When this had been kept up on both sides for an hour or two, lord Gough sent a body of infantry to make a flank movement on the enemy's right; but they were met by the fire of a masked battery, and their repulse caused much confusion. Disasters ensued in other parts of the field. The 14th Light Dragoons retreated in consequence of a misunderstanding of orders; and a regiment of Bengal cavalry turned in flight. Night put an end to the combat, leaving the British in possession of the battle-field, while the Sikhs withdrew to Rossool. This doubtful victory cost the British 731 men killed and 1,446 wounded; the loss of the Sikhs was estimated at 3,000 killed and 4,000 wounded. How little necessity could be pleaded for the precipitate attack was proved nine days later by the unconditional surrender of Moolraj, who had held out till the walls of the citadel were breached, and a mine was ready to blow it into the air (Jan. 22nd).

Meanwhile our old enemy, Dost Mohammed, the Khan of Afghanistan, had joined in alliance with the Sikhs, and taken Attock, the key to the passage of the Indus at its junction with the Cabul river, the British officers stationed there being made prisoners or fugitives.

Though lord Gough reported the battle of Chillianwallah as an "entire defeat" of the Sikhs, the news of the carnage, following on that of Ramnuggur, was received in England with dismay and indignation. The public voice designated sir Charles James Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, for the command in India; and it was rumoured that the duke of Wellington went to him and said, "If you don't go to India, I must." Sir Charles was appointed on the 7th of March as successor to lord Gough, whose term of command had expired; but the old chief had meanwhile redeemed his

laurels, and the war was finished on that day week. On the 13th of February, a reconnaissance conducted by sir Walter Gilbert discovered that Shere Singh had left Rossool, and, instead of retiring across the Jhelum, was in full march for Lahore. Lord Gough broke up from Chillianwallah in pursuit, and was joined in the next few days by the greater part of the army from Meoltan under general Whish. A detachment of that force, under colonel Byrne, had meanwhile succeeded in checking an attempt of the Sikhs to cross the Chenab on their way to Vizirabad; and Shere Singh took post with his main army of 60,000 men, with 59 guns, in front of *Goojerat*, within ten miles of the right bank. He held a strong position between two river courses, which covered his flanks but left him space to manœuvre and retire either on the east or west side of the town, which furnished support and shelter to his rear. At 7 in the morning of February 21st, lord Gough attacked this superior force thus strongly posted, with 25,000 men and 100 guns; and, after nine hours' desperate fighting, a complete victory was won by the force of a well-served artillery and the sheer courage of the British soldiers and their Sepoy auxiliaries. Lord Gough's despatch describes the cannonade opened upon the enemy as "the most magnificent I ever witnessed, and as terrible in its effects. The Sikh guns were served with their customary rapidity, and the enemy well and resolutely maintained his position; but the terrific force of our fire obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to fall back. I then deployed the infantry, and directed a general advance, covering the movement by my artillery as before. . . . The ranks of the enemy were broken, their position carried, their guns, ammunition, camp equipage, and baggage, captured; their flying masses driven before the victorious pursuers from midday to dark, receiving most severe punishment in their flight." The loss on the British side was 100 killed and 900 wounded. Only 8,000 of the Sikhs escaped with Shere Singh to the Salt Hill range; and on the 14th of March they surrendered unconditionally. Meanwhile sir Walter Gilbert pressed the pursuit of the Afghan allies under Dest Mohammed, who at length found secure shelter within the Khyber Pass (March 21st). On the 29th of March the governor-general, lord Dalhousie,* proclaimed the annexation of the Punjab to British India, a suitable provision being made for the young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh (then in his 11th year), who was brought to England for education, and adopted the Christian faith and the life of an English gentleman.†

Moolraj was put on his trial for the murder of Andersen and Vans Agnew, but his sentence of death was commuted to imprisonment for life. He died on the road to Allahabad (August 11, 1851).

* The earl (afterwards marquis) of Dalhousie had succeeded viscount Hardinge as governor-general on the 12th of January, 1848.

† Among the spoils of Lahore was the great diamond called *Koh-i-Noor* ("Mountain of Light"), which was presented to the Queen by the directors of the East India Company, and formed one of the chief attractions of the Exhibition of 1851, though greatly reduced in size by recutting.

CHAPTER VI.

Second Visitation of the Cholera, 1848-1849—Its March from India across Asia and Europe—Severity in France—First appearance in England—Predisposing and aggravating conditions—The Cholera in London—Its Climax and Decline—Comparison of the first and second visitations—Third Visitation in 1853—Lord Palmerston's Letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh—Moral Aspects of the Visitations—Impulse to Sanitary Improvement—Main Drainage of London—Metropolitan Board of Works—Embankment of the Thames—Results seen in the Fourth Visitation, in 1866—Its Local Character and short duration—Its cessation—Death of Queen Adelaide—Assaults on the Queen by Hamilton (1849), Pate (1859), O'Connor (1872), Maclean (1882)—Exhibition of Industry of all Nations proposed by Prince Albert.

It remains to gather up some threads of the domestic events belonging to the memorable year 1849. The period of famine and revolution and war was marked also by pestilence. The Asiatic cholera visited our island for the second time. As with the epidemic of 1831-2, its path may be traced from India, where it devastated Afghanistan and the Punjab in 1845, and passed through Herat and Samarcand to Persia and Bagdad, whence it was carried by the pilgrims to Mecca; while by another route it spread to the shores of the Caspian, to Trebizond, and the Crimea. Its advance seemed suspended during the greater part of 1846, but in March, 1847, it broke out with fresh violence in the Transcaucasian provinces and a great part of European Russia, and reached Constantinople. The severe winter of 1847-48 raised the hope that the disease had ceased in Russia; but in May it was raging in various places, and also at Constantinople and in Syria; whence it spread rapidly over Eastern, Central, and Northern Europe. Towards the end of the year it was carried by passenger vessels to America. In New Orleans its ravages were frightful, the deaths during a part of January, 1849, exceeding fifty per cent. of the population, till the place presented the appearance of a deserted city.

In the early part of 1849 its greatest violence was felt in France, reaching its height in Paris on June 10th, when there were 672 deaths, among them marshal Bugeaud. On the following day the General Board of Health issued a formal notification of the progress of the epidemic in England. It had begun with a few scattered cases as early as June, and set in fairly in September. Since the latter end of March the disease had broken out in twelve different parts of London, in twenty-seven towns in England and Wales, and seventeen towns in Scotland. In the two months from the 29th of March to the 29th of May the total number of cases was 428, but in the twelve days preceding the date of the official notice the number was 673. As in 1831, so now, its prevalence in Hamburg in September, 1848, had been speedily followed by the appearance of cases at Hull and London, chiefly among the seafaring population. The present visitation

spread more rapidly than the former, broke out at a greater number of places almost simultaneously, and fell with much more severity on London as compared with other towns. But even this greater violence contributed to a better knowledge of the nature and causes of the disease, and the precautions to be taken against it; for in this case it was found to be emphatically true, that "prevention is better than cure." As in 1831, the epidemic of cholera was preceded by a marked increase of influenza, fever, and, in short, the whole class of diseases called *zymotic*,* and, whatever may be the specific choleraic poison, it was clearly established that the predisposing and aggravating conditions were the same for it as for those diseases, and that, besides the personal state of health, they were of a very simple and remediable character, want of cleanliness and good drainage, of pure air and water. To use lord Palmerston's homely and vigorous language: "it may almost everywhere be traceable to noxious effluvia, arising from accumulations of dirt and of animal and vegetable matter, choked-up drains, stinking sewers, and things of that kind; and few persons have anywhere been attacked by it who have not been exposed to these operating causes." † Above all, it was proved that the most fatal vehicle of this, as well as the other zymotic diseases, was water contaminated, however slightly, with organic matter, and especially with sewage, which at such a time necessarily contained the choleraic germs which, having done their work on the diseased and dead, were imbibed by the living. For we are writing of a time when rivers were at once the common drains and sources of water supply for the towns on their banks. Nay, the "crystal spring," the very emblem of purity, was found often to owe its sparkling brightness to the gases evolved by animal and vegetable decomposition, and, especially in the case of favourite pumps adjoining churchyards, to be a veritable poisoned fountain. ‡

Though the sanitary science, which was in a great measure the growth of this sad necessity, was then in its infancy, enough was known of these conditions to suggest some of the precautions most needed. In September and October, 1848, Orders in Council were issued for enforcing the Sanitary Acts then existing; and the result was shown by the notification put forth by the Board of Health on the 11th of June, 1849, in a greatly diminished ratio of deaths to attacks since the renewal of the Orders in Council.

In London and its suburbs the deaths during the last quarter of 1848 were 468; the weekly average, 36; but nearly half this total belouged to

* This name is derived from a theory that the germs of such diseases are of the nature of a *ferment* (Greek ζύμη, *leaven*).

† Letter of September 23, 1849, in Ashley's "Life of Palmerston," vol. i. p. 132. With reference to the sanitary measures for remedying these evils, lord Palmerston once said that "dirt is only matter in the wrong place."

‡ It is characteristic of what the "Quarterly Review" has called "those long years of discussion, which are required by the British public for the apprehension of what is obvious," that in 1882 the question of a constant supply of pure water for London is still, after a whole generation, in its incipient stage, though other great towns have proved, meanwhile, its perfect practicability.

November. The number of deaths in December (131) was exactly doubled in January (262). Then followed a marked decline to 181 and 73, in February and March; and from March 27th to June 2nd, the weekly deaths varied from 10 to only 1. But now began the force of the disease. In the next three weeks the steps of advance were 22, 42, 49, 124; in July and August from 152 to 1272, and onwards to a climax of 2026 for the first week in September, the total for that month being 6644, the weekly average nearly 1329. But for October the deaths were only 464; the rapid downward steps weekly from September 15th being 1682, 839, 434, 288, 110, 41, 25, 11, to 6 for November 10th, the end of the returns at our command; and the epidemic may be said to have ceased about this time in London and all Great Britain.* The whole duration of the Cholera (in its full character of an epidemic) was about thirteen months in 1848-9 (October-November) as compared with ten months in 1832 (February-December). The comparative mortality in London, with the ratio of deaths to the population at the two periods, was as follows:—

	1831-2.	1848-9.
Population of London	1,489,500	2,206,076
Number of deaths from Cholera	5,275	14,580
Ratio of Mortality	1 in 282	1 in 151

It is true that less dependence can be placed on the returns for the earlier visitation than on those for the later; but there is no reason to question the fact shown so strikingly by these figures, that the epidemic of 1848-9 was both absolutely and relatively much more destructive of life than its predecessor. The most probable cause of this seems to be that the water system of house drainage had meanwhile become general in London, without any further step being taken to dispose of the sewage except by throwing it into the Thames.† To this cause may be ascribed the much greater proportionate severity of the second epidemic in London, as compared with the rest of Great Britain, as is shown very strikingly by the following table‡:—

	1831-2.	1848-9.
Deaths from Cholera in London	5,275	14,574
Rest of England and Wales	15,451	24,854
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Total for England and Wales	20,726	39,428
Scotland	10,650	6,857
<hr/>		
Total for Great Britain	31,376	46,285

* The above figures are taken from an exhaustive paper in the "Companion to the Almanack" for 1850. They do not include Ireland.

† In 1847 an act was passed enforcing the conveyance of the house-drainage of London into the public sewers, and thus suppressing generally the system of cesspools. It was not yet understood how much more deleterious to health were the pollution of river water and the emanations of sewer-gas, than even the abominations thus removed.

‡ In the second column, the returns for London are made up to the 3rd of November, those for the rest of England and Scotland only to the 20th of October; but this does not seriously affect the comparison. A more considerable correction is required for the increase of population, which would reduce the ratio between the two epidemics, still, however, leaving the general result that the second was very much the more severe.

Comparing, first, the severity of the two visitations, we see that, in all England and Wales the mortality in 1848-9 was about double of that in 1831-2, but this increase was very unequally divided between London and the rest of the country; the ratio for London being nearly three times, but for the rest of England and Wales only about $1\frac{2}{3}$ times (or 1·6) or as 5 to 3. Scotland shows the remarkable result of a decrease about in the same ratio as the increase in England, namely, as 3 to 5, and consequently of a greatly diminished proportion to England; for, while in 1831-2 the mortality in Scotland was just half that in all England, in 1848-9 it was not much more than one-sixth. For the whole of Great Britain the mortality was about one-half as much again in the second visitation as in the first; in other words the mortality was about fifty per cent. greater.

London, with a population less than that of Scotland in the proportion of about 11 to 14, lost more than twice as many lives, but in 1831-2 just half as many. In 1831-2, London bore above one-fourth (nearly $25\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) of the whole mortality of England and Wales, and about one-sixth (just upon $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.) of that of all Great Britain. In 1847-8 the corresponding proportions were, the first considerably more, and the second somewhat less, than one-third (about 37 per cent. and $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively); and the ratio of the mortality of London to the rest of the country was, roughly speaking, doubled. The mortality of other large towns, when separated from that of the country districts, gave similar results, with a few marked exceptions in towns (such as Nottingham), which led the van of sanitary improvement. But the mortality in small places also was considerably in excess of that in 1831-2; the climax being reached in a village of 300 inhabitants in Devon, where 48 died, that is, nearly one person out of every six. The whole number of places attacked in Great Britain up to the 20th of October (and the list was further increased) was 645, as compared with 422 in 1831-2. But even these large numbers leave a vastly greater number of places untouched—another proof of the extent to which the disease depends on local and preventible conditions. In opening the next session of Parliament, the speech from the throne drew from the recent visitation the practical lesson—“Her Majesty is persuaded that we shall best evince our gratitude by vigilant precautions against the more obvious causes of sickness, and an enlightened consideration for those who are most exposed to its attacks” (January 31, 1850).

The sanitary lessons of this terrible visitation were slowly learnt, and have been still but imperfectly put in practice, especially in the most essential matter of pure water. But their efficacy is strikingly evinced by the two subsequent epidemics, which seemed unable to take root in the country. The cholera lingered in the north of Europe, and in September, 1853, it reappeared at Newcastle, and a week later in London, *at the very same spot where it broke out in 1848*, a cellar under some bone-works in Southwark. But the disease soon subsided,* and the visitation was chiefly

* Besides Newcastle,—Tynemouth, Hexham, and other northern towns, suffered with some severity; and in 1854, the epidemic returned for a short time, chiefly in the southern parts of London, which were badly drained and supplied with very impure water, and in Soho and St. James's, Westminster, it was clearly traced to the latter cause.

remarkable on account of the views expressed by lord Palmerston, who (through a curious political combination, to be noticed in its place) was then Secretary of State for the Home Department.* In reply to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who had enquired whether a national fast would be appointed by royal authority (as in 1849), lord Palmerston wrote to the moderator his reasons for not considering that such a fast "would be suitable to the circumstances of the present moment. The Maker of the Universe has established certain laws of nature for the planet in which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or the neglect of those laws. One of those laws connects health with the absence of those gaseous exhalations, which proceed from overcrowded human beings, or from decomposing substances, whether animal or vegetable; and those same laws render sickness the almost inevitable consequence of exposure to those noxious influences. But it has at the same time pleased Providence to place it within the power of man to make such arrangements as will prevent or disperse such exhalations so as to render them harmless, and it is the duty of man to attend to these laws of nature, and to exert the faculties which Providence has thus given to man for his own welfare. The recent visitation of cholera, which has for the moment been mercifully checked, is an awful warning given to the people of this realm that they have too much neglected their duty in this respect, and that those persons with whom it rested to purify towns and cities, and to prevent or remove the causes of disease, have not been sufficiently active in regard to such matters. Lord Palmerston would therefore suggest that the best course which the people of this country can pursue, to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring in planning and executing measures by which those portions of their towns and cities, which are inhabited by the poorest classes, and which, from the nature of things, most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence and be fruitful of death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation. When man has done his utmost for his own safety, then is the time to invoke the blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions."† -The witty criticism, that lord Palmerston treated Heaven as a "foreign power," has thus much foundation, that his answer to the Presbytery gave sound advice in a needlessly offensive form; though as for "any irreverence for sacred things on his part," his biographer assures us that "he never either showed such a feeling himself, or encouraged its manifestation in others." But the lesson given in the concluding words—a popular commonplace since Æsop's time—seems to overlook the principle that prayer is as much a "condition precedent" disposing to

* In this office lord Palmerston was very active in sanitary reforms, especially the closing of urban churchyards, under an Act of the preceding session, and compelling manufactories to consume their smoke (see chap. xii.).

† Ashley's "Life of Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

work, as a means of bringing down a blessing on those exertions which—if what is said of the laws of nature were pressed to its logical result—would be completely effective of themselves. Assuredly the spectacle seen in 1849 of “the prayers and fastings of a united but *not* inactive nation,” humbly acknowledging, not such vague powers as “Providence” and “Heaven,” but the hand of God, was a happy contrast to that reckless dissolution of moral bonds—“Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die”—which is attested by the vivid pictures of Thucydides, Boccaccio, and De Foe, as attending the plagues of Athens, Florence, and London, and which was in some degree exhibited in Paris in 1831-32.

At all events, the nation had begun to cast off the reproach of inaction, and visitations of cholera gave a stimulus to the sanitary legislation which from 1845 onwards, busied itself with the removal of nuisances, the regulation of burial-grounds, precautions against the propagation of diseases, the inspection of lodging-houses, the improvement of the people's dwellings, and, in short, the whole subject of public health. The grand scheme of combining the drainage of London with the embankment of its noble but abused river, long since suggested by men of large views,* was at last embodied in two Acts of Parliament. The first was passed under the pressure of a hot season which made the Thames intolerably offensive,† entrusted the main drainage of London to the Metropolitan Board of Works, a representative body created in 1855 for the local management of London. In 1860 they recommended an embankment of the Thames, within which might be carried the lowest of the three main lines of sewers, and an Act was passed in 1862 for embanking the north side of the Thames from Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars Bridge.‡ Both works were carried out by sir Joseph Bazalgette, as engineer. Excepting the low-level sewer, which awaited the completion of the embankment, the main drainage works for London on both sides of the river were completed in 1865: a date to be especially noted with regard to the next visitation of cholera. The “Victoria Embankment,” with its low-level sewer, was substantially completed and opened to foot passengers in 1868, and the roadway was thrown open by the Prince of Wales in 1870.§ The main drainage works, consisting of

* An embankment or Thames Quay formed a part of sir Christopher Wren's great design for the rebuilding of London after the fire of 1666, and was frequently recommended afterwards, either alone or in combination with a sewer, as by sir Frederick Trench in 1824. In 1828 the famous painter, John Martin, published a “Plan for Supplying London with Water, and for a Thames Embankment:” another case of just one generation between the conception and execution.

† Metropolis Local Management Act Amendment (21 and 22 Vict. cap. 104, August 2, 1858), entitled, “An Act to alter and amend the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, and to extend the Powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works for the Purification of the Thames and the Main Drainage of the Metropolis.”

‡ Above Westminster Bridge an embankment already existed along Millbank and Pimlico, and this was completed along Chelsea in 1874.

§ On the south of the river only a small portion has been embanked, between Westminster and Vauxhall Bridges, the “Albert Embankment.”

82 miles of sewers, which cost £1,500,000, were completed in 1875: if it can be called completion to throw into the Thames only eighteen miles below London a pestilential obstruction of millions of tons of matter which ought to be returned to fertilize the soil whence it originally came.*

Meanwhile a first proof was instantly given of the sanitary value of the work. In the very year when the main part of it was completed (1865), cholera was again raging in Europe, and two cases appeared at Southampton in October. Early in the next year an international conference met at Constantinople (where 50,000 deaths had occurred in August), and collected much valuable information concerning the propagation of the disease, especially from great distances, and the best preventive measures. Faithful to its former appearance first at our great seaports, the epidemic broke out again in the spring and summer at Bristol, Liverpool, Southampton, and with special violence in London. But now its ravages were almost restricted to the low-lying districts of the East-end, where the main drainage was still imperfect and the water supply of an exceptionally bad quality. In the week ending July 21st, there were 346 deaths from cholera in London: in that ending August 4th, they had risen to 1,053. The poverty of the district called forth a benevolent effort for the relief of the sufferers and their bereaved families, set on foot by the Bishop of London, to whom the Queen wrote with her gift of £500:—"The sufferings of a large number of poor persons from cholera in a particular district of London, though fortunately as yet in a limited one, has most painfully attracted the Queen's attention; and her Majesty consequently learnt with satisfaction the proposal in your letter published this morning, to arrange with the Metropolitan Relief and District Visiting Association, of which your Lordship is President, for the proper administration of a special Cholera Fund." The contrast with former visitations was as striking in the short duration of the epidemic as its almost local character.† Instead of the ten months of 1831-2, and the thirteen months of 1848-9, it lasted only two or three months with any violence, beginning to subside rapidly in September, and ceasing in November. The number of deaths registered in London was 5,548, besides 2,692 from diarrhœa and cognate ailments. The contrast of these numbers to those of 1849 needs no comment; and the disease has not returned to our islands since 1866, while it has lingered in various parts of Europe, with some severe outbreaks.

We glance back to 1849 to record the death of Adelaide, the Queen Dowager, at Stanmore, at the age of 56 (December 2nd). In spite of some temporary unpopularity on political grounds, all felt the truth of the testimony borne in the official announcement to the "many eminent virtues" which rendered her the object of universal esteem and affection.

Another incident of this year was a repetition of those senseless assaults

* Foremost in this, as in other works for the public welfare, Prince Albert had already (in 1850) devised and put in practice at Osborne a cheap and effectual method of utilizing sewage for agriculture; but his plan was not applicable to large towns.

† In the rest of Great Britain its character was sporadic. Just after it ceased in London, a sudden outbreak at a village in Fife carried off thirty persons in three days (Nov. 18-20).

on the Queen, which had occurred three times before (in 1840 and 1842), from no serious motive of political conspiracy or personal hatred, and without the excuse of actual insanity. On the 19th of May, as her Majesty, with three of her children, was returning down Constitution Hill to Buckingham Palace in an open carriage, an Irish bricklayer, named William Hamilton, fired at her a pistol charged only with powder, and, having been with difficulty rescued by the police from the summary vengeance of the crowd, was tried under the Act of 1842 for the Protection of Her Majesty's Person,* pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to seven years' transportation.

Just a year later (May 27, 1850) a more serious and dastardly assault was made by lieutenant Pate, known as a dandy loungeur in the parks, who struck the Queen in the face with a cane as she was leaving Cambridge House from a visit to the duke, who was seriously ill. No motive whatever was assigned, and, though the jury rejected the plea of insanity, baron Alderson gave weight to it so far as to spare the prisoner the punishment of whipping, and sentenced him to seven years' transportation.

No repetition of the offence occurred till February 29, 1872, when a youth of seventeen, named Arthur O'Connor, presented himself beside the Queen's carriage as she was entering Buckingham Palace, holding an old broken and unloaded pistol in one hand, and in the other a petition for the release of the Fenian prisoners. The plea of insanity was rejected on his trial, and he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a whipping.

Ten years passed before another and more serious attempt was made by a young man named Maclean, who, in a state of desperation from poverty, fired a loaded pistol at the Queen as she was driving out of the railway station at Windsor (March 2, 1882). He was tried for high treason; but happily the jury had no hesitation in declaring him insane.

The conception and progress of the grand idea of an Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations will be related when we come to its successful execution in 1851. It was first proposed by Prince Albert to the Society of Arts on the 30th June, 1849, and the "Gazette" of Jan. 4, 1850, contained the names of the Commission appointed for carrying it into effect.†

* 5 and 6 Vict. cap. 51. See vol. viii. p. 497. This Act, without altering the law of High Treason, provides that if any person shall wilfully discharge or present any fire-arm, loaded or not, at or near the person of the Queen, or wilfully strike or attempt to strike her, or throw any substance at her, with intent to injure the Queen's person, or to break the public peace, or to alarm her Majesty, every such person shall be guilty of a high misdemeanour, and, on conviction, shall be liable, at the discretion of the court, to seven years' transportation, or to three years' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, and during such imprisonment to be publicly or privately whipped, not exceeding three times.

† See chap. x.

CHAPTER VII.

Opening of Parliament, 1850—Subjects of the Queen's Speech—Depression of Agriculture—Mr. Disraeli's Motion on Local Taxation—Debate on Protection and Free Trade—Weakness of the Ministry—State of Parties—Legislation of the Session—Metropolitan Burials' Act—Police Act for Scotland—Establishment of Free Libraries—Scotch National Gallery at Edinburgh—Ecclesiastical Commission—Mercantile Marine—Act for the Government of the Australian Colonies—Constitutional Government for Victoria—Sir Charles Wood's Budget—Repeal of the Duty on Bricks—Motion against the Window Tax—Financial Reform—Mr. Drummond's Motion—Sir Robert Peel on Retrenchment and Defence—Committee on Official Salaries—New Palace of Westminster—Motion against Post Office Business on Sundays carried against Ministers—The Sunday Post discontinued, and restored—The two great events of the Session of 1850—Quarrel with Greece—Rival influence of England, France, and Russia—Views of Lord Palmerston—Affair of Don Pacifico—Claim of Mr. Finlay—The *Fantôme*—Measures of Coercion—Lord Palmerston's Instructions—Blockade of the Piræus—Protest of Russia—Mediation of France—Different agreements at London and Athens—Offence given to France—Settlement of the Dispute—Opposition between Lord Palmerston, the Court, and the Premier—Vote of Censure in the House of Lords—Lord John Russell on Palmerston—"The Minister of England"—Mr. Roebuck's Motion in the Commons—Great Debate on Foreign Policy—Lord Palmerston's successful Speech—"Civis Romanus sum"—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Mr. Cockburn's Speech—Last Speech of Sir Robert Peel—Palmerston triumphant—Sir Robert Peel's Accident and Death—Grief of Queen and People—The Duke of Wellington's Tears—Funeral in Westminster Abbey declined—Honours to his Memory—Lady Peel's refusal of a peerage in accordance with Sir Robert's injunctions—Prince Albert's Eulogy of Sir Robert Peel—Death of Louis Philippe—Lord Palmerston on Louis Philippe and Peel, and on Party Prospects—Palmerston the successor-designate to Peel—Honours paid him by the Liberal Party—The Greek Treaty signed.

THE Third Session of the Queen's third Parliament was opened by commission on the 31st of January, 1850. After expressing "the deep affliction caused to her Majesty by the death of Queen Adelaide," and eulogizing her virtues, the Royal Speech announced the continuance of amity with foreign powers, and the peaceful arrangement of the difficulties in which the Porte had been involved with Austria and Russia respecting the Hungarian refugees. Her Majesty had been engaged in communications with Foreign States upon the measures that might be rendered necessary by the repeal of the Navigation Laws; and, referring with satisfaction on the measures of reciprocity granted by the United States and Sweden to British ships, the Speech expressed a hope "that our example will lead to a great and general diminution of the obstacles that prevent a free intercourse by sea between the nations of the world." Her Majesty's loyal reception in Ireland gave occasion for an expres-

sion of sympathy with "the effects of former years of scarcity still painfully felt" there, though "mitigated by the present abundance of food and by the tranquillity that prevails." Congratulations on the vast improvement of commerce and manufactures were mingled with regret at the complaints of the owners and occupiers of land. Her Majesty "lamented that any portion of her subjects should be suffering distress;" but she felt "sincere gratification at witnessing the increased enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life, which cheapness and plenty had bestowed on the great body of her people." There was but too much ground for this regret; for the agricultural interest, still suffering the after-effects of several bad harvests, had not yet settled down to make the best of the late changes and to reap their share of the benefits of free trade; missing the crutch of protection and clinging to the vain hope of its restoration. Amendments to the address, regretting the distress prevailing among agriculturists as being "in consequence of recent legal enactments," were negatived by majorities of 152 to 103 in the Lords, and 311 to 192 in the Commons.

On the 19th of February Mr. Disraeli led a more formidable assault from the new position he had chosen in the preceding year, of demanding some compensation for the loss of protection by a diminution of the burdens which were alleged to press most heavily on real property. He moved for a committee of the whole House to consider resolutions for transferring to the Consolidated Fund a portion of the cost of the Poor Law and other local administration, to the extent of £1,500,000. This opened an animated debate on the whole question of Protection and Free Trade, in the course of which sir Robert Peel declared that "Protection never could be revived; and the landed aristocracy would one day see that the abrogation of Protection had established their just influence more firmly than ever." On the other hand, the motion was supported by Mr. Gladstone, though with a protest against its being supposed to involve any abrogation of the Free Trade policy. Its rejection by the narrow majority of 21 (273 votes to 252) was one of several signs of the precarious hold of power by the Ministry.

The unstable equilibrium of party support, felt in several checks and modifications to which the proposals of Government were subjected, makes it all the more remarkable how many important measures were added to the Statute Book. As a result of the late visitation of cholera, the Queen's Speech had recommended further progress in removing the evils that affect the health of her Majesty's subjects, both in the metropolis and in other parts of the United Kingdom; and a Bill was carried, against the strong opposition of interested parties, "to make better Provision for the Interment of the Dead in and near the Metropolis," by enabling the local authorities to form suburban cemeteries, and providing for the closing of burial-grounds in London.* In consequence of this Act, churchyards which by their crowded state outraged the natural sense of regard for the last "sleeping-place," and threatened pestilence, have been converted into gardens amidst the closely surrounding houses.

* 13 and 14 Victoria, cap. 52, August 5, 1850.

Another Act made "more effectual provision for regulating the Police of Towns and populous places in Scotland, and for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting, and improving the same."* New Acts were passed for limiting the hours of labour of females and children in factories (cap. 54), for the inspection of Coal Mines (cap. 100), and for the regulation of Friendly Societies (cap. 115). A step was taken towards the intellectual advancement of the people by an Act enabling boroughs with a population exceeding 10,000 persons to establish Free Libraries and Museums by the votes of a majority of two-thirds of the persons qualified to vote.† Among the first towns to take advantage of the Act were Manchester, Liverpool, and Oxford. Their example was followed by many others; but some boroughs won an unenviable distinction by refusing to put the Act in force.‡ The commissioners for manufactures and improvements in Scotland were empowered to erect a National Gallery on the earthen mound beneath Edinburgh Castle (cap. 86).§ The jurisdiction of County Courts was extended to suits involving amounts up to £50 (cap. 61). Important alterations were made in the constitution and duties of the Ecclesiastical Commission (cap. 94). A long and important Act regulated the discipline and other affairs of the Mercantile Marine (cap. 93).

A new era was marked in the relations of the mother country to the Colonies by the Act "for the better government of her Majesty's Australian Colonies,"|| which erected the district of Port Philip into the separate Colony of Victoria, with a Governor and Legislative Council, and made new regulations for the representative government and general affairs of this and the other colonies of Australia. The measure led to interesting debates on the proposal of some members to establish two Chambers, after the model of the British Parliament, and on the ecclesiastical affairs of the Colonies.

The Financial Statement of sir Charles Wood on the 15th of March gave now evidence of revived prosperity. The surplus, which had been estimated at £104,000 in the last year's Budget, had amounted to two millions and

* 13 and 14 Victoriae, cap. 33, July 15, 1850.

† 13 and 14 Victoriae, cap. 65, August 14, 1850. This Act superseded an earlier one for the establishment of Museums of Art in large towns (8 and 9 Vict. c. 43, 1845); a similar Act was passed for Scotland in 1854 (17 and 18 Vict. c. 37); and these Acts were modified and extended in 1855, 1866, and 1871.

‡ Among these were some of the Metropolitan Boroughs, and the City itself; but here the Corporation threw open the splendid Library at Guildhall, and erected a new building for it (1872). On the other hand a Free Library established in Marylebone was closed for want of support.

§ The first stone of the building was laid by Prince Albert (August 30th) as he passed through Edinburgh with the Queen on the way to Balmoral. They stayed at Holyrood—the first visit paid to the Palace by a British Queen since the unhappy Mary left it in 1567. The Prince's speech on this occasion was very successful, "and showed how well he appreciated the best features of the Scottish character—its love of improvement, its strong practical sense, and its self-dependence."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 319.

|| 13 and 14 Victoriae, cap. 59, August 5th.

a-quarter ; * and for the coming year it was calculated at a million and a-half. Following the policy of sir Robert Peel, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to devote nearly a third of this surplus (£450,000) to the abolition of the Excise duty on bricks, an impost which was felt especially burdensome at a time when efforts were beginning to be made for improving the dwellings of the people. £300,000 were given up to the modification of Stamp Duties, especially those on leases and the transfer of real property ; † and £750,000 were to be applied to the reduction of the National Debt.

These measures were not carried without warm debates and strong assaults on the whole system of finance. Against lord Duncan's motion for a repeal of the Window Tax the Ministry had only a majority of 3 (80 to 77, April 9th). The motion made by Mr. Milner Gibson, and supported by Mr. Disraeli, for a repeal of the imposts stigmatized as " Taxes on Knowledge "—namely, on paper, newspapers, advertisements, and foreign books—though rejected as inopportune (April 16th), was the earnest of coming success. The demand for a large reduction of expenditure was enforced, not only by Mr. Cobden (as the organ of the Financial Reform Association), but from the opposite side of the House. On the 12th of March Mr. Henry Drummond proposed a resolution for reducing the public expenditure, on the ground that the present weight of taxation depressed all classes by diminishing the fund available for the employment of productive labour ; and sir Robert Peel, though opposing the motion, insisted on the need of retrenchment, and expressed the remarkable opinion, that " some risk of loss in case of hostilities ought to be incurred for the sake of alleviating the burdens that would otherwise crush the energies of the people." A sentiment which could only have been uttered under the sanguine belief of assured peace, which made the " risk " too remote for consideration, reads now in strange contrast with a long period of increased armaments, necessitated by events then on the eve of dissipating the fond hope, and with an expenditure augmented from 50 to above 80 millions, without " crushing the energies " which were even then about to be reinforced by a wonderful tide of prosperity. Besides the expenditure for national defence, a special assault was made from both sides of the House on official salaries ; and lord John Russell found it desirable to move for a Select Committee on ministerial, judicial, and diplomatic salaries (April 12th). The result was to show that, in general, the public servants were by no means overpaid, and that the salaries of cabinet ministers and ambassadors, in particular, often left them losers by office. Lord John Russell himself gave the remarkable evidence, that he had never been in debt till he became Prime Minister.

It was during this session that the House of Commons first met in their new Chamber (May 30th), just fifteen years and a-half since the destruction of the old Houses by fire in November, 1831, ‡ and ten years from the

* See the Tables of Income and Expenditure.

† 13 and 14 Victoria, cap. 97, August 14th.

‡ See vol. viii. p. 349 and the plan of the site on p. 350. An excellent account of the progress of the new building, with valuable critical remarks, will be found in the successive volumes of the " British Almanack and Companion." The Lords had taken possession of their gorgeous Chamber in 1847.

beginning of the new "Palace of Westminster" from the designs of Mr. (afterwards sir Charles) Barry, who only just lived to see the completion of the edifice in its essential parts in 1860. It was no special fault of Barry's, but a common characteristic of the modern severance of "high art" in architecture from the first requirements of utility, that the House was found wanting in some of the first requisites, and had to be much altered.

If their new house was something of a *fiasco*, so also was the first work the Commons did in it. The weekly day of rest, which the general Christian feeling of the country enables us to observe as a public institution, is necessarily subject to exceptions, which raise many delicate questions of principle and practice. The Sunday's rest, in London, from the delivery and collecting of letters, has been long supposed to make their delivery and collection on Sunday in the country a necessary condition to the regular circulation of correspondence; and this practice has not been found to make Sunday a day of business in the country as it might probably become in London if the Post were in full work. But well-meaning persons, partly following a hard-and-fast line of which they deemed religious duty, and partly from consideration for the Post-office servants, had raised a vigorous agitation for the complete cessation of postal work on Sundays. Lord Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) moved for an Address to her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to direct that the collection and delivery of letters on Sundays might in future entirely cease in all parts of the kingdom; and the resolution was carried against ministers by 93 to 68. The majority made up just a fifth part of one branch of the legislature; but, instead of rallying his forces for a more deliberate vote, lord John Russell resolved, with characteristic boldness (not to say petulance), to challenge the decision of the people by an experiment to which very few of them were consenting parties. The Queen was advised to give her gracious assent to the Address; while lord John declared that no exception would be made for foreign correspondence; and on Sunday, June 23rd, the order was put in force. The result was at once felt and seen in the burden of inconvenience, and in some cases severe suffering, producing the storm of indignation which the Premier had counted on provoking; but permanent good was done in checking unnecessary work in the Post Office. Negating, by 233 votes to 92, a resolution for simply restoring the old practice, the House, on the suggestion of lord John, and by 195 votes to 112, agreed to a new Address to the Crown, praying that enquiry might be made whether the amount of Sunday labour in the Post Office might not be reduced without completely putting an end to the collection and delivery of letters on Sunday (July 9th). The usual business of the country Post Offices was resumed on Sunday, the 1st of September. Meanwhile the Parliament had been prorogued on August 15th.

The foregoing subjects of legislation and debate had been such as suited the continuance of "government by sufferance;" but the session had not passed away without a great party conflict, which "showed to the Fates" the destined successor of the great parliamentary leader, who was at the

same moment snatched away by a lamentable accident. That debate, which witnessed Palmerston's great triumph and Peel's last speech, arose out of a very unworthy cause; but, though the course adopted by lord Palmerston towards Greece must be on the whole condemned, this is eminently one of the cases in which the historian should have regard to the views and position of the actor. The petty and doubtful claims, which were justly regarded as quite unworthy of such high-handed interference, were in his view but the occasion for asserting the just influence of England, as one of the protecting powers, against the indignities shown to her subjects by the Bavarian king, who afterwards became intolerable to his subjects, encouraged by the despotic tendencies of Russia and the dangerous diplomacy of France. The three powers, in guaranteeing the independence of Greece and the throne of Otho, had declared that his government must be constitutional. The fulfilment of this promise was no desire of Russia, and was far less the object of France than the encouragement of ambitious hopes in the futuro; * while lord Palmerston's devotion to freedom was mingled with indignation all the greater for the pettiness of the insults by which Otho and his ministers showed their jealousy of English influence. The conviction of a conspiracy at Athens against the English minister, † for his pressing advice to fulfil the promise of constitutional government, was easily transferred by lord Palmerston to the parliamentary attack on the Foreign Secretary, which he called "a shot fired by a foreign conspiracy aided and abetted by a domestic intrigue."

A chief complaint against the Greek government was its contempt for the rights which various Maltese, Ionians, and other residents, claimed as English subjects. Among these, there was residing at Athens, in 1847, a certain Jew, named Pacifico, of Portuguese extraction, but born at Gibraltar, and so a British subject. The Athenian mob, deprived by the police of their wonted Easter amusement of burning Judas Iscariot in effigy, took their revenge on the nearest surviving Jew by plundering the house of Don Pacifico in open day (April 4th). In claiming compensation, Don Pacifico valued his destroyed goods at nearly £32,000 (just thirty times the amount afterwards settled by arbitration).

With this claim was mixed up another demand made by a person far more respectable, and a native British subject, Mr. Finlay, the author of the standard "History of Greece" down to modern times, who had lived in Athens ever since the establishment of Greek independence, with which he was one of the early sympathizers. A portion of his land was taken to round off the gardens of King Otho's palace. Mr. Finlay, alone of the owners thus affected, refused the compensation offered by the Greek government, and asked £1,500 for land which had cost him £10. In neither

* See the frank avowal of Monsieur Guizot, who was Prime Minister of Louis Philippe when these misunderstandings were drawing to a head ("Mémoires," vol. vii. p. 324, quoted in Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 178), and lord Palmerston's vigorous exposure of the foreign intrigues at Athens (*Ibid.* pp. 181-3).

† Sir Edmund, afterwards lord Lyons, British minister at the Greek court from 1835 to 1849.

case was satisfaction sought in the Greek courts of law; but the demand was made through the English Foreign Office, which adopted the claims in full. A demand was also made for satisfaction on account of the arrest, by mistake, of a midshipman who had landed one night at Patras from her Majesty's ship *Fantôme*; as well as for some alleged outrages on Ionian seamen. The Greek government did not attempt to justify some of the acts complained of; but they resisted (and rightly as it proved) the Pacifico and Finlay claims as grossly exaggerated, and pleaded poverty for the delay which was due also to their wretched administration. As between the two governments the question was one for calm and firm discussion, with a degree of patience somewhat hard to exercise; but lord Palmerston regarded it as a trial of strength with the other guaranteeing powers.*

As early as August, 1847, he threatened reprisals and a blockade, and the diplomatic contest went on during the troubled years (1848-9), in which far greater matters claimed attention; but when our fleet was about to return from the Dardanelles after lord Palmerston's diplomatic victory in the matter of the Hungariau refugees, he seized the opportunity to finish the Greek affair, and ordered the fleet under admiral Parker to the Piræus. He seems to have had some reliance, but not much, on the efficacy of a more demonstration; and he wrote to Mr. Wyse, our minister at Athens, "If, however, the Greek government does not strike, Parker must do so."†

On the 17th of January, 1850, the British fleet appeared at the Piræus, with a peremptory demand for the settlement of the claims within twenty-four hours. On non-compliance, the port was declared blockaded and an embargo was laid on all vessels in it, merchantmen as well as of the Greek navy. Appealed to by Greece as the joint protecting powers, the French and Russian ministers offered their mediation, which Mr. Wyse declined, as his instructions left him no discretion. This step gave count Nesselrode the occasion to indite one of those keen despatches in which Russian diplomacy excels, and which lord Stanley afterwards characterized "as deeply painful to a British subject to read as addressed to a British minister, but doubly painful when he reflects that, bitter, imperious, and offensive, as the language is, it was not more bitter, more imperious, more offensive, than the provocation." The French government, hardly yet settled under the Prince President after the throes of the revolution, entered earnestly into a mediation, which became complicated by cross moves at Athens and at London. For, while on the 18th of April a convention was concluded between lord Palmerston and M. Drouyn de Lhuys (the French ambassador), for the settlement of the claims, Mr. Wyse had rejected the mediation of the accredited French envoy, baron Gros; and the measures of coercion were continued even after baron Gros received news of the London convention (April 24th). Three days later, the official news not having yet reached Mr.

* Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. pp. 180-1.

† Despatch of December 3, 1849, in Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. pp. 183-4.

Wyse, the Greek government yielded to his demands. "This was a great triumph for lord Palmerston," says his biographer; and the words are the key to his attempt to fix Greece to the terms extorted from her by Mr. Wyse instead of those agreed on by himself at London. The same feeling is reflected in the motive ascribed to France for resenting the attempt:—"The French were beyond measure annoyed that the dispute should at last *have been settled by our own means*, and not by their good offices." Had it been so, the state of France and of Europe should have been a strong motive for humouring their susceptibility, which Russia had already soothed by leaving the mediation in their hands; and lord Palmerston's tact and knowledge of human nature soon perceived this. When the matter was complicated by the recal of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, he laboured earnestly for an accommodation of the dispute, which was at last settled by a compromise originally suggested by Prince Albert, namely, that the stipulations of the London convention should be substituted for those clauses of the arrangement concluded at Athens which had not been already executed (June 21st). The arbitration on the Pacifico claims was not finished till some years later; and a sum of less than £10,000 proved sufficient to satisfy all the demands, for which Greece had been in danger of being devoured by the creators of her freedom, and a war had almost been risked between England, France, and Russia!

It was not then known how much the whole matter had been complicated, and Palmerston's spirit of self-assertion stirred up, by the feeling that he was the champion of the people's desire for constitutional freedom abroad, not only against a conspiracy of foreign despotisms and the Tory sympathies with order rather than liberty when they came in conflict, but also against a bias to what he considered the wrong side in the cabinet and the court, and particularly in the Queen's most intimate adviser. The calm intellectual earnestness of Prince Albert was far from congenial to the impulsive vigour of Palmerston; and the want of respect for the sovereign in the transaction of foreign business, of which we shall hear more presently, was doubtless often prompted by the desire to do what he thought right before he could be checked; and his light-hearted courage would feel the pleasure of what he called "making a stroke off his own bat" enhanced by the very dignity of the influence which he circumvented. As for his colleagues ("the broadbrims of the cabinet" *), there was among them such a feeling that, in the very crisis of the difference with France (May 18th), lord John Russell informed the Queen of his determination "no longer to remain in office with lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. I feel strongly," he added, "that the Queen ought not to be exposed to the enmity of Austria, France, and Russia, on account of her minister."

But it was not yet the time to act on this resolve; for lord Stanley had given notice of a resolution which must be resisted, not only from loyalty to a colleague, but in defence of the whole foreign policy of the Government. After being postponed till the new understanding with France was secured,

* See above, p. 33.

the debate in the Lords was held on the 17th and 18th of June, when lord Stanley's condemnatory resolution was supported by the earl of Aberdeen, viscount Canning, and lord Brougham, and carried by a majority of 37.*

No vote of the Upper House decides the fate of a ministry; but such a censure called for a clear decision in the Commons, and, as no notice of a hostile motion had yet been given, the initiative lay with the ministerial side. In reply to Mr. Roebuck, who, as an independent member, asked for a statement of the intentions of the ministry (June 20th), lord John Russell pronounced his famous eulogium of lord Palmerston—now doubly forcible from what had passed behind the scenes—for having always acted “not as the Minister of Austria, not as the Minister of Russia, not as the Minister of France, but *as only the Minister of England.*” Thus the defence was boldly and prudently taken up, not on the merits of the Greek question, but on the whole battlefield of recent foreign policy, which had in fact been assailed in the Lords; and Mr. Roebuck gave notice of a resolution: “That the principles, on which the foreign policy of her Majesty's government have been regulated, have been such as were calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of this country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world.”

The debate was opened on the midsummer night (June 24th), when the part to be taken by the Peelite section was indicated by sir James Graham's attack on lord Palmerston's whole course of dealings with Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Greece, and France. On the second night lord Palmerston rose just as the summer twilight had faded away and spoke for nearly five hours till the breaking of a new day.† Neither then, nor through his long career, could he wield the wondrous weapons of consummate eloquence; but a more effective mastery of parliamentary debate was never delivered in the House. Without referring to a note, and without failure of memory or fluent utterance, he went through the whole course of diplomacy which had taxed his energies for three most eventful years; striking ever and anon the chords of patriotic feeling and liberal sentiment which, he well knew, would vibrate through the House, and be taken up in responsive echoes by the voice of the whole people. The weakness of Greece, against which it seemed so ungenerous to launch the might of England;—the pettiness of the ground of quarrel, and the contempt raised by its more ludicrous aspects;—the doubtful character of the Portuguese Jew;—were all turned to his account. Then, launching out into the wider field of attack on his whole foreign policy, he availed himself with consummate skill of the charge that in one or another case he had been moved by personal animosity against a foreign minister. This, he retorted in effect, is the measure dealt out to me, because I am faithful to the principles of England. “It is,” he said, “like shooting a policeman. As long as

* No less than 301 peers voted, of whom nearly two-thirds were present: the numbers for lord Stanley's resolution being 113 and 56 proxies, against it 77 and 55 proxies.

† See lord Palmerston's letter to his brother, in Ashley's “Life,” vol. ii. p. 224.

England is England, as long as the English people are animated by the feelings and spirit and opinions which they possess, you may knock down twenty foreign ministers one after another, but depend upon it no one will keep his place who does not act upon the same principles." He exposed with powerful argument and striking illustrations the error into which his eager opponents had overreached themselves, as if a British citizen abroad were to be subjected without interference to the law under which he lived, however opposed to the first elements of justice and safety that he would enjoy at home—conscriptio or slavery, plunder, torture, or death without a trial. In short, the keynote of the speech was an echo of lord John's saying that he had acted as the minister of England, and that all his course had been actuated by the resolve that the poorest claimant who bore the name of an English citizen should be protected by the whole strength of England against the oppression of a foreign government. The peroration caused the formula made famous by Cicero and St. Paul to be long associated with the name of Palmerston—how truly, many a traveller in Europe and Asia can bear witness:—"I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this House, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it—whether the principles on which the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say, *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

Lord Palmerston's triumph was complete. Repeated bursts of cheering attested that he had caught at full tide the sentiment of the House and of the people, of whose feelings for the time the House is always the faithful organ. The rights of the Greek question were forgotten in the lofty assertion of Britain's right to stretch forth her hand to guard her citizens all the world over. The unsubstantial figure of the Jew, in whom no one could take a personal interest, faded away before the ideal grandeur of the citizen, whom each man identified with himself, protected by the omnipresent care of England, symbolized by the signature of "PALMERSTON" on his passport, a spell like the *Melek Ric* with which Eastern mothers long quieted their children. It was in vain that Mr. Gladstone, resuming the debate (June 27th) in a speech which lord Palmerston called a "first-rate performance,"* brought his classic lore to demolish the parallel that had clinched the argument.

* See lord Palmerston's very interesting estimate of the debate and the chief speakers in Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 224. Mr. Gladstone, on his part, had paid an equally warm tribute to lord Palmerston's speech:—"No man (he said) listened with greater admiration than myself, while, from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next, he defended his policy, before a crowded House of Commons, in that gigantic intellectual and physical effort."—(Palmerston was then in his sixty-sixth year.)

The fourth and last night of this great debate was opened by Mr. (afterwards Chief-Justice sir Alexander) Cockburn,* in a speech which had a success only second to lord Palmerston's, and gave him at once that place which he thenceforth maintained in the front rank of England's intellect and power. Mr. Cobden, from the point of view of the "Peace Party," condemned the meddling and irritating system pursued by lord Palmerston towards foreign countries. But the great event of this evening was sir Robert Peel's last speech, marked by a dignified moderation and generous spirit of good-will to his political opponents, which formed a fit and happy end to his great career. His generous eulogy of lord Palmerston passed into a proverb. "I have (he said) so little disposition for entering into angry or hostile controversy, that I shall make no reference whatever to many of the topics which were introduced in that most able and temperate speech, which *made us proud of the man* who delivered it, and in which he vindicated with becoming spirit, and with an ability worthy of his name and place, that course of conduct which he had pursued." But it was with an authority and weight of argument enhanced by this generous moderation, that sir Robert gave judgment on the foreign policy, and especially the diplomatic action, of lord Palmerston and the Government:—"If you appeal to diplomacy, let me in the first place ask, What is this diplomacy? It is a costly engine for maintaining peace. It is a remarkable instrument used by civilized nations for the purpose of preventing war. Unless it be used to appease the angry passions of individual men, to check the feelings that rise out of national resentment, it is an instrument not only costly, but mischievous. If, then, your application of diplomacy be to fester every wound, to provoke instead of soothing resentments, to place a Minister in every court of Europe for the purpose, not of preventing quarrels, nor of adjusting quarrels, but for the purpose of continuing an angry correspondence, of promoting what is supposed to be an English interest, and of keeping up conflicts with the representatives of other Powers, then I say that not only is the expenditure upon this costly instrument thrown away, but this great engine, used by civilized society for the purpose of maintaining peace, is perverted into a cause of hostility and war." In his peroration sir Robert Peel dealt with lord Palmerston's favourite idea of the use of England's influence, in which the popularity of his policy had its root. "It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken, you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate, you will invite opposition to government; and beware that the time does not arrive when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether or no the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be worked out by

* Born 1802; lord chief-justice of the Common Pleas, 1856, of England, 1859, died November, 1880.

those who aspire to freedom only by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference against which I remonstrate, against which I enter my protest, to which I to-night will be no party." This resolve was finally announced with a solemn sense of the duty which alone drove him to oppose, and perhaps endanger, the Ministry which had taken up his own unfinished work.* After a spirited defence of his colleague's policy by lord John Russell, and a brief speech by Mr. Disraeli, an unusually full House affirmed Mr. Roebuck's resolution by the decisive majority of forty-seven, at four o'clock on the morning of June 29th; † and on the same day sir Robert Peel received his death-blow from an accident.

At noon sir Robert attended a meeting of the Commissioners for the proposed Industrial Exhibition, to give the weight of his support to the Hyde Park site, which was then vehemently opposed. After his return he left home about five o'clock for a ride in the park, called at Buckingham Palace to write his name in the Queen's visiting book, and had stopped on Constitution Hill to speak with a friend who was also riding, when his horse suddenly shied and threw him, and as Peel clung to the bridle, the horse came down with its knees on his shoulders. Peculiarly sensitive to pain, he refused the thorough surgical examination which would indeed have been useless, as a broken rib was forced into the lungs. Sir Robert lingered for three days in great suffering, with only intervals of consciousness, and died about eleven o'clock on the night of July 2nd.

It were long to recount the utterances of universal grief, from the throne to the widest bounds of the English race, and throughout foreign countries: they may be summed up in the simple words in which Prince Albert gave vent to the Queen's deep sorrow and his own. ‡ On the day after Peel's death he writes to baron Stockmar:—"You will mourn with us deeply, for you know the extent of our loss, and valued our friend as we did. . . . Now he is cold. . . . We are in deep grief:" and next day to the duchess of Kent:—"And now death has snatched from us Peel, the best of men, our truest friend, the strongest bulwark of the throne, the greatest statesman of his time."

The morrow of Peel's death was a Wednesday, and the Commons met (as usual) at noon, only to adjourn as a tribute to his memory and their own sorrow. But even the splendid and touching eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, and the tributes paid with equal feeling in the Upper House next day by lords Lansdowne, Stanley, and Brougham, moved men's hearts less than

* The delicacy of Peel's position is well described by Prince Albert in a letter to baron Stockmar (July 22nd), which we shall have to quote presently.

† The numbers were 310 against 264, making, with the tellers and the Speaker, a total of no less than 579 members voting.

‡ The "Life of the Prince Consort" shows "how deep and cordial was the mutual regard which subsisted between two men, who were naturally attracted to each other by a community of tastes and principles in art, in literature, in morals, and in politics." See the tribute to the wise services of the one and the confidence and admiration of the other, at vol. ii. pp. 288-9.

the tears of the duke of Wellington, as with broken utterance he bore witness to those virtues in his friend which he himself prized above all others:—"In all the course of my acquaintance with sir Robert Peel, I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communications with him, I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw, in the whole course of my life, the slightest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not believe to be the fact."

On the same evening, lord John Russell, in the Commons, added his tribute to his great rival's memory, and suggested a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, which the Queen had been the first to desire; but Mr. Goulburn, on the part of sir Robert's family, thankfully declined the offer, quoting the often expressed and written wish of the illustrious dead, "to be interred without ostentation or parade of any kind." Thus he was laid beside his parents in the family vault in the church of Drayton Bassett, followed, no less than in the most public funeral pomp, by the feelings expressed by the Queen's own pen:—"Peel is to be buried to-day. The sorrow and grief at his death are most touching, and the country mourns over him as over a father."*

Of the only public honours left to mark the respect of the Queen and people, a statue in Westminster Abbey was voted by the House of Commons, on the motion of lord John Russell (July 12th), who stated at the same time that her Majesty's offer of a peerage had been declined by lady Peel. She said that "her own wish was to bear no other name than that by which sir Robert Peel was known," and that any other course would have been contrary to her husband's wish, recorded in his will, that none of his family should accept, if offered, of any title, distinction, or reward, on account of any services he might be supposed to have rendered to his country."†

The memory of sir Robert Peel has not even yet "purged off the grosser fire" of the resentments excited by his double sacrifice of party to conscience.‡ We may therefore be thankful that his political character has been drawn by one placed above party feeling as much by the calmness of his judgment as by his high position. The eulogy pronounced by Prince Albert at the banquet given by the Lord Mayor of York, in connection with the proposed exhibition (October 25, 1850), is doubly valuable from the light in which he set sir Robert as the true type of the English character.§

* Letter to King Leopold, July 9th, in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 292. The accomplished biographer aptly quotes what Tacitus says of the feeling produced by the death of Agricola.

† As a public reply to certain misrepresentations, a powerfully reasoned memorandum, in which sir Robert had set forth his motives for this decision, was transmitted by Mr. Goulburn to the Prince.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ See the vindication on both charges in his "Memoirs."

§ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 332-3. Once for all let us explain that many of the passages from this "Life" well worth quoting in full are merely referred to, as the cheap edition of the work places it within every reader's reach.

The Prince has left one memorable estimate of the greatness of Peel's loss in relation to the state of political parties and the services he might still have rendered to the country. In reply to a letter from baron Stockmar, taking much the same view as his own, he writes* :—"As Peel's only ambition and chief wish was to leave a fair name in the history of the country—"the ambition of an honourable fame," as he himself once expressed it—the time and manner of his death have, in truth, accomplished his desire. For at no time did he stand so unfettered, so eminently a patriot, and so high in public opinion, as just now ; and his last speech was the epitome of the plan he aimed at maintaining of a mediator, well disposed to all parties, and thereby controlling them and directing the government of the country. The suddenness of his death has magnified, both here and abroad, the gap which his death must occasion ; and pity for what he suffered has increased the affection and gratitude that are felt towards him. Yet who knows whether he would have been able to maintain in the long run the position which he aspired to occupy, without drawing upon himself the hatred of parties, or perhaps even giving them occasion for just reproach ? The debate on Foreign Affairs had shown him all the difficulty of what he had undertaken. He could not call the policy good, and yet he did not wish to damage the Ministry, and this solely because he considered that a Protectionist Ministry succeeding them would be dangerous to the country, and had quite determined not to take office himself. But would the fact that his health no longer admitted of his doing so have been sufficient, as time went on, to make his followers and friends bear with patient resignation their own permanent exclusion from office ? I doubt it."

This doubt might well have become something more decisive, could coming events have been foreseen ; for who can believe that the frenzy roused by the Papal Aggression, the relations of England to France in consequence of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'etat*, the quarrel of lord Palmerston with his colleagues, the first attempt at government by lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, the brilliant promise and the disastrous collapse of the Whig-Peelite coalition, and the war with Russia, would have followed their actual course, had Peel survived ? But, as it was, the issue of all these events in the ascendancy of lord Palmerston might already be discerned as the result of Peel's removal, little as the steps which led up to them could have been predicted. The consciousness of this destiny seems to have prompted the feelings which the eager politician, whose practical aims were never sacrificed to sentiment, utters freely in a letter to his brother † (September 1st) :—

* July 22nd.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 296-7.

† Ashley's "Life of Palmerston," vol. i. p. 229. The ex-king of the French had died at Claremont on the 26th of August, in his 77th year. The dislike between him and Palmerston was mutual ; and, according to Thiers, Louis Philippe "was constantly saying witty and spiteful things of the English Minister, which good-natured friends as constantly brought to Palmerston's ears."—McCarthy ("History of Our Own Times," vol. ii. p. 72), who adds :—"When lord Palmerston did not feel exactly as a good Christian ought to have felt, he at least never pretended to any such feelings." Another death requires mention, that of the duke of Cambridge, the youngest and only surviving son of George III., on the 8th of July,

“The death of Louis Philippe delivers me from my most artful and inveterate enemy, whose position gave him in many ways the power to injure me; and though I am very sorry for the death of Peel, from personal regard, and because it is no doubt a great loss to the country, yet as far as my own political position is concerned, I do not think that he was ever disposed to do me any good turn. It is difficult to say what effect his death will have on the state of parties in Parliament. He had not much of a following latterly, though the men who stuck to him were the most respectable of the party.* Perhaps Sidney Herbert, or Aberdeen, or Gladstone, may set up for leader of the Conservative Free Traders or the Free Trade Conservatives; and perhaps Stanley may invite a junction with him by some compromise about putting off Protection. I have been told by a person who had it from Stanley himself, that, during the time when a change of government was expected, Aberdeen said to Stanley that in that case he, Aberdeen, would be commissioned by the Queen to form a government! This would have been a curious dish to set before a Queen!” Within eighteen months, and by lord Palmerston’s own act, lord Stanley was raised to power, to make way in a short time for the “curious dish” in which political exigencies gave Palmerston himself the curious place of Home Secretary. Some such fate had been foreshadowed for him by lord John Russell in a letter to the Queen; but the debate and victory, in which his colleagues had fully made his cause their own, of course confirmed him in his own post. A hundred and twenty members subscribed for a portrait by Partridge, which they presented to lady Palmerston with an address expressive of their “high sense of his public and private character, and of the independent policy by which he maintained the honour and interests of his country;” and a banquet was given in his honour at the Reform Club on the same day on which the dispute with Greece was finally settled by the signature at Athens of a Treaty which had been prepared by the Cabinets of England and France (July 20th).

also in his 77th year. Having been Viceroy of Hanover from 1813 to 1837, he was never mixed up with English politics; and he had been conspicuous during the latter years of his life for his readiness to use his influence on behalf of benevolent societies.

* The conjectures that follow are very interesting in the light of subsequent events.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lord Palmerston's Triumph marred by a Humiliation—Constitutional relations of Sovereign and Ministers—The Sovereign's real functions in the State; and part in Council and Government—Active interest and industry of the Queen and Prince—Foreign Office Despatches—Palmerston's impulsive and independent writing—His reliance on support from English sentiment—His own view of the case—Palmerston and the Prince—The Queen's Complaints—A Memorandum withheld—The Prince's Letter to Lord John Russell—Palmerston's admission of the principle—The Queen's Memorandum of August, 1850—Palmerston's Interview with the Prince—His reasons for not resigning—Renewed Misunderstandings—Affair of General Haynau—Reception of Kossuth—The Finsbury and Islington Addresses—"Judicious bottle-holding."

THE Roman conqueror leading up his victorious army to the Capitol had to hear the warning of adversity and death; and, in the hour of Lord Palmerston's triumph, he had to bear being reminded that we was the minister of his Sovereign. In spite of certain strange and novel doctrines, which would break down the broad distinction which divides our limited monarchy from a republic, the true theory of our constitution is that which has always been acted on in the practice of every English Government: that the direct responsibility of ministers is to the Crown, as the visible head and centre and organ of the whole nation; and that the Sovereign ought to have a real and a most influential voice in the conduct of affairs by each minister in his own department, as well as by the whole Cabinet. We cite the statement of this principle by a living historian, not only for its clearness and ability, but as a testimony above all suspicion of leaning to what has been vaguely called "personal government"*:—

"No sovereign, one would think, would consent to the responsibility of rule on any other terms. We have, perhaps, got into the habit of thinking, or at least of saying, that the Sovereign of a constitutional country only rules through the ministers. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Sovereign has no constitutional functions whatever provided by our system of government, and that the sole duty of a monarch is to make a figure in certain state pageantry. It has sometimes been said that the Sovereign in a country like England is only the signet-ring of the nation. If this were true, it might be asked with unanswerable force, why a verit-

* A "History of Our Own Times," by Justin McCarthy, vol. i. p. 133. (The Italics are ours.) The doctrine now in question has also been maintained, with great ability and force, in several recent articles in the "Quarterly Review."

able signet-ring, costing only a few pounds and never requiring to be renewed, would not serve all purposes quite as well, and save expense.* But the position of the Sovereign is not one of meaningless inactivity. The Sovereign has a very distinct and practical office to fulfil in a constitutional country. The monarch in England is the chief magistrate of the State, *specially raised above all party and passion and change, in order to be able to look with a clearer eye to all that concerns the interests of the nation.* . . . The Sovereign is always supposed to understand the business of the State, to consider its affairs and to offer an opinion, and enforce it by argument, on any question submitted by the Ministers. When the Ministers find that they cannot allow their judgment to bend to that of the Sovereign, then indeed the Sovereign gives way or the Ministers resign. In all ordinary cases the Sovereign gives way.† But it was never intended by the English Constitution that the Ministers and the country were not to have the benefit of the advice and judgment of a magistrate who is purposely placed above all the excitements and temptations of party, its triumphs and its reverses, and who is assumed, therefore, to have no other motive than the good of the State in offering an advice. The Sovereign would grossly fail in public duty, and would be practically disappointing the confidence of the nation, who consented to act simply as the puppet of the Minister, and to sign mechanically and without question every document he laid on the table.”

Any such “failure in public duty” was precluded alike by the Queen’s high principles, her active interest in State affairs, and her habits of self-denying industry. When occasion arose for public explanations, all the surviving statesmen of both parties, who had been her chief ministers, bore testimony that, even at the time of her deepest sorrow, her Majesty’s attention to public business had never been intermitted for a day. In the discharge of this perpetual weight of duty, Prince Albert was, till his lamented death, both the sharer of her counsels and the organ of her opinions, while the free expression of his own was valued by every Ministry for their weight and wisdom. It was of course essential for harmonious working, as well as due to the Prime Minister, that he should have a part in all communications of the Sovereign with the Minister of each department.‡ In no province of the government was this free and full counsel more important than in that of Foreign Affairs during the five years of lord Palmerston’s last tenure of the seals (1846-1851), “the most unquiet which,

* It was with reference to the same theory that Tom Paine offered to find an able-bodied man to perform all the functions of King of England for a salary of £500 a year.

† This statement perhaps needs qualification, unless a wide application be given to the “extraordinary” exceptions. There was nothing unconstitutional in George III.’s invincible resistance to Catholic Emancipation, nor in Pitt’s yielding to it when he resumed office after Addington; though such resistance to a measure of such importance is hardly likely to be repeated. In matters of great importance, though not vital to the welfare of the nation, it is believed that Ministers have yielded to the Sovereign, even under the thoroughly constitutional reign of Queen Victoria.

‡ The duke of Wellington’s statement is on record that, when he was Prime Minister, no despatch left the Foreign Office without his seeing it.

with his own country at peace, could fall to any man's lot"; * and the importance of maintaining it was enhanced by those personal characteristics, which at the same time made him apt to rebel against their observance. "The easiest of colleagues, so long as his own department was left untouched he was impatient of interference, and too apt to forget that the evil consequences of rash words, or a mistaken line of action, had to be borne by others, whose views he would not defer to, and was careless to consult." † His plea, that the public service suffered by the delay involved in submitting despatches to the Queen and the Prime Minister, was a plausible excuse to himself, as well as to them, for a practice prompted by self-confident haste and persevered in of deliberate design, as was clearly proved by the cases which brought the matter to a crisis. In the judgment of a writer well-disposed to him, "it may be assumed that some at least of lord Palmerston's actions were dictated by the conviction, that he had the general force of English sentiment to sustain him in case his mode of conducting the business of the Foreign Office should ever be called into account"; ‡—that is, by his Sovereign.

The constitutional rule, that all despatches ought to be submitted for the Queen's approval through the Prime Minister, had been pressed upon lord Palmerston's attention by her Majesty early in 1849; and he assented to the arrangement that reasonable time should be given for their prompt consideration, the Queen only requiring "that she should not be pressed for an answer within a few minutes, as is now done sometimes." § But during that tremendous year of the "28,000 despatches," || the pressure of business and the bent of lord Palmerston's nature combined to give new occasion for complaint.

It seemed almost necessary to lay down express rules to be binding on the Foreign Secretary, and in March, 1850, a memorandum was drawn up, to the same effect as the important one to be spoken of presently, but it was laid aside in the hope of voluntary concession. Meanwhile her Majesty's grounds of complaint were explicitly stated in a letter from Prince Albert to lord John

* Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 1.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 302. The biographer quotes a striking remark made by Mr. Fonblanque (in the "Examiner" in 1851) on lord Palmerston's despatches:—"The desk was his place of peril; his pen ran away with him. His speech never made an enemy; his writing has left many festering sores. The charm of manner and urbanity which so served him in Parliament and in society, was sometimes wanting on paper, and good counsels were dashed with asperity."

‡ McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," vol. ii. p. 129. The sentence concludes an elaborate comparison between Prince Albert's and lord Palmerston's judgment of public affairs which is well worth reading. Palmerston's own view of the case has been so ably stated and defended by his biographer, that it may suffice to refer to Mr. Ashley's work, especially the second edition (really a new Life of Palmerston) for the one side of the case, of which the "Life of the Prince Consort" gives the other. Our object is historical, not judicial.

§ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 303. We follow closely the account there given of these transactions, as having virtually the weight of her Majesty's authority, adding what is on record of lord Palmerston's view of the matters in discussion.

|| See above, p. 14.

Russell (April 2nd).^{*} In this grave remonstrance there is no question of mere details, as seemed to be implied in lord Palmerston's contention that "where the general policy of a state was clearly marked out and well known, it would have been idle to insist that a Foreign Secretary capable of performing the duties of his office should wait to submit for the inspection and approval of the Sovereign and his colleagues every scrap of paper he wrote on before it was allowed to leave England."[†] It was a part of the complaint, put in very strong terms, that the omission to consult the Sovereign and his colleagues about important despatches and grave steps did affect the "general policy" of the State, commit the Queen and ministers, and injure the position of England with other nations. This opinion might be right or wrong; but it proved that the acts in question were of grave moment. When the time came to defend his conduct,[‡] after the last act of the kind had led to his dismissal, lord Palmerston fully accepted the principle insisted on by the Queen:—"No man can lay down the matter more strongly than I have in reference to the obligations of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I have always admitted that, if the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs sends a despatch of importance to an ambassador abroad without ascertaining the opinion of the Prime Minister of the Crown, he is guilty of a breach of duty."

We are not told what particular grounds of renewed dissatisfaction arose between April and August; but it is easy to imagine how many temptations the Pacifico affair might present to what the Prince's biographer calls "fresh violations of the rule"; and we have already seen lord John Russell's significant resolve to make a change at the Foreign Office. Shortly before the end of the session, and while lord Palmerston's triumph was still fresh, the subject was discussed between the Queen and lord John Russell at Osborne; and, as the result of that conference, her Majesty addressed the following memorandum to the Prime Minister §:—

OSBORNE, 12th August, 1850.

"With reference to the conversation about lord Palmerston, which the Queen had with lord John Russell the other day, and lord Palmerston's disavowal that he ever intended any disrespect to her by the various neglects of which she has so long and so often to complain, she thinks it right, in order to prevent any mistake for the future, to explain what it is she expects from the Foreign Secretary. She requires:—

"1. That he will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her royal sanction.

"2. Having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister. Such an act she must

^{*} See "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 304.

[†] McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," vol. i. p. 126.

[‡] In the debate of February 3, 1852, the occasion of which will be related in its place.

[§] This document was first made public by lord John Russell in his speech on February 3, 1852, but without the introductory sentence. The whole memorandum was first published in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 305-6 (1876).

consider as failure in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that Minister.* She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the Foreign Ministers, before important decisions are taken, based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time, and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The Queen thinks it best that lord John Russell should show this letter to lord Palmerston."

The result was an assurance from lord Palmerston, that he would not fail to attend to the directions contained in the Queen's Memorandum, together with an apology for occasional delay in sending despatches to her Majesty, from pressure of business, and the many interruptions of interviews, etc., to which he was liable. He wrote to Prince Albert requesting an interview, of which the Prince has left an interesting account.† The explanations exchanged at this interview are chiefly important as setting in the clearest light the *real antagonism of policy*, which lay at the root of the whole matter, and the Queen's view of her constitutional right and duty. After a touching record of the explanations exchanged on the personal question of lord Palmerston's devoted respect of his sovereign, the Prince proceeds:—"The Queen had often,—I was sorry to say, latterly almost invariably,—differed from the line of policy pursued by lord Palmerston. *She had always openly stated her objections*; but when overruled by the Cabinet or convinced that it would from political reasons be more prudent to waive her objections, *she knew her constitutional position too well not to give her full support to whatever was done on the part of the Government*. She knew that they were going to battle together, and that she was going to receive the blows which were aimed at the government; and she had these last years received several, such as no sovereign of England had before been obliged to put up with, and which had been most painful to her. But what she had a right to require in return was, that before a line of policy was adopted or brought before her for her sanction, she should be in full possession of all the facts and all the motives operating; she felt that in this respect she was not dealt with as she ought to be. She never found a matter 'intact,' nor a question in which we were not already compromised, when it was submitted to her. She had no means of knowing what passed in the Cabinet, nor what passed between lord Palmerston and the Foreign Ministers in their conferences, but what lord Palmerston chose to tell her, or what she found in the newspapers."

When the time came for lord John Russell to make these transactions

* This passage claims especial notice, not only with reference to what took place at the end of the next year, but more especially as a distinct assertion—with the implied sanction of so high a constitutional authority as lord John Russell—of the sovereign's right to dismiss a Minister on adequate grounds, irrespective of the censure of that Minister by a vote in Parliament. It should also be observed that the next sentence anticipates the very point in which consisted lord Palmerston's offence in 1851.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 307.

public, as a part of the Queen's justification and his own for the subsequent dismissal of the Foreign Secretary, no little surprise was felt that a man of lord Palmerston's high spirit and strong will had borne such an "affront" without at once sending in his resignation; but he acted from motives creditable alike to his honour and his sagacity* :—"I had represented to my friends, by pursuing the course which they thought I ought to have followed, I should have been bringing for decision at the bar of public opinion a personal quarrel between myself and my sovereign—a step which no subject ought to take, if he can possibly avoid it; for the result of such a course must be either fatal to him or injurious to the country. If he should prove to be in the wrong, he would be irretrievably condemned; if the sovereign should prove to be in the wrong, the monarchy would suffer."

If the former consideration showed lord Palmerston's ever vigilant regard to his political interest, the latter gave full proof of his loyalty; for, in the state of the public mind at that time, there is little doubt which side popular feeling would have taken. He knew how to bide his time; but he did not know how to keep within the rules to which he had consented. It was not in his nature: he was one of those men who must do their work in their own way, and assume to benefit others—even those to whom they are bound to defer—in spite of themselves. Before the final outbreak in less than a year and a-half, two fresh troubles occurred, both springing from that vehement sympathy with the Hungarians, which Palmerston shared with the English people. We have had occasion already to refer to the contrast between the oration given to Kossuth in 1851, and the violent assault made on general Haynau when he visited Messrs. Barclay's brewery on September 4, 1850. Though a very general feeling was expressed by the common saying, "Served him right," it was not very creditable that public dislike should be executed by brewers' draymen on a foreign visitor, the officer of a friendly sovereign. The enquiries set on foot by the Home Office were unsuccessful, and general Haynau refused to prosecute or to identify any of his assailants. Besides lord Palmerston's personal expression of regret to baron Koller, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, he drew up a despatch to give more formal assurances of the kind to Austria. A passage in the despatch, in the same tone as the conversation with baron Koller, was objected to by lord John Russell, in forwarding the draft for the Queen's approval, "as derogatory to the honour of the nation, as if no one could be safe in this country, who was obnoxious to the public feeling"; but, on her Majesty's concurrence in this view being stated to lord Palmerston, it was found that the note had already been delivered to baron Koller! This was just six weeks after lord Palmerston's acceptance of the Queen's memorandum. After some resistance, and even a threat to resign, lord Palmerston adopted the course on which the Prime Minister advised the Queen to insist, and sent baron Koller a fresh note, omitting the objectionable paragraph.†

* Ashley's "Life," etc., vol. i. pp. 329-30. We quote the last and most essential part.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 324-325.

It was just a year later that Kossuth was received in England with demonstrations intended at once to honour him, and to display the popular indignation at the treatment of Hungary by Austria and Russia, against which the eloquent exile naturally inveighed in unmeasured terms. The excitement of the crowds who thronged to see him was carried to its height by the irresistible charm of his "strong power of speech, poured forth for hours together in purest English—English studied out of Shakspeare." At the Guildhall, where the Corporation of London presented him with an address, after he had been greeted on his way to the city by enthusiastic crowds, he avowed the great object of his appeals to the English people:—"What I wish is, that the public opinion of England may establish it as a ruling principle of the politics of Europe, to acknowledge the right of every nation to dispose of its own internal concerns, and not to give a charter to the Czar to dispose of the fate of nations" (October 30, 1851). The application of this doctrine was, that England ought to have answered the intervention in Hungary by war with Austria and Russia. It was one thing for the free public opinion of England to applaud such sentiments; but quite another to seem to give them any official sanction. Kossuth desired to be received by the Foreign Secretary, in order to thank the Government for their efforts in his behalf; and lord Palmerston, after refusing the Prime Minister's request that the reception might not take place, only yielded with reluctance to the general opinion expressed in a Cabinet Council convened by lord John Russell (November 3rd).

But the matter had a sequel which, by a remarkable coincidence, linked it on to the final official catastrophe. On the 18th of November, lord Palmerston received at the Foreign Office a deputation to present addresses from meetings held in Finsbury and Islington, in which he was congratulated on the aid he had rendered to the Sultan in securing the personal safety and ultimate liberation of "the illustrious patriot and exile," and the Emperors of Austria and Russia were characterized as "odious and detestable assassins" and "merciless tyrants and despots." In his reply, lord Palmerston said that he was fully aware of the sympathies of the British nation in favour of the cause of Hungary; but of course, as the organ of her Majesty's Government, in friendly alliance with the great foreign powers which had been referred to, it could not be expected that he should concur in some of the expressions used in the addresses." This mild disclaimer was balanced by the assurance that he felt himself "extremely flattered and highly gratified" by their expression of opinion as it respected himself.* The Queen felt the unseemliness of such a demonstration at the Foreign Office none the less for the assurance that the feeling of her people

* It was in this speech that lord Palmerston borrowed from the prize-ring a phrase which was caught up by the public sense of humour. To illustrate the generalship required of the Government in the late crisis, he said that "a good deal of *judicious bottle-holding* was obliged to be brought into play. In the cartoons of "Punch" Palmerston long figured in sporting costume, with a straw in his mouth, as the "judicious bottle-holder," and became in that capacity a still greater favourite with a people much fonder of sport and fun than of dignity.

against the despots of Austria and Russia tended rather to increase by contrast their goodwill and affection for herself. In her letter requesting lord John Russell to bring the matter under the notice of the Cabinet,* her Majesty replied to this suggestion:—"It is no question with the Queen, whether she pleases the Emperor of Austria or not, but whether she gives him a just ground of complaint or not. And, if she does so, she can never believe that this will add to her popularity with her own people." The Cabinet ovined a strong opinion of lord Palmerston's want of caution, and in the Premier's letter to the Queen he expressed the hope that this would "have its effect upon lord Palmerston, to whom lord John Russell has written, urging the necessity of a guarded conduct in the present very critical condition of Europe." Alas for the *hopes* and *cautions* which came a day too late! This was on the 4th of December, and on the 3rd the memorable conversation with count Walewsky had already been held, in which lord Palmerston—before taking any counsel with the Queen or Cabinet—had committed them, by committing himself, to an approval of Louis Napoleon's *coup d' état*; with what consequences will be told in the proper place.†

Meanwhile, we have related these events thus fully, as the contest of lord Palmerston with the Queen and lord John Russell will always be referred to as a critical example of the inner working of our monarchical constitution. The principles involved will no doubt be often discussed; but the personal aspects of the question will raise the characters of all concerned. The fault of the Minister, far outweighed by a long course of splendid service to his sovereign and country, will be traced to an excess of patriotic impulse; and even those who make royalty much more of a passive instrument than these events show it to be, may well be thankful for the proof of Queen Victoria's unremitting attention to state business and faithful discharge of *her part* in the constitutional rights and duties which she claimed not so much for herself as for the office which represents the united people.

* November 21, 1851.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 410.

† See below, chap. xi.

CHAPTER IX.

Political calm in the autumn of 1850: broken by the "Papal Aggression"—State of the English Church—Origin of the Tractarian Movement—The "Tracts for the Times," and Tract No. XC.—The Ritualistic Movement—The case of Mr. Gorham—Principles laid down by the Privy Council—Agitation against the judgment and for the revival of Convocation—Debate in the Lords—Address of the Bishops against Ritualistic innovations, and Lay Address to the Queen—Mistaken views of these movements at Rome—Impolicy of the Papal Scheme—First announcement of a New Hierarchy for England—Brief of Pope Pius IX.—Pastoral of Cardinal-Archbishop Wiseman—Popular view of the Measure—Lord John Russell's "Durham Letter"—The 5th and 9th of November—Addresses to the Queen from London and the Universities—Her Majesty's own sentiments—Views of the English Catholics—Excited Public Meetings and Pamphlets—Opening of Session of 1851—The Queen's Speech on the Papal Aggression—Opposition from various quarters—Speeches of Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Disraeli—Views of the Peelites and ultra-Protestants—The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Mr. Disraeli's Motion on Agricultural Distress—Last great debate on Protection—Speech of Sir James Graham—Close Division—Sir Charles Wood's unsatisfactory Budget—Mr. Locke King's Motion on the County Franchise—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry—Ministerial Crisis—Intended Policy of Lord Stanley—The Duke of Wellington called in—Return of the Russell Ministry—Modified Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Amendments carried against the Government—Conduct of the Catholics—The Act a dead letter for twenty years: repealed in 1871—Review of the controversy—Amended Budget: Repeal of the Window Tax—Mr. Disraeli's second Motion—Mr. Cobden's proposal for mutual disarmament—New Court of Appeal in Chancery—Other Measures of the Session—New Cattle Market for London—Mr. Gladstone's Letters on the Neapolitan Prisons—The Census of 1851.

In the autumn of 1850, the political atmosphere had been cleared, and the weak government made safe for the present, by the great debate on foreign policy; the nation was reposing in contentment with its still growing prosperity, confirmed by another bountiful harvest; and the chief object of public interest was the approaching Industrial Exhibition,* when suddenly—like thunder from a clear sky—a Bull launched from the Vatican caused the old spirit of "No Popery" to burst into full flame. The present generation can hardly see that the effect was adequate to the cause, without some knowledge of the combustible materials upon which the spark fell.

About the same time when the public mind was agitated by the question of Reform,† a new spirit of resistance was roused to the innovations

* See chap. x.

† The *epoch* is marked by the publication of the first of the "Tracts for the Times," in 1833; and the antagonistic *motive* is clearly avowed throughout the earlier Tractarian

threatened in Church as well as State, very different from that of the old High Church party. The new movement was distinctly *religious*,—a reaction from the popular Evangelical Protestantism which had broken the comparative stagnation of the Church in the preceding century and had become the prevailing type of earnest religion. In opposition to this, the means of revival within the Church, and of defence against the growth of that “rationalism,” which Dr. Pusey had thoroughly studied in Germany, were sought in recalling the minds of her sons to her character as a branch of the true *Catholic Church*,* rather than to her position as severed from and *protesting* against the Church of Rome. To this end, all prominence was given, from the pulpit and the press, to the Catholic element in the doctrine of the Church of England, and especially to the intrinsic efficacy of the Sacraments, and to the authority of a priesthood, duly ordained by bishops in the Apostolical succession, as the sole ministers of sacramental grace. The standard of Catholic truth was sought in the teaching of the Fathers of the Church during the first four or six centuries.

These views were especially set forth in a series of “Tracts for the Times,” written by a band of friends at Oxford, among whom the three sure to be best remembered—Keble, Pusey, and Newman †—suggest at once, to those who know their writings, considerable varieties in the common type of the “Tractarian” party or, as they were more vulgarly called, “Puseyites.” The excitement which had grown during the seven or eight years over which the series extended—admiration among an increasing number of the clergy, especially those fresh from Oxford, mingled with a more general alarm and opposition among the moderate and Evangelical parties and nearly the whole body of the laity—reached its climax on the appearance of the last, No. XC., early in 1841. This Tract contained an elaborate argument on the meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles, to show

publications. The immediate occasion of the movement at that particular date appears to have been the constitution (by the Act 3 and 4 William IV. c. 41) of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as a new Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical (and other) causes, in place of the old Court of Delegates: the objection to the new Court being that it did not represent an ecclesiastical authority, and that in its doctrinal and ecclesiastical questions were practically decided by laymen. Since this Chapter was written, new light has been thrown on the whole subject by the “Reminiscences of Mr. Mozley,” and the retrospect called forth by the deaths of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Ward within a few weeks of each other (1882). One point brought out more clearly than before, is the earnest desire of Dr. Pusey and his associates to combat the advancing spirit of scepticism.

* The whole spirit of the “Tractarian” principles is epitomized in two leading works:—Newman’s “Lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism, 1837,” and Pusey’s “Church of England a portion of Christ’s one Holy Catholic Church, 1865.”

† These leaders are named in the order of age. The Rev. John Keble, author of the “Christian Year,” was born in 1792, and died in 1866. The Rev. Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D., was born in 1800, and held the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford, from 1828 till his death in September, 1882. The Rev. John Henry Newman was born in 1801, and, at the time referred to, was Vicar of Great St. Mary’s—the University Church. He seceded to the Church of Rome in 1845, was created a Cardinal in 1878, and still lives (1882) honoured as much by opponents as adherents for his piety and virtue, his splendid genius and good works.

that all of them—even those containing the strongest assertions of Protestant doctrines and condemnation of those of the Church of Rome—could be so interpreted as to be subscribed by persons holding “Catholic” opinions closely resembling, if not identical with, Roman Catholic theology.

That the attempt to renew the doctrinal bonds of Catholic unity was consistent with a steadfast rejection of the claims of the See of Rome—just as Henry VIII. held fast to Catholic doctrine while throwing off the supremacy of the Pope—was not easily understood, or rather was a distinction scornfully rejected by the instinct of the people. And the subtleties of doctrine were less readily apprehended than the innovations in the forms of worship, which from that time to the present day have become familiar by the name of *Ritualism*. To a considerable extent these were rather of an æsthetic character than of any doctrinal significance—a reaction against usages, often inconsistent with the rubrics, the simplicity of which came sometimes very near to disorder. But people were offended at their novelty and disturbed by the breach of uniformity in the service as performed in “high” and “low” churches: every approach to Romish ritual was quickly marked: and, as the controversy has gone on, during more than a generation, it has been more and more distinctly avowed, at least by the more extreme Ritualists, that they practise and value their ritual forms just because they are significant of high “Catholic” doctrine, and particularly in relation to the efficacy of the Sacraments. Special ground of offence, touching those social relations in regard to which Romanism is most suspected and disliked by the English people, was given by the practice of confession and by the revival of conventual establishments, in which, indeed, there were to be “no vows, but a solemn declaration and engagement of obedience to the superior, and of compliance with the rules of the institution during residence.” *

It would extend this retrospect too far to trace the exciting steps of the controversy, and of others more or less connected with it, during the next ten years:—the proceedings against Dr. Pusey and other leaders of the movement, the secessions of Newman and others to the Church of Rome, the attempt to resist Dr. Hemptden’s election to the see of Hereford, the efforts of the bishops to calm the storm, in which one at least of them was a chief agitator, and the excited public meetings held throughout the country. Nor need we relate the details of the case of Mr. Gorham, which brings us to the point where this episode falls into the current of our narrative. For it was this controversy, which, arising out of a subtle question of theology, led to an agitation respecting the whole system of trying ecclesiastical suits, and even touching that supremacy of the Sovereign “over all persons, and in all causes, both civil and ecclesiastical,” which is the very corner-stone of the whole relations between the English Church and State. The bishop of Exeter, Dr. Philpotts, having refused to institute the Rev. Mr. Gorham, on

* This description is from a circular issued in 1842, setting forth the objects of such an institution, and the means by which they were to be promoted, and stating that the plan was already in operation at Littlemore, near Oxford, under the direction of Dr. Newman.

account of his opinions on certain points of doctrine, the case was brought on appeal before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council,* in which the two archbishops and the bishop of London were specially summoned to sit with the usual lay judges, on account of the theological questions involved. The Court came to the important decision,—which has formed a precedent for the many later cases of the like nature—that it had no authority to settle questions of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. “Its duty extends only (said the judgment) to the consideration of *that which is by law established* to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the *true and legal construction* of her Articles and Formularies.” The judgment in Mr. Gorham’s favour, founded on these principles (March 8, 1850) was a virtual declaration, which has been repeated in many subsequent cases affecting both doctrine and ritual, that the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England are so framed as to admit a wide diversity of opinion and practice within her comprehensive pale, as the Church, not of a sect, but of the nation. The only dissentients were the bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) and vice-chancellor Knight-Bruce. The bishop of Exeter’s vain attempt to resist the judgment and his virtual excommunication of his archbishop need not be dwelt on.

This case, and some others that occurred about the same time, had roused a violent agitation concerning the fitness of a lay court to judge ecclesiastical causes, and a loud demand was raised for the revival of the synodical action of Convocation. The bishop of London brought a Bill into the House of Lords for a new episcopal Court of Appeal. In the debate on the second reading (which was negatived by 84 to 51) lord Lansdowne denounced the proposal as “striking a blow at the Queen’s prerogative, taking as it would from her Majesty that which from the earliest to the present time had been deemed the essential prerogative of the Crown, the government of the Church, the power of controlling decisions in ecclesiastical cases, of pronouncing upon such causes through persons whom it thinks fit to employ, and of setting aside the decisions of these persons” (June 3, 1850). Two great meetings of the clergy were held in London on the same day (July 23rd), one of them presided over by Dr. Pusey, to petition the Queen for the revival of synodical action.†

* The reader is reminded that this supreme Court of Appeal from the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts had been instituted in 1833. It should be observed that the judgment of the Court is in the form of a report to the Sovereign, who issues sentence thereupon.

† It will be convenient at once to state the sequel of the movement for the revival of Convocation; first reminding the reader that, since the suspension of its synodical action in 1717, it had been regularly summoned to meet simultaneously with (usually the day after) each meeting of Parliament, and as regularly adjourned by the archbishop’s officer without being allowed to proceed to business. This applies to the Convocation of both provinces, Canterbury and York, the former meeting in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, the latter in those of York Minster. In 1851 and 1852 the Convocation of Canterbury was prorogued in the act of attempting to consider petitions for the revival of synodical action; and in the latter year the Lower House carried an Address to the archbishop before the apparitor dismissed them. On the eve of the autumn Session of the new Parliament in the same year

In addition to this war of doctrine, Ritualistic innovations had now become so frequent, stirring up such trouble in many parishes, that the bishops joined in an address, exhorting the clergy to support the cause of order by avoiding all unnecessary deviations from the usage of the church (March 29, 1851). Three days later, the Home Secretary transmitted to the archbishop of Canterbury an address to her Majesty against such practices, signed by 230,000 members of the Church of England, with a letter recommending his grace to take measures for discouraging innovations in the forms of public worship.

This feeling on the part of the vast majority of the laity was an assurance to those who knew the English people, not only that there was no prospect of any general movement towards Roman Catholicism, but further that an attempt on the part of Rome to take advantage of any such supposed tendency at such a crisis would only inflame public indignation against Romanizers, whether within or from without. But this was naturally unknown to the Vatican, which only saw the spectacle of England moved by the spread of "Catholic" doctrine and of a ritual differing little from that of Rome—of converts returning to the Church, as the first-fruits of another reconciliation after the lapse of three centuries. And the English ecclesiastic, who was ready to play the part of cardinal Polo, was just the man to countenance the delusion. Dr. Nicholas Wiseman was the son of an Essex gentleman and an Irish mother, born in Spain and educated at Rome, where he became Professor of Oriental Languages and afterwards Rector in the English College. He came to England in 1840 as a Vicar Apostolic, and gained a high reputation as a scholar and preacher, an able administrator and a bold and ambitious partisan of his church. But his mind was far more Italian than English; and his sanguine hopes deceived him as to the spirit of the people. This was the man designated for the chief agent in bringing back England to St. Peter's fold, in the now character of Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

If the enterprise was ill-judged, and the time unseasonable, the mistake reached a climax in the form chosen, which was sure to be regarded as a wanton aggression on the territorial rights of the Church and the prerogative of the Crown. It challenged a conflict on the very ground on which Rome, often worsted in earlier disputes, had been finally vanquished by Henry VIII., even before the doctrines of Protestantism were generally

lord Derby, as Prime Minister, advised the Queen to grant a licence to Convocation to discuss the affairs of the Church, and on the 5th of November the Convocation of Canterbury met for a session of a week; and that of York also held a short session, both being occupied solely with the question of reviving synodical action. From that time the sittings have become gradually longer and the scope of discussion wider, but still in their limits defined by the permission of the Crown. In 1854 a Committee of the Upper House (Canterbury) framed a report on the changes needful to enable Convocation to treat of such matters as the Queen might permit, and regulations for its business were agreed to at the opening of the next Session (February 6, 1855). At the opening of the Session of 1872, a licence was granted to Convocation to deliberate on the revision of the Liturgy, and its labours resulted in a revised rubric (1879), which awaits further discussion in Parliament.

accepted by the people, and thus enlisted the spirit of national independence on the side of religious sentiment. Since the transfer of the English sees to Protestant incumbents under Elizabeth, the Church of Rome had never claimed to set up rival bishops, with territorial titles. The episcopal government was entrusted to "Vicars Apostolic," who bore titles as of missionary bishops derived from remote regions: thus, for example, Dr. Wiseman was Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*. For this arrangement it was now proposed to substitute a regular hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop and twelve suffragans, on the model of that framed by Pope Gregory the Great, when he sent Augustine to England twelve hundred and fifty years before. The plan was devised in the early days of Pius IX.'s pontificate, as if the conversion of England were to crown his reforms at Rome;* but was interrupted by the revolutionary troubles of 1848-9.

On the 11th of August, 1850, Dr. Wiseman, who had not yet publicly assumed the title of archbishop, delivered a farewell address at St. George's pro-cathedral, before departing for Rome to receive the dignity of cardinal—a new affront prepared for the English people, who had not had a cardinal settled among them since the day on which cardinal Pole and Queen Mary expired together. The new constitution of the Roman Church in England was now ready for launching, and, on the 22nd of September, the Pope issued a brief, decreeing "the re-establishment in the kingdom of England, and according to the laws of the Church, of a hierarchy of bishops, deriving their titles from their own sees, which we constitute by the present letter in the various apostolic districts." The brief was quickly followed (October 7th) by a pastoral letter from Dr. Wiseman, to be read in all the Roman Catholic chapels of London, in which the new "Archbishop of Westminster and Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Southwark" thus congratulated the faithful:—"Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion. Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished; and begins now anew its course of regularly-adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour."

It was in vain that the whole matter was explained as a spiritual organization, framed only to remedy defects in the former system, and having neither the intention nor power to touch any but the willing flock who owned the pastoral care of the new prelates, standing to them in the same relation as the ministers and congregations of any other non-established church within the realm. The rights of the Anglican bishops and their flocks, the prerogative of the sovereign in their nomination and in the conferring of all titles of honour and territorial jurisdiction, the

* It was known to the Ministry even before lord Minto went to Rome; and public warning was given by the "Times" (October, 1847), and with more details of the plan, by the "Quarterly Review" (January, 1848).

supremacy of the Crown, and the whole constitution of our Protestant Church and State, seemed to be assailed from the quarter ever most hated and suspected; and it was equally in vain to suggest that, however aggressive the intention might be, Rome was as powerless as Bunyan's Giant Pope, and it would be time to take active measures when any overt acts were attempted, to the real danger of Church or State. Only a small minority dissented from the opinion that "something must be done"—that formula which is the frequent preface to acts alike unreasonable or impolitic in themselves and obviously insufficient to "do the something" which is wanted.

That the Government shared this feeling is shown by the letters of a statesman so little moved by ecclesiastical zeal as Lord Palmerston; and they were quickly committed to a course by the more impulsive premier in his famous "Durham Letter,"* denouncing the aggression of the Pope as "insolent and insidious"; and coupling it with a vehement denunciation of danger from Ritualism, by which "clergymen of our own church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks 'step by step, to the very verge of the precipice.'"

This manifesto of open war was the more eagerly caught up from its appearance on the eve of the 5th of November, when the usual popular celebration of Guy Fawkes was converted into an elaborate demonstration against the Pope, the Cardinal, and his bishops; nor were the ministerial speeches at the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 9th much more dignified.

On the 10th of December, addresses from the Corporation of London and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were presented in full state to the Queen at Windsor. Her reply was in the following terms:—"While I cordially concur in the wish that all classes of my subjects should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, you may rely on my determination to uphold alike the rights of my crown, and the independence of my people, against all aggressions and encroachments of any foreign power." The spirit in which the Queen made this reply, and the state of her more private feelings, are explained in a letter written next day to the duchess of Gloucester:—"I would never have consented to say anything which breathed a spirit of intolerance. Sincerely Protestant as I always have been and always shall be, and indignant as I am at those who called themselves Protestants, while they are in fact quite the contrary, I much regret the unchristian and intolerant spirit exhibited by many people at the public meetings. I cannot bear to hear the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and so cruel towards the many good and excellent Catholics."† Her Majesty might well feel this the more, as the great body

* Letter to the bishop of Durham, November 4, 1850.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 339. At page 341 there is an admirable memorandum by the Prince on the cause of the crisis and the best means of meeting it by reforms within the Church itself. He refers the *cause* to "the introduction of Romish doctrines and practises by the clergy of England, contrary to the will and feelings of the

of the English Roman Catholics have kept their loyalty and faith unstained, from the day when a Catholic high admiral led the defence against the Spanish Armada. Nor were their most conspicuous names afraid now to sever themselves from the Italian movement; and the duke of Norfolk summed up many utterances of Catholic loyalty in the declaration "that *Ultramontane opinions are totally incompatible with our allegiance to our sovereign, and with our constitution.*" The year closed amidst the agitation kept in full flood by numerous highly-excited public meetings. Besides all the discussion in the newspapers, no less than seventy-eight works on the question appeared in the last fortnight of November only.

With the opening of the new year the Ministry had before them the task to which they stood committed, both by their own chief in his Durham Letter, and by the insatiable demand of the popular agitation; nor was it an easy one. The exigencies and difficulties of their position are set forth by lord Palmerston, with his usual acuteness, in a letter to his brother:—"The Papal Aggression question will give us some trouble, and give rise to stormy debates. Our difficulty will be to find out a measure which shall satisfy reasonable Protestants, without violating those principles of liberal toleration which we are pledged to. I think we shall succeed." They had all other circumstances in their favour. "Public affairs are going on as well as they can ever at any time be expected to do. Food has been abundant and cheap; the labouring classes fully employed and in all respects better off than they have been for a very long period of time. Poor rates are greatly reduced; and, though farmers complain, and rents have been generally lowered, yet, all things considered, neither the owners nor the occupiers of land have any great cause to complain." The tide of prosperity, which had so decidedly set in, was about to receive an amazing impulse from the discovery of gold in Australia;* and the expected gathering from all nations to the great Exhibition of Industry amused the public and disposed politicians to peace. The fruit of all these advantages offered itself unsought to the Ministry, could they but have acted on the favourite suggestion of their late chieftain (lord Melbourne)—"Can't you let it alone;" but they had almost wilfully conjured up a storm in a clear sky; and their narrow escape from shipwreck was only a short reprieve.

Protestant congregations, *under the assumption that the clergy alone had any authority in church matters.*" This fundamental evil suggests the remedial principle: "That the laity have an equal share of authority in the church with the clergy: That no alteration in the form of divine service shall therefore be made by the clergy, without the formal consent of the laity: Nor any interpretation given of Articles of Faith without their concurrence. This principle once recognized as law, a whole living church constitution will spring from it, including church government and doctrines." In contrast with this principle, it should be remembered that the laity are not represented in convocation, but only by Parliament.

* The discovery was first made in New South Wales, at Conobolos, near Bathurst, by Edward Hargreaves, a gold-digger from California (February, 1851; the Californian gold discoveries were first made in 1848). The news of large discoveries of gold in that district reached England in August; and the produce went on augmenting till, in November, 1852, three vessels arrived in the Thames on one day, bringing *seven tons of gold!*

On the 4th of February, 1851, the Fourth Session of Queen Victoria's Third Parliament was opened by her Majesty, who was greeted in going and returning with loud cheers, mingled with cries of "No Popery!" The Speech from the Throne dwelt with satisfaction on the continuance of peace and amity with foreign nations, the end of the war in Schleswig-Holstein, the conclusion of a treaty with Sardinia, and the new measures of Brazil for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Parliament was congratulated on the progressive state of the revenue, notwithstanding the large reductions of taxation in late years, and upon the flourishing state of commerce and manufactures. Her Majesty lamented the difficulties still felt by the owners and occupiers of land; but hoped that the prosperity of other classes of her subjects would have a beneficial tendency in diminishing these difficulties and in promoting the interests of agriculture. The chief measures recommended were for improving the Administration of Justice, and for the Registration of Deeds relating to the Transfer of Property; besides the *one* which was announced in the following terms:—"The recent assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, conferred by a foreign power, has excited strong feelings in this country; and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the throne, and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my Crown and the independence of the nation against all encroachments, from whatever quarter they may proceed. I have at the same time expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country. It will be for you to consider the measure which will be laid before you on this subject."

No amendment was moved to the Address in either House, but there was an interesting expression of the very diverse feelings with which the proposed measure was regarded. The debate in the Lords was chiefly remarkable for the strong condemnation of the Papal aggression by lord Camoys, a Roman Catholic peer. That in the Commons foreshadowed an opposition, not indeed numerically strong, but formidable from the influence of different parties who made a strenuous resistance on various grounds. The Irish Catholic members were doubly provoked when it was found that the Bill would extend to Ireland, where the episcopal titles, long used with the tacit consent of all parties, had been lately recognized by the Queen and Parliament. The English Radicals, refusing to regard the new constitution as having any effect beyond the pale of the Roman Catholic community, were vehement in condemning the infraction of religious liberty by the old champions of Catholic Emancipation themselves. Their views were vigorously expressed by Mr. Roebuck, who held lord John Russell responsible for breaking the prevalent tranquillity by a needless popular agitation. Mr. Disraeli, as leader of the opposition, while ready to support the measure demanded by the Protestant zeal of his followers and the country, again charged the Ministry with a large share of responsibility for the aggression. It was not (he said) "insidious," but frank almost to indiscretion; nor "insolent," for it was fully expected, and was in daily operation in Ireland.

It was connected with the much wider question of our diplomatic relations with Rome. But the opposition most serious, both in its principles and consequences, was that of the followers of sir Robert Peel, who—besides the objection on the ground of religious liberty, felt that their leader's policy for conciliating the Catholics was brought into peril by a needless agitation and by a measure which was sure to prove nugatory. These warnings—though representing also the real feelings and traditional policy of the Whigs who were being dragged along with the Government—were little heeded, as coming from a party numerically insignificant, and distrusted for the ritualistic proclivities of some of its chief members. But they were justified by the result. On the other hand, trouble was sure to spring up from the members who claimed to be the special guardians of Protestantism, for whom any moderate measure would not go far enough.

On the 7th of February, lord John Russell, in a long historical speech, moved for leave to bring in his "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," to forbid the assumption by Roman Catholics of titles taken from any territory or place within the United Kingdom, under a penalty of £100 for each use of any such title. The Bill made absolutely void every act done by virtue of such titles; declared the endowment of such sees illegal; and provided that any gift or bequest made to them should at once revert to the Crown for administration. The Irish members protested vehemently against the inclusion of their country in the Bill. Mr. Roebuck characterized it as "one of the meanest, pettiest, and most futile measures, that ever disgraced even bigotry itself." Mr. Bright denounced it as "little, paltry, and miserable, a mere sham to bolster up church ascendancy." Mr. Disraeli, though not opposing the introduction of the Bill, spoke of it with contempt as "a piece of petty persecution," and declared that the real problem to be solved was the reconciliation of the recognition of a Roman Catholic hierarchy by the law with a complete respect for the civil and religious liberties of the Roman Catholics. Sir Robert Inglis—who had represented the University of Oxford ever since its rejection of sir Robert Peel in the crisis of Catholic emancipation—expressed his dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of the measure. Lord Ashley concluded a speech in favour of the Bill with a warning against the "histrionic antics" of the Ritualists. After a debate extended through four sittings, the Bill was brought in by the overwhelming majority of 395 against 63.

Meanwhile, however, a very different division had warned the government of their real weakness. On the clause in the Speech from the Throne, lamenting "the severe distress which continues to exist in the United Kingdom among that important class of her Majesty's subjects, the owners and occupiers of land," Mr. Disraeli founded a motion, that it was "the duty of her Majesty's Ministers to introduce without delay such measures as may be most effectual for the relief thereof" (February 11th). It was not—he said, in a speech of great power and eloquence—the object of his motion to dispute the general prosperity of the country, or to attack the new commercial system, but to adapt the condition of the owners and occupiers of land to that system. What these classes required was only justice. They

did not shrink from competition, but they asked not to be forced into it manacled. Of course this disclaimer did not exclude the whole question of Protection and Free Trade from the discussion, which is memorable as the last great Parliamentary conflict of the principles at issue.* The chief honours of the two nights' debate were carried off by sir James Graham, who pronounced the time past for any attempt to revive Protection or to enhance the price of food. Drawing a picture of the labourer returning home after his toil from the rising to the setting sun, and finding his evening meal cheaper and more abundant—the soldier, with the larger rations purchased out of his scanty pay—and the same experience among all the working classes—he applied to each in turn the old refrain:—"He knows the reason why." "You may convulse the country"—he exclaimed—"you may endanger property: you may shake our institutions to their foundations: but I am satisfied there is no person in England, who can permanently enhance by force of law the price of bread." His peroration invoked the last utterances of sir Robert Peel:—"He has ceased from his labour: he is at rest, and takes no longer a share in these angry strifes and contentions. But although he is dead, he still speaks, and from his tomb, as it were, I hear the echo of his voice in this House. Well do I remember his memorable words—and do not you forget them—'I still adhere to my opinion and belief; and earnestly I hope that I may never live to see the day when the House of Commons will retrace its steps.' He indeed is gone; but may the omen be averted that the House of Commons is about to retrace its steps! His gigantic strength is wanting to us; my voice is feeble, my power insignificant, but my part is taken. I hold it to be my sacred duty and sacred trust to defend that policy to the best of my ability."

These words derived the greater force from the anticipation of a close division; for many of the opposition were ready to give the Ministry a blow, availing themselves of the pleas urged by Mr. Disraeli in reply, that his motion was simply for enquiry, and a logical sequence of the speech from the throne. He was supported by 267 votes against 281 (Feb. 13th).

This narrow majority of fourteen was felt to be a check to the Ministry, which reacted on their chief measure; and a few days later they were further damaged by another display of financial incompetence. Sir Charles Wood's budget (February 17th) showed a probable surplus of two millions and a-half for the current year (ending April 5th). For the coming year he estimated the revenue at £52,140,000, and the expenditure at about £50,248,000, leaving a surplus of £1,892,000. But the estimate of revenue included the Income Tax and Irish Stamp Duties (a sum of five millions and a-half) which would expire on April 5th, unless renewed by Parliament. The country had not yet got accustomed to the permanence of the Income Tax, and the fairness of its incidence on various kinds of income

* The debate at the end of 1852, when the Derby-Disraelite Ministry had surrendered Protection, was but the last protest of the Abdiels of the party, "faithful found among the faithless."

was much questioned, so that its renewal unmodified for another three years' term was sure to cause widespread disappointment. The best consolation for this would have been a bold dealing with an unpopular impost; and the Window Tax had been clearly doomed by lord Duncan's motion in the previous session. But sir Charles Wood insisted first on applying above half his surplus (£1,000,000) to the reduction of the National Debt; and he devoted the rest to a number of compromises. The duties on coffee were to be reduced; those on timber halved; and a sop thrown to the landed interest by transferring the charges for pauper lunatic asylums to the Consolidated Fund. As for the Window Tax, he proposed to commute it for existing houses to an annual charge of two-thirds of the present duty, and to impose a house-tax of 1s. in the pound on the rental of all new or improved houses.

While staggering under the universal dissatisfaction at such proposals, the Ministry were defeated in a thin House, but by a majority of two to one (100 to 52) on Mr. Locke King's motion for reducing the County Franchise to £10 (February 20th).* On the 22nd the "Times" surprised the public by announcing the resignation of Ministers. Upon this ensued one of the most complicated ministerial crises of recent times. Lord Stanley, being sent for by the Queen on lord John's advice, professed himself taken by surprise, and recommended that an attempt should first be made to strengthen the present Government by a combination with the Peelites. But these, represented by lord Aberdeen and sir James Graham, refused to have anything to do with the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; and the same difficulty compelled lord Aberdeen to decline the attempt on his own part. While thus prevented from either taking the helm themselves or joining the Whigs, the Peelites were equally unwilling to act with the party who still advocated Protection, and they refused lord Stanley's overtures when he was again sent for by the Queen. It is still not without interest to read his statement of the policy on which he had decided if he had been able to form a government; the application of surplus revenue to the reduction of the Income Tax; the imposition of a moderate duty on corn and provisions, to effect the final extinction of that tax; and full investigation, not hasty and passionate legislation, in respect of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

On the re-assembling of the two Houses on the 28th, full explanations were given of this state of affairs, in which lord John Russell had expressed the fear (in a letter to Prince Albert) "that the prerogative of the Crown would pass to the House of Commons." But he was able to announce that the duke of Wellington had been summoned from Strathfieldsaye to give the Queen that counsel, which had already more than once cut the Gordian knot of politics.† On the 3rd of March the Houses received the announce-

* How much this vote was due to the abstention of lukewarm or offended supporters of the Government, was proved by the rejection of the second reading of the Bill by a majority of 216 (299 to 83) in a House of 382 Members (April 2nd).

† It was humorously observed that the problem "What is to be done?" could always be solved by sending for the duke of Wellington to give the word of command—"Rightabout face" or "As you were."

ment of the Ministers' return to office with the indifference due to what was inevitable. But it was becoming more and more clear, from all the movements of parties, that, since sir Robert Peel's death, the Protectionist chiefs had succeeded to the leadership of the Tory party and must be the heads of any purely Conservative Government; while, in spite of the existing ecclesiastical quarrel, the Peelites were tending, by their common principles of Free Trade, towards a union with the Liberals.*

On the 7th of March sir George Grey moved the second reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in a modified form, in which all that was left was—as sir George Grey naïvely declared—“an unambiguous declaration of Parliament against the assumption of titles only.” It was still most vigorously opposed by the Irish Members, and by the Peelites and Radicals,—sir James Graham, Gladstone, and Roundell Palmer,—Cobden, Bright, Roebuck, and Hume,—who had now the new argument, that the reasons against the abandoned clauses applied equally to the one left. But, after a debate protracted over seven nights, the one conviction, that “something must be done,” was expressed in the majority of 438 to 95 for the second reading (March 25th). In Committee the Government were signally defeated on amendments moved by sir F. Thesiger to make the working of the measure more stringent (June 27th). Having finally passed the Commons by 263 to 46, the second reading in the Lords was carried, against the opposition headed by lord Aberdeen, by 265 to 38 (July 22nd).

The Act, which received the Royal assent on the 1st of August, was wisely met by the new hierarchy in England with a quiet persistence in their organization, instead of protests which would have revived the dying agitation. In Ireland, a “Catholic Defence Association” was formed at a great meeting at Dublin, the chairman of which was ostentatiously proclaimed as “the Most Reverend Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland”; but it was remarked that few lay Catholics of distinction were present (August 19th). A year later, the most pugnacious of the Irish Prelates, Dr. MacHale, called “the Lion of St. Jarlath's,” † courted prosecution by writing to the Prime Minister (lord Derby), under the signature of “John, Archbishop of Tuam”; but the challenge was not taken up, and the Act remained a dead letter on the Statute Book, till its repeal by universal consent in 1871.

Looking back calmly on the whole question, it appears that great faults were committed on both sides, in respect of wisdom and policy, but the opposition to the Papal Aggression was based on a sound principle. In our constitution of Church and State, besides the general principle

* The strength of the party was again shown, even under the altered circumstances, by the narrow majority of 13 (263 to 250) against another motion by Mr. Disraeli in favour of granting relief of taxation to the owners and occupiers of land (April 11th). An interesting contribution was made in the same month to the discussion, from the Protectionist side, by sir Bulwer Lytton in his “Letter to John Bull, Esq., on Affairs connected with his Landed Property.”

† Dr. MacHale died in 1882, having lived to suffer discountenance from Rome and the heads of his Church in Ireland for the moderation of his political views.

that the Crown is the sole fountain of honour, the titles of bishops are too intimately associated with civil rights, territorial authority, and the exercise of the Royal Supremacy, to be imitated, without impropriety and even danger, whether by a prelate appointed by the Pope, or by a Nonconformist pastor, who may plead primitive usage for styling himself a bishop. Such is the principle involved; but the allowance of the usage, so long as it is practically harmless, or even its sanction in peculiar circumstances such as those of Ireland, is now clearly seen to be a question of policy. Future dangers may be left to be dealt with by law and by the Protestant spirit of England, on which neither Catholic proselytism nor ritualistic innovations have made any serious impression.

The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill left little time for other measures during the session through which the restored Ministry dragged out their feeble remnant of official life. On the 4th of April sir Charles Wood brought in an amended Budget, proposing an entire repeal of the Window Tax, and the substitution for it of a Duty on Houses* of above £20 annual rent, at 9*d.* in the pound on private dwellings and 6*d.* on houses used for business; and reductions of the duties on coffee and timber. A strong opposition was at once raised to the continuance of the Income Tax without modification, and at length Mr. Hume carried a motion against Ministers (by 244 to 230), for its renewal for one year, instead of three (May 2nd).

The Radicals continued to urge on the questions of further Parliamentary Reform, and financial retrenchment, especially in military and naval expenditure. On the 17th of April, Mr. Cobden—amidst a general concurrence in his object—moved an address for negotiations with France, with a view to the mutual reduction of armaments, little thinking that, before the end of the year, seven and a-half millions of Frenchmen would sanction another Napoleonic usurpation—the prelude to a long series of new wars.

The chief measures of improvement effected in this Session related to the administration of the law. The Act 14 and 15 Victoria, cap. 83 (August 7th), established a new Court of Appeal in Chancery, consisting of the Lord Chancellor and two Lords Justices. Lord Brougham added another to his many services in the improvement of the law by carrying the long-needed reform of allowing the parties to a suit to be examined as witnesses.† Among other improvements in the Criminal Law, power was given to judges to amend those merely technical flaws in an indictment, by which justice was often defeated ‡ (cap. 100).

Among social and sanitary improvements, besides making fresh regula-

* This was the revival of a tax originally imposed in 1696, and, after various alterations, repealed in 1834. The House-tax imposed in 1851 is still in force in 1882.

† "An Act to amend the Law of Evidence;" 14 and 15 Victoria, cap. 99, August 7th.

‡ The "Act for the better Prevention of Offences" (cap. 19, July 3rd) is noticeable for dealing (among other things) with the new offence of perverting a scientific discovery to the service of crime, by stupefying with chloroform or other drugs. Another Act (cap. 55, August 1st) amended the law relating to the Expenses of Prosecutions, and the apprehension and trial of offenders.

tions for Lodging Houses, especially for the labouring classes (cap. 28 and 34), Parliament at length sanctioned a plan for relieving London of the nuisance and danger of its great Cattle Market in the heart of the City, by transferring Smithfield Market to an admirable site on the high ground of Copenhagen Fields, Islington (cap. 61). The vacant space of Smithfield was afterwards occupied by new markets for meat and other provisions; and, in connection with the great works of the Holborn Viaduct and Metropolitan Railways, the whole quarter of the City along the valley of the old Fleet river was completely renovated.*

In relation to Foreign Affairs, the restored peace of Europe (treacherous as the appearance soon proved) made this Session a blank; but new interest was excited in the cause of Italian freedom by Mr. Gladstone's indignant exposure, as the result of his own personal observation, of the barbarous cruelties inflicted in the State prisons of Naples on vast numbers of innocent and untried men, who were immured there for political offences.† Lord Palmerston availed himself of these disclosures with characteristic zeal, declaring in the House that Mr. Gladstone had done himself great honour by the course he had pursued at Naples, and that, concurring with him in the hope that the influence of public opinion in Europe might have some effect in setting such matters right, he had sent copies of the publication to be communicated by our Ministers to each European court. Next day, Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person (August 8th).

The decennial census, taken on the 31st of March, showed a total population of 27,595,388 in the United Kingdom, that of London being 2,361,640.‡

* The new Islington Cattle Market was opened in June, 1855, and the new Smithfield Meat Market in 1868. The Holborn Viaduct and new Blackfriars Bridge were opened by the Queen on November 6, 1869.

† Mr. Gladstone's two letters to lord Aberdeen appeared in July. Earlier in the year, lord Palmerston writes to his brother at Naples:—"Gladstone says the Neapolitan is a *Governo infernale*, and that, as a gentleman and a Christian, he feels it his duty to make known what he has seen of its proceedings."—Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. p. 257.

‡ For the details, in comparison with other Decennial Returns, see the Tables.

CHAPTER X.

The Great Exhibition of Industry of all Nations—Its relation to Prince Albert—Retrospect of the Prince's course—Baron Stockmar's anticipations : how fulfilled by the Prince—His plan of life as described by himself—His ideal of Constitutional Monarchy, and his duty of representing it before the Nation—The Prince's qualifications—His success as a speaker—His first public speech—Condition of the Labouring Classes—His interest in Education—Chancellorship of Cambridge—Reform of Studies in the University—Conference on National Education—Education of the Royal Children—Encouragement of Art—Music—Fine Arts' Commission—The Prince's view of Art-education—Museums of Science and Art—First Idea of the Great Exhibition—Royal Commission—Speech at the Mansion House—Purpose of the Exhibition—Difficulties and Opposition—Paxton's *Crystal Palace*—The Opening Ceremony—Impression at home and on Foreigners—New Bond between England and France—The Paris Fêtes—Statistics of visits to the Exhibition—Great Financial success—Use of the Building and Surplus—Crystal Palace at Sydenham—South Kensington Museum and Department of Art and Science—Memorial to the Prince Consort.

THE first year of the second half of the nineteenth century was signalized by an effort to give a new impulse to industry and art throughout the civilized world, and to improve those of our own country by comparison with all the rest, by means of a Universal Exhibition of specimens of the works of all Nations in London. Though sneered at by cynical critics as merely a gigantic bazaar, and somewhat disparaged by the disappointment of high-flown boasts of the new era of peace and good-will which was to be ushered in by the open display of friendly rivalry in the subjection of Nature to man's material wants, the enterprize must ever be memorable for its novelty and boldness, for the motives that prompted the scheme, the energy and ingenuity that effected in the face of tremendous difficulties and opposition, for the brilliancy of its immediate success, and the permanent results to the advancement of science and art for which that success supplied the means. Nor is the least part of its interest derived from regarding it as the crowning triumph of that particular course of work on behalf of his adopted country, to which the Prince Consort devoted his life and all the influence belonging to his relation to the Queen.

The key to his signal success is found in the clear conception which he formed of his position from the first, without which his high intellect, pure virtue, and force of character, might have hardly secured him from failure. Designated from childhood by the family as the future partner of his cousin's presumptive dignity, its contemplation grew with his growth; and he was happy in the guidance of the friend, who has left us a most

interesting anticipation of his future course. In 1836, when the Prince was seventeen years old, baron Stockmar writes* :—"He is said to be circumspect, discreet, and even now cautious; but all this is not enough. He ought to have not merely great ability, but a *right* ambition, and great force of will as well. To pursue a political career so arduous for a lifetime, demands more than energy and inclination: it demands also that earnest frame of mind which is ready of its own accord to sacrifice mere pleasure to real usefulness." How thoroughly Prince Albert did accept his position in this spirit,—how clearly he defined and firmly insisted on both his duties and his rights, as the head of his own family, while the loyal subject of his Sovereign,—as the Queen's confidential adviser and assistant in her councils with her Ministers, while bound to abstain from all public part in politics,—all this has now been fully made known by the records of his life, which it lies beyond our present subject to trace throughout.†

But it is most interesting, at the period with which we are now concerned, to read the Prince's own view—after an experience of ten years—of his position as consort of the sovereign, and the performance of the duties which it imposed on him.‡ "This position"—he writes to the duke of Wellington—"is a most peculiar and delicate one. Whilst a female sovereign has a great many disadvantages in comparison with a king, yet, if she is married, and her husband understands and does his duty, her position, on the other hand, has many compensating advantages, and, in the long run, will be found even to be stronger than that of a male sovereign. But this requires that the husband should entirely sink his *own individual* existence in that of his wife—that he should aim at no power by himself or for himself—should shun all contention—assume no separate

* "The Early Years of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Compiled under the direction of Her Majesty the Queen." By Lieut.-General the Hon. Charles Grey. 1867.—As attempts have been made to disparage the influence of baron Stockmar, it is well to cite, on the highest authority, the estimate formed of him by English statesmen of different parties :—"The Queen, looking back with gratitude and affection to the friend of their early married life, can never forget the assistance given by the baron to the young couple in regulating their movements and general mode of life, and in directing the education of their children. Lord Melbourne had the greatest regard and affection for, and almost unbounded confidence in him. . . . Lord Aberdeen, also, speaking of him to the Queen, said—'I have known men as clever, as discreet, as good, and with as much judgment; but I never knew any one who united all these qualities as he did.'"—(Note by the Queen in "Early Years," etc., p. 188.)

† "The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort." By Theodore Martin. Vol. i. (1819-1848): 1875. Vol. ii. (1848-1854): 1876. Vol. iii. (1854-1856): 1878. Vol. iv. (1857-1859): 1879. Vol. v. (1860-1861): 1880. The *form* in which we generally quote this work has been purposely adopted, not, most assuredly, from any disparagement of the distinguished author, but expressly to mark the still higher authority it derives from the materials it embodies, and the sanction under which it was composed and published. It is to the Queen herself that we owe the choicest part of the materials, which Sir Theodore Martin has wrought together with a skill above all praise.

‡ The italics are the Prince's own. The letter was written (April 6, 1850) to state the Prince's reasons for declining the commandership-in-chief of the army, in which the duke (now in his 81st year) strongly desired the Prince to succeed him.—See the "Life of the Prince Consort," chap. xxxvii. vol. ii. pp. 252 *foli.*

responsibility before the public, but make his position entirely a part of hers—fill up every gap which, as a woman, she would naturally leave in the exercise of her regal functions—continually and anxiously watch every part of the public business, in order to be able to advise and assist her at any moment in any of the multifarious and difficult questions or duties brought before her, sometimes international, sometimes political, or social, or personal. As the natural head of her family, superintendent of her household, manager of her private affairs, sole *confidential* adviser in politics, and only assistant in her communications with the officers of the Government, he is, besides, the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the royal children, the private secretary of the sovereign, and her permanent minister.”

In all these duties, which might well seem enough to occupy the greatest industry, there was no direct contact with the people; and it might have seemed that the “sinking of his own individual existence in that of his wife,” and the strict abstinence from all part in the public strife of politics, condemned the Prince to that seclusion from public affairs, which would have been fatal to his popularity and thereby most injurious to the Crown. But it was Prince Albert’s high merit to discern clearly, and to devote his best powers to fill, that sphere of public activity in which he might at once benefit the people and strengthen the sovereign’s hold on the best affections of her subjects by acting for her in things beyond the range of passing politics.*

He had formed a conception, as true as it was lofty, of the unity of interest that binds together the people and the throne; and even in the “counterfeit presentment” of the Queen’s person, set up among a busy population, he found “an assurance that where loyalty and attachment to the sovereign, as *the representative of the institutions of the country*, are linked to an ardent love of progress, founded upon self-reliance and self-improvement, a country cannot fail to prosper, under favour of the Almighty.” † To use the words of an able writer ‡:—“The Prince Consort made it his constant endeavour to render this ideal a living reality. All his words and actions show that he thought a constitutional king ought to be the image of whatever was noble and generous in the mind of the nation he was appointed to govern. He knew that the beneficent influence of the Crown could penetrate into the most secret recesses of the people’s life;” and he had formed a distinct idea “as to the influence which the Crown can justly exercise on the internal economy of the nation. He wished to make it the central ground on which all the opposing energies of a free people might consent to unite, laying aside, for the sake of a common interest, their individual differences.”

In pursuing this grand ideal of his public life, the Prince was ever

* For an admirable description and estimate of the Prince’s plan of life, and for the effect it had in strengthening the monarchy, see the “Life,” vol. i. pp. 73-4 and 259.

† Speech on unveiling the Queen’s statue at Salford.

‡ “Quarterly Review,” July, 1879, vol. 148, pp. 5, 7.

faithful to the motto suggested to him by baron Stockmar: "Great thoughts and a pure heart!" But many a noble mind has had these, only to pass his life in what Thucydides calls "the bitterest of griefs, to be meditating many things, but to be able to accomplish none." To his high motives and the influence of his lofty place, Prince Albert added a clear, quick, and penetrating intellect, cultured in the whole range of literature, science, and art, a singular accuracy of observation, sound judgment, and the gift indispensable as the organ of all the rest, a power of speech, thoughtful and fluent, accurate and impressive, which, if it never soared to lofty flights of eloquence, never sank to commonplace or wearied by monotony. His style of speaking has been characterized with equal accuracy by a judgment not misled by affection, and a candour prevailing over feelings approaching to distrust. Of his great success at York, in 1848, when he made to the Royal Society of Agriculture a speech "graceful, compact, suggestive, and playful," as one who had himself "experienced the pleasures and the little pangs" attendant on agricultural pursuits,* the Queen wrote, "Independently of his acute mind and pure and excellent heart, he has rare tact, and always knows what to say, and how to say it. . . . He never says a word too much or too little." † Of his brilliant speech at the same city, in 1850, ‡ the "Spectator" observed, that the nation had by that time learned to feel that, if he were removed from us, we should miss one of the least obtrusive, but most useful, of our public men. He never made a speech in public on any occasion of mark without suggesting matter for useful thought, and the tone of his speeches always combines the conservative with the progressive."

Besides his ability and tact, two qualities contributed mainly to the Prince's success as a speaker. Closely connected by family ties with England, and early designated for his high place, he had not only (of course) learnt English from his childhood, but he had cultivated our language *in the only way by which the mastery of it is acquired for the use of the orator or writer*, the constant perusal of the great models of English style.§ The other point is, that his speeches were carefully prepared, and generally, if not always, written and committed to memory. "It was his creed that, *representing as he would be held to do the personal opinions of the sovereign*, no word spoken by him on public occasions should be left to the chance of the moment, but that all should be well considered and presented in the best possible form." ||

The wide and varied feeling of social interests and material improve-

* The Prince occupied himself with practical farming at Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral, and was a constant exhibitor, and frequent winner of prizes, at the shows of the Smithfield Cattle Club and the Royal Agricultural Society.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 89, 90.

‡ That containing the eulogy of sir Robert Peel.—See p. 63.

§ It is somewhat remarkable that the increased attention paid of late years to the theoretical and "scientific" study of the English language has been coincident (we do not say as cause and effect) with a signal deterioration of English style.

|| "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 87.

ment—the welfare of the working classes and the education of all,—the cause of religion, morality, and philanthropy,—the advancement of literature, science, and art, not so much for their own enjoyment as for their use in making the people better, happier, and more prosperous :—all this may be traced in the records of his life and the collection of his speeches.*

He first came forward as a speaker in the first year of his married life, while not yet twenty-one, to plead for a cause dear to English hearts, the Abolition of the Slave Trade (June 1, 1840); when “by a few concise and weighty sentences he gave a foretaste of that power of saying much in a few words, for which his speeches and addresses soon became remarkable.” † His own modest report to his father proves how from the first he kept in view the purpose of strengthening the hold of the Crown on the respect of the people; “my speech was received with great applause, and seems to have produced a good effect in the country.”

In the same spirit he expressed his sincere regret at a momentary difficulty raised against his speaking at a meeting of the Society for improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes, of which he became president in 1848, “because (he wrote) it will be difficult to find another becoming opportunity for expressing the *sincere interest* which the Queen and myself feel for the welfare and comfort of the working classes.” In the publications attempting to bring discredit on the Crown, at that critical time of republican agitation, ‡ he only found “one more reason for attending the meeting, and showing to those who are thus misguided, that the Royal Family are not merely living upon the earnings of the people (as these publications try to represent) without caring for the poor labourers, but that they are anxious about their welfare, and ready to co-operate in any scheme for the amelioration of their condition. *We may possess these feelings, and yet the mass of the people may be ignorant of it, because they have never heard it expressed to them, or seen any tangible proof of it.*” Happily the objectors gave way, and the Prince had the desired opportunity of expressing his “sympathy and interest for that class of the community which has most of the toil and least of the enjoyments of the world.” § The burden of the speech was the identical interests of all classes, which ignorance alone prevents from uniting for their mutual advantage;—the special duty of those who enjoy station, wealth, and education, to dispel that ignorance and show how man can help man, notwithstanding the complicated state of civilized society, but to be careful to avoid any dictatorial interference with labour and employment;—and above all, the great principle that, after all that the society or individuals could do by way of help and example, as in the form of model lodging-houses, loan funds, and land allotments,|| yet

* “The Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Published by command of Her Majesty the Queen.”

† “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 87.

‡ The objection made by some members of the Government to his attending the meeting was from the fear that the Chartists and other demagogues might make use of it for a demonstration against royalty.

§ “Speech,” May 18, 1848.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 46.

|| As to the Prince’s clear sight of these practical objects and his own efforts to carry them out, see the “Life,” vol. ii. pp. 228-9.

that "any real improvement must be the result of the exertion of the working people themselves." The Prince's biographer observes that this speech first fairly showed to the country what he was; and, when the Crown was thus represented in its relations to the working classes, it is no wonder that he could write to baron Stockmar—"Monarchy never stood higher in England than it does at this moment."*

That a man of such a spirit, himself trained in the highest culture, should take the deepest interest in the education of all classes, was a matter of course. In the year 1847 he was designated for the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, on grounds admirably expressed at the time by bishop Blomfield, that "not only the exalted rank of the Prince, but his Royal Highness's scientific and literary attainments, and the distinction of his own academical career,† point him out as a peculiarly fit person for the highest honours our University has to bestow." His election—after a contest forced on his supporters by party spirit, which served to bring out his dignity, temper, and sound judgment—took place at the crisis of an irresistible movement for the reform of the two ancient universities; and their best friends regarded it as of happy omen that "one so very near the throne, one who had so deep a stake in the prosperity of our beloved country, should be pledged to support and foster our academical institutions."‡ The Master of Trinity, Dr. Whewell—who was alike distinguished for his eminence in science and for his thoughtful discussion of university studies§—transmitted to the Prince an elaborate memorandum on the improvements to be desired in the Cambridge course of study, at the same time assuring him, "I am persuaded the university at large looks upon your Royal Highness's acceptance of the office of chancellor as highly auspicious, and likely to be of the greatest benefit to the university, both in the conduct of its affairs in its usual course, and also in introducing improvements in its system, if such should be found needful."

The Prince at once took up the question with characteristic energy and caution. After receiving from the Vice-Chancellor a full statement of the provisions established for the various branches of learning and the use actually made of them, and, having obtained sir Robert Peel's opinion on this and on Dr. Whewell's proposals,|| he drew up a scheme for widening the range of study, and establishing new Honour Triposes in mental and moral science (including political economy, history, and law), and in the

* To the Prince's direct use of his influence with the Government, a few years later, for the abolition of the "truck-system," a most touching tribute was paid after his death, in the address of sympathy presented to her Majesty by the ballast-heavers of the port of London, which deserves also to be placed on record as a landmark in the social history of labour in England.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. pp. 3, 4.—Another memorable example of his efforts to lead the working classes into the paths of providence and self-reliance is furnished by his speech at a meeting in aid of the Servants' Provident and Benevolent Society (1849: "Life," vol. ii. p. 168).

† At the University of Bonn-on-the-Rhine.

‡ Professor Sedgwick, quoted in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 115.

§ See his "Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge," a work especially valuable for its defence of those *permanent studies* which form the intellectual bond of educated society, and the current coin of thought in all times and countries.

|| See sir Robert's letter in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 117.

physical sciences. The plan was adopted by the Syndicate of the University and carried by a triumphant majority of the Senate (October 31, 1848).

In the wider field of popular education Prince Albert's interest was most deep and earnest; and the order of time may be anticipated, to show the principles he maintained. In 1857, when the question was ripening to a decision, he presided at the first meeting of the Conference on National Education, a task of which the difficulty and delicacy can scarcely be apprehended by a generation which has only seen the later phase of the contest between parental freedom and state compulsion, between systems based on religious training or secular teaching, and the conflicts of rival religious bodies. It was not the Prince's manner to evade these delicate questions, but to seek for the best course to follow in their presence. We must be content to refer to the speech itself for his clear recognition of the ground common to all parties, on which alone he consented to meet them that day,—the great advance made by voluntary efforts, but the greater want still left unsupplied,—the social difficulties to be surmounted, and the terrible hindrance of parental indifference, and his wise and feeling enforcement of the regard due to parental rights and duties. Going then to the root of the whole matter, he urged the sacred duties alike of parents and of those who were bound to aid them, with the pure eloquence of deep conviction:—"Man alone is born into this world with faculties far nobler than the other creatures, reflecting the image of Him who has willed that there should be beings on earth to know and worship Him, but endowed with the power of self-determination, and having reason given them for their guide. Man can develop his faculties, place himself in harmony with his Divine prototype, and attain that happiness which is offered to him on earth, to be completed hereafter in entire union with Him through the mercy of Christ. But he can also leave these faculties unimproved, and *miss his mission on earth*. He will then sink to the level of the lower animals, forfeit happiness, and separate from his God, *whom he did not know how to find*. Gentlemen, I say, man has no right to do this—he has no right to throw off the task which is laid upon him for his happiness; it is his duty to fulfil his mission to the utmost of his power; but it is our duty, the duty of those whom Providence has removed from this awful struggle and placed beyond this fearful danger, manfully, unceasingly, and untiringly to aid by advice, assistance, and example the great bulk of the people, who, without such aid, must almost inevitably succumb to the difficulty of their task. They will not cast from them the aiding hand, and the Almighty will bless the labours of those who work in His cause." How wisely the "example" on which he insisted was set by himself, for the benefit of the people over whom his descendants were to rule, is attested by his memorandum (in 1849) on the principles on which the education of the royal children should be conducted.*

A large share of the Prince's activity was devoted to the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and public improvements of all

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 175.

kinds. We have already had occasion to notice his practical interest in agriculture; and this was combined with his support of a great work in the interest of commerce, when he laid the first stone of the new docks at Great Grimsby * (April, 1849). In passing through Lincolnshire he had not only been struck by "the energy and perseverance which had succeeded in transforming unhealthy swamps into the richest and most fertile soil in the kingdom"; he had enquired into the cause, and found it to be in a great measure due to the excellent relations between landlord and tenant. "Here (he said) it is recognized that the real advantage and the prosperity of both do not depend upon the written letter of agreements, but on that mutual trust and confidence which has in this country, for a long time, been held a sufficient security to both, to warrant the extensive outlay of capital and the engagement in farming operations on the largest scale."

Even to those inclined to regard the Prince's position chiefly in its ornamental light, one of its chief functions would of course appear to be the encouragement of the fine arts, both for their own sake, and for their industrial application. For this he was eminently fitted, alike by nature and education; imbued with a fine taste, trained in sound principles, and himself an accomplished musician and no mean master of the pencil.† A great opportunity presented itself at the very time of the Prince's arrival in England. A Committee of the House of Commons had been for some time enquiring what use could be made of the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament for the encouragement of the Fine Arts. One of Sir Robert Peel's first acts on coming into power, in 1841, was to hand over the enquiry to a Royal Commission, with Prince Albert at its head. The first-fruit of the labours of the Commission was seen in the Exhibition, in Westminster Hall, of the cartoons produced in competition for the prizes offered for works on subjects illustrative of English History and Poetry, suitable for the fresco decoration of the wall spaces. "The exhibition opened on the 1st of July (1843), and the Prince watched its effect upon the great crowds who thronged the Hall while it lasted, with the closest interest. What he then observed filled him with hope for the development of a taste for art among the people, which might become *an important agent in elevating their character and habits*, while it gave a *higher aim to such of our manufactures as were connected with the arts of design.*"‡ The words we have emphasized are the key-note of the Prince's whole views of art in its relation to the people, and especially of that system of art-education to which a new impulse was given by the success of the Exhibition in 1851. His chief aim was to elevate the workman and "to

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 166. This speech has a special interest for its bearing on more recent discussions concerning the tenure and improvement of the land.

† For his modest estimate of his own accomplishments, and his views of amateur art in general, see the "Life," vol. iv. pp. 15, 16.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. i. p. 166. See vol. iv. p. 13 for a full statement of the Prince's views on education in Art.

restore his pride in the product of his hands." "Accordingly," writes his biographer, "all the Prince's schemes for Museums of Science and Art were devised with the view of putting the working-classes in as favourable a position as the rich for seeing for themselves what science and art had achieved, and the steps by which they had advanced to their present state."

Such were the ideas, applied both to the useful and the fine arts, and to every branch of industry, which led up to the first Great International Exhibition of 1851. The Prince's hold on the respect and admiration of the people was now established so firmly, that schemes proposed by him for the public good were welcomed with sympathy, and no longer regarded with unfounded jealousy, at least by the great mass of the nation. Nor is it now worth while to recal the opposition of various persons and classes, except so far as to enhance the patient courage and tact by which they were surmounted. The restoration of prosperity at home and peace abroad formed a conjuncture of circumstances signally favourable; and the national exhibitions already held had achieved a success and produced results which helped to prove the practicability and advantage of one which should bring into one universal view the works of art and industry of all nations, in order to their improvement for the common good of each and all.* The French had taken the lead amidst the fervour of the first Republic; and the exhibition held at Paris in 1798 had been followed by nine others from 1801 to 1849. Exhibitions on a smaller scale had been held in England by the Society of Arts, with a manifest effect in raising the quality of our manufactures; and in May, 1848, the Society (of which Prince Albert was President) asked the aid of Government towards the holding of Triennial Exhibitions of Manufactures. Inauspicious as was the time, the scheme went on, and early in 1849 the Council framed the outline of a plan for an Exhibition in 1851. This design was merged in the wider scheme for an Exhibition of the Works of all Nations, proposed by the Prince to a meeting of some leading members of the Society at Buckingham Palace (June 30, 1849). The Prince had consulted the Government, who approved the plan, and had so inadequate an idea of its extent as to offer the court of Somerset House! but he himself thus early suggested Hyde Park as the fittest place for the Exhibition. In the following month he applied to the Government for a Commission, which was issued on the 4th of January, 1850, to twenty-five eminent persons, with the Prince as President, "for the Promotion of an Exhibition of the Works of all Nations, to be holden in the year 1851." It is now needless to recal the details of preparation, encouragement, and opposition, through which the scheme was carried to its accomplishment, or to dwell upon the bright hopes that—however disappointed for the time—gave it a life and interest, but for which it would never have been achieved. All this may be read in the Prince's Life, and

* The Prince's biographer traces the germ of the idea to those great Frankfort fairs of the sixteenth century which the famous scholar Henri Estienne (Stephanus) described in his "Francofordiense Emporium" (1574), in terms for which we must be content to refer the reader to the "Life of the Prince Consort, vol. ii. p. 223.

especially in his great speech at the Mansion House (March 21st) calling England to take the lead in a new epoch of civilization, in which under her auspices an effort was to be made to take one step, by fellowship in the works of peace and common interest, to the ends which revolutionary force had so signally failed to grasp once for all. "Nobody (he said) who has paid any attention to the peculiar features of our present era, will for a moment doubt that we are living in a period of the most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end, to which, indeed, all history points,—*the realization of the unity of mankind*. Not a unity which breaks down the limits, and levels the peculiar characteristics, of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity, the *result and product* of those very varieties and antagonistic qualities." Having enumerated those characteristics of the age which seemed to tend to this result:—the new facilities for easy and rapid communication; the general knowledge of each other's languages; the principle of the division of labour; the tendency to special study of all science, which gained the great results that were at once made common property, instead of the former pursuit of universal knowledge as the possession of the few; the command obtained over the products of all quarters of the globe, under the stimulus of *competition and capital*:—he summed up the whole result:—"So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs His creation, and, by making those laws his standard of action, to conquer nature to his use; himself a divine instrument. Science discovers these laws of power, motion, and transformation: industry applies them to the raw matter, which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge. Art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance with them. Gentlemen,—*the Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test of a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions*. I confidently hope that the first impression, which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectator, will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render each other; therefore, only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth."*

At the close of his speech—which was received with an enthusiasm that supplied a new motive power to the work—the Prince alluded to "the immeasurable difficulties" which would have to be overcome in carrying out the work. They were then most serious, however we may now smile at the imputations of court intrigues on the one hand, and, on the

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 243.

other, the real or affected fears, that the party of revolution might raise disturbances endangering the public peace and damaging to our relations with other powers. The greatest difficulties arose respecting the site and nature of the building; difficulties not only mechanical and financial, but highly sentimental, from fear of a permanent injury to Hyde Park. The ingenuity of one man triumphed over the threefold difficulty by suggesting a kind of structure at once cheap, capable of any extension, and easily (in fact, as the event proved, necessarily) removable. Mr. (afterwards sir) Joseph Paxton, gardener to the duke of Devonshire, having had experience at Chatsworth of vast conservatories of novel construction, was struck with the idea, that the application of this mode of building to the requirements of the Exhibition was a mere question of enlargement. He designed an edifice of iron columns and girders supporting a glass roof, the striking merit of which secured its immediate adoption (July 16th). Just at the same time, the financial difficulty was got over by the happy suggestion of a guaranteed fund, which the brilliant success of the Exhibition made in the issue only nominal, but none the less honourable to the undertakers.

"Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation."

Obtaining possession of the site on the 30th of July, the contractors set up the first column* on the 26th of September, and handed over the building to the Commissioners, sufficiently advanced for the reception of objects for exhibition, on the 3rd of February, 1851. The name of "Crystal Palace," given to the edifice which was seen from the Park and the suburban heights of London glittering in the sunshine of an unusually fine spring, carried with it a fairy-like charm, which was an omen, and perhaps a direct element of success; but that charm was far outdone by the indescribable impression of the first sight of the finished interior, which forms one of the epochs in the life of those who beheld it. Instead of saying

"The hasty multitude
Admiring entered; and the work some praised,
And some the architect"—

it would perhaps be truer to confess that such thought and praise were absorbed in the overpowering sensation of wonder and delight, with which the illustrious lady, whose deep interest in this peaceful glory of her reign was quickened by sympathy with its chief author, has recorded the scene at the opening in her diary (May 1, 1851):—"The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved." †

* For a full account of the building and the interesting statistics of its dimensions, materials, and so forth, we must be content to refer to a paper entitled "Great Exhibition of 1851; Facts and Figures," in the "Companion to the Almanack," 1852.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 365-6.—We regret not to quote the whole of the picture drawn by genuine feeling, which loses nothing by comparison with Thackeray's

If a new generation, somewhat sated with exhibitions and taught by the sad experience of thirty years, responds but coldly to the enthusiasm of that day, it is for that very reason the better that we should remember the hopes and aspirations which, though disappointed now, will surely be realized in due time, but not alone, or chiefly, by advancement in material prosperity or in the subjection of nature to man's physical wants. Indispensable as is this element in the progress of the nation and the whole race, their highest destiny can only be fulfilled by another kind of exhibition—of the quiet and lasting works of self-denying virtue and human brotherhood recognized in the common fatherhood of God.

Between England and her nearest continental neighbour, especially, there was a strong desire to use the opportunity for strengthening the bonds of good understanding and mutual advantage. The Prince President of the French Republic had given a cordial support to the Exhibition from its first proposal.* To requite the liberal arrangements made for the objects displayed by France, and the courtesy shown to her representatives, the City of Paris invited the Exhibition Commissioners and their friends to a series of brilliant festivities in the first week of August. The expressions of cordiality were perhaps not the less effusive for a lurking remnant of the distrust felt towards the Republic of 1848, and of fear for the direction that it might follow under a Bonaparte. Nor, amidst the brilliant success of the festival, were there wanting signs ominous of the catastrophe which was to end this year, and to dissipate the fond hopes of its peaceful promise to Europe for a generation †—and how much longer is still a dark anxiety. But, as between the two nations themselves, the Exhibition produced immediate and permanent good fruit. The comparison of their works roused a generous mutual recognition of the qualities in which each surpassed the other. "Great commercial advantages were the immediate results on both sides. At the same time a friendliness of intercourse, not unimportant to the peace and prosperity of both countries, grew up out of the personal knowledge and the exchange of courtesies for which the Exhibition gave occasion. Each country thenceforth knew the other better, and much of the old lingering jealousy of one another began to disappear." ‡

The Exhibition remained open for the five months of spring and summer (which happened that year to be a *real* one, free from "its usual severity"), and was finally closed on the 11th of October. The vast interest it excited

noble "May Day Ode," for both express the sensations that moved all hearts at the time. A fortnight after the opening, the chevalier Bunsen wrote to professor Max Müller:—"The Exhibition is and will remain the most poetical event of our time, and one deserving a place in the world's history—*Les Anglais ont fait de la poésie sans s'endouter*, as M. Jourdain was found to have made prose."—"Life of Baron Bunsen," vol. ii. p. 269.

* See his views stated in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 386.

† During the *fête* given by the Prince President at St. Cloud, he was saluted by tumultuous cries of *Vive Napoleon*, amidst which an enthusiastic Englishman shouted, *Vive l'Empereur*. The Prince turned sharply upon him and said, "Sir! if that cry is repeated, I must leave the grounds." The incident, related on the authority of one who stood close by, is a striking parallel to the famous reply, "I am no king, but Cæsar."

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 387.

was proved by the attendance of above six millions of visitors, the daily average exceeding 43,000, or a little above the estimated capacity of the building. The financial results, which had been the subject of so much anxiety, far surpassed the most sanguine expectations. The total receipts exceeded half a million sterling; and, after the payment of all expenses, a surplus of about £170,000 was left in the hands of the Commissioners. This very success involved a new difficulty and labour for the Prince and them, especially as a strong feeling had arisen in favour of retaining the Crystal Palace as a Winter Garden; and the surplus would supply ample means for its purchase and equipment. But no such an application of the fund was sanctioned by the charter to the Commissioners; and the Prince desired its appropriation to purposes of permanent importance akin to the objects of the Exhibition, rather than to mere recreation and amusement.* Ultimately, both objects were attained, and at the same time the space borrowed from the Park was restored to its former freedom. By the enterprise of a private company a still finer Crystal Palace was raised on a hill at Sydenham as a public resort for healthful recreation and the exhibition of instructive objects of art and industry from the ancient and modern world.† The more serious purpose of the Prince was carried out by the purchase of the Kensington Gore estate, with adjoining property,‡ on which have since been raised the buildings forming the South Kensington Museum, and the seat of a new Government department for the promotion of Science and Art.§

The site of the first Crystal Palace Exhibition is now marked by the memorial to the Prince Consort, which was completed in 1872, with the exception of the gilt statue, which was not uncovered till 1876.||

*See the scheme sketched by the Prince Consort in his "Memorandum as to the disposal of the surplus from the Great Exhibition of 1851," in the Appendix to his "Life," vol. ii. p. 569.

† The present Crystal Palace was begun in 1852, and opened by the Queen, June 10, 1854 (see below, chap. xx.). Its history confirms the wisdom of Prince Albert's decision.

‡ The Commission was continued for the management of this property, the Prince of Wales succeeding to the Presidency on his father's death. The second Great Exhibition in 1862 was held on this site; but its success was impaired by the Prince Consort's death and other causes. The temporary building was used for the Alexandra Palace on Muswell Hill.

§ An important step in this direction had been taken by the foundation of the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn-street, which was opened by Prince Albert on May 12, 1851.

|| A "Descriptive and Illustrated Account of the Albert Memorial" (which is in the form of a monumental cross, richly adorned with sculptures and other decorations) is given in the sumptuous volume edited by Mr. Doyne C. Bell, and published by Mr. John Murray in 1873.

CHAPTER XI.

State of France in 1851—Inaugural Oath of Louis Napoleon as President—His republican professions—Moral character of his conduct—His personal character—Circumstances impelling him—His relations to the Assembly—His friendship for England—Speech at Cherbourg—Suspicion of his Designs—The "Saviour of Society"—Conflict with the Assembly—His repulse by French gentlemen—The Knot of Conspirators—The *Coup d'Etat* of December 2nd—Arrest of Generals and Deputies—Decrees of the President—His proposed Constitution—Proclamation to the soldiers—Resistance overpowered: massacres and deportations—"Society is saved"—*Plébiscite*—Inauguration—Imperial *souvenirs* and symbols—Effect of the news in England—The Queen and Premier—Conversation of Palmerston and Walewski—Lord Palmerston's explanations, and defence of the *Coup d'Etat*—Lord John's reply—Dismissal of Lord Palmerston—Explanations in Parliament—Palmerston's position—Effect of his dismissal on the Continent—Allegations of Foreign influence disproved—Imputations on the Queen and Prince—Their subsequent relations—Palmerston's character of Prince Albert.

To turn the page from the bright hopes of the summer of 1851 in England to the dark "winter of discontent" which closed the year in France, is one of the saddest contrasts in history. Yet the change ought not to have been unexpected: nay, its near prospect may have helped, by a strange law of our wilful nature, to intensify the enthusiasm, as if we flattered ourselves that violence could be averted by honouring the works of peace. The strength which the Great Exhibition added to British loyalty was set in a stronger light by the restless heavings of the unstable polity of France; and, amidst the festivities of mutual congratulation on the triumphs of industry, the Republic was steadily moving on the downward path to the return of military despotism and a new age of war in Europe. To describe the course of these events in detail belongs to the history of France; but they must be briefly traced on account of their close bearing on our own.

The general opinion throughout Europe, and even in France itself, pronounced the second Republic a hopeless experiment, almost from the moment of its birth in 1848; and before the end of the year its fate was sealed, when the heir of the Bonapartes (appointed such by the formal act of Napoleon I. and his Senate) was elected by five millions and a-half of votes its President for a term which the Constitution of 1848 strictly limited to four years. On the 20th of December Charles Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, at his solemn inauguration, added the oath of fidelity to the

Republic his voluntary word of honour, both confirming the promise put forth before his election, which had ended with this most emphatic pledge:—"I would devote myself entirely, without any reserved design, to the consolidation of a Republic, wise in its laws, honest in its intention, great and powerful in its acts. I should consider it a point of honour to leave to my successor, at the conclusion of four years, a consolidated government, with liberty, public interest, and a real progress accomplished."

At the end of those four years the candidate who made these professions became Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, a destiny to which he had often indicated his constant aspiration. But yet there is no need to ascribe the words quite quoted, and the oath then sworn, to deliberate hypocrisy, not shrinking from securing the imperial crown by perjury. The guilt of ultimately securing that crown by the violent and sanguinary overthrow of the constitution, of which he was the servant and creature, in violation of such promises and oaths, must be steadily proclaimed in face of the Cæsar-worship of our day. But the question of his deliberate intentions is very different; and in this respect Louis Napoleon's character was greatly misjudged both by his friends and admirers. The self-contained man of steadfast and inscrutable designs was found to be the weak and vacillating slave of circumstances and instrument of stronger wills. His boldest resolutions were at one time the mere impulse of blind fatalism, at another the desperate choice amidst inextricable difficulties. His most courageous acts were done by putting a vehement force on a nature in which timidity had a large share; and his greatest crimes and cruelties did violence to a temper which all who knew him well attest to have been gentle, kind, and genial. The "nephew of his uncle" had in his nature much more of the visionary and even benevolent enthusiast, and far less of the selfish, hard-hearted despot, who now stands self-revealed in the faithful record of Lanfrey, Madame de Rémusat, and others. While it is clear that, in the prevalent habit of his mind, he had strong faith in his imperial destiny, it was rather as something that was to come to him by fate, than as an object for which he was to struggle at any cost. The condition of France tended to lead him to the goal. Placed between the Red Republicans, who were neither moved by nor would submit to any law but force, and the Assembly which never put confidence in him,* he had, like Cæsar, probably no choice but either to retire or to fulfil his supposed destiny. But the "tyrant's plea of necessity" does not avail against the duty of a good citizen to have chosen the former and better part. Having made this protest once for all in the cause of freedom and political morality against all despotism, and especially that founded on usurpation, our part is not to pass judgment on his course, but to follow it in its relation to our own history.

In the year 1849, the President and the Assembly had to unite in suppressing the movements of the Red Republicans, happily without bloodshed; and, as we have seen,† the expedition to Rome supplied a common ground

* In the new Legislative Assembly, which met on the 27th o. May, 1849, the Republican and Orleanist parties predominated.

† Chap. v. p. 34.

for action for the cherished object of asserting French influence in Italy. Towards the end of the year there was a new ministry, of which lord Palmerston wrote:—"These late changes of ministers in France will make no other change in the foreign policy of the country except to render it more conformable with the personal feelings and views of the President; and he is more disposed, than some of his late ministers were, to follow a course of foreign policy calculated to create a community of views and action between England and France."* These words expressed a belief very general in England, where the Prince President had long resided and gained many fast friends, that his knowledge of our country and people—the utter want of which had so grievously misled his uncle—would dispose him to a policy of peace and good understanding, and that the feelings of hostility and "revenge for Waterloo" were rather to be apprehended from the Republican party. Such was the policy which the President proclaimed at a banquet at Cherbourg (September 6, 1850), when, referring to the presence of some distinguished English officers, he said:—"They may be assured of the fact that, if we desire peace, it is not because we are weak, but from that community of interests, and those sentiments of mutual esteem, which bind together the two most civilized nations of the globe."

The cries of *Vive Napoleon* and *Vive l'Empereur*, which greeted this speech and were renewed on various occasions during the President's autumn tour roused suspicion of his designs; and the reassuring speeches of the President to the Assembly and the Municipality of Paris were mingled with enigmatical hints as to modifications in the form of government at the expiration of his term in 1852, towards which it was his great object to prepare a peaceful transition.

It would carry us too far aside, to trace the steps by which the President, impelled by the seeming necessity of his position to seek the renewal of his power, supported by the peasantry who held the Napoleonic tradition, and the clergy who remembered the Concordat, and offering himself as the only "Saviour of Society" from the threatening spectre of the Red Republic, found himself at last in irreconcilable antagonism with the Assembly, who merged all other thoughts of policy in resistance to his threatened usurpation. Add to this, that all his overtures to the eminent generals, statesmen, parliamentary orators and men of letters—overtures which at least showed some desire to use better means than forcible usurpation—were rebuffed, and he was thus thrown back into the hands of a knot of adventurers,† whose private advantage was a powerful motive for

* Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. p. 160. The passage is important for the light it throws on the motives of lord Palmerston's subsequent policy towards Louis Napoleon.

† See Mr. Kinglake's graphic sketches of the conspirators, most of whom had assumed other names besides their own, Morny, Fleury, St. Arnaud formerly Jacques Armand le Roy, Maupas or De Maupas, and Fialin called Persigny. For the details of the conspiracy and its execution, which belong to the History of France rather than to our subject, we must be content to refer to Mr. Kinglake's work (chap. xiv.), to Victor Hugo's "Histoire d'un Crime" (both strongly anti-Bonapartist), Granier de Cassagnac's "Histoire de la Chute

urging him to what now became a secret conspiracy to effect the change by violence. The preparations having been made, and regiments that could be depended on having been brought to Paris,* and the National Guard having been placed under a new commander, who undertook that its drums should not beat to arms, the explosion was fixed for the 2nd of December, the day of special omen, which the great Napoleon always recalled as that of "the sun of Austerlitz." When these preparations had been made under cover of night and the troops placed so as to command the city, the leading deputies and generals were arrested, and the proclamations were posted up, in which, when the late December daylight displayed those papers on the walls, the astounded citizens of Paris read the following edicts of the President and his new chief Minister:—"In the name of the French people, the President of the Republic decrees:—Art. 1. *The National Assembly is dissolved.* 2. *The law of May 31st is abolished and universal suffrage is restored.* 3. *The French people is convoked in its elective colleges from the 14th of December to the 21st of December following.* 4. *The state of sieg is decreed throughout the first military division (Paris and its environs).* 5. *The Council of State is dissolved.* 6. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree. (Signed) LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. DE MORNAY, Minister of the Interior. Palace of the Elysée, December 2nd."

Another proclamation was an Address of the President to the People, in which he submitted the heads of a new constitution, based avowedly on that established by the First Consul. These were, (1) A responsible *chief magistrate*, named for ten years; (2) *Ministers* dependent on the executive power *alone*; (3) A *Council of State*, composed of the most eminent men, to prepare laws to be submitted to, (4) A *Legislative Body*, elected by universal suffrage, without scrutiny, which should discuss and vote the laws; (5) A *Senate*, formed from the illustrious men of the country, as a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental compact and of the public liberties. On behalf of this scheme he appealed to the suffrages of the nation:—"If you believe *the cause of which my name is the symbol*—that is to say, France regenerated by the Revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor—is your own, proclaim it by consecrating the powers which I ask from you." There was also a proclamation to the soldiers, calling on them to vote freely as citizens, but to remember their rigorous duty of passive obedience

du Roi Louis Philippe, de la Republique de 1848, et du Rétablissement de l' Empire," and Mr. Blanchard Jerrold's "Life of Napoleon III." (strongly on the side of Louis Napoleon), and other Histories of the *Coup d'Etat*. Perhaps the time has hardly come for a complete and impartial history of the Second Empire.

* On the 27th of November, General Magnan, who commanded the troops of Paris, assembled twenty generals, who promised zealous obedience to the orders which they were told to expect against the Constitution and the people of Paris. It is a coincidence worth noting that Marshal Soult, the most distinguished survivor of the great Napoleon's captains, died the day before; and his old antagonist and co-equal in age, Wellington, with whom he had shared a popular ovation at the Queen's coronation, died in the autumn of next year, shortly before the restoration of the Empire. Soult was born on the 29th of March, 1769, and Wellington on May 1st of the same year.

to the chief of the government: "It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare."

We must not dwell upon the brief and fruitless opposition made by the deputies—who were expelled from their chamber by military force, while voting the President guilty of treason, and were carried off to prison, to the number of 235 ;*—or by the small remnant left, after the insurrections of 1848, of the formidable street warriors of Paris, soon overpowered by the soldiery, who, maddened with rage and drink, poured volleys into the midst of unoffending spectators in the houses ;—on the midnight executions of prisoners after all resistance was ended, and the transportation from the provinces as well as Paris, of myriads, to the hulks and casemates, to Africa and Cayenne. On the 8th of December Louis Napoleon proclaimed, "Frenchmen! the disturbances are appeased! Whatever may be the decision of the people, *society is saved!* The first part of my task is accomplished." It remained for his organized army of officials, under the operation of martial law, to manipulate the working of a universal suffrage, under the fantastic pseudo-classical name of a *plébiscite*, in which the only votes allowed were *Yes* or *No*, and a vote for any candidate but Louis Bonaparte was null and void: the only choice was between him and *nothing*, that is, the instant prospect of anarchy. But for all this, the world was astonished at the result when the ballot-boxes yielded nearly *seven millions and a-half* AYES against less a tenth that number of NOES.†

The resolve of Louis Napoleon to govern "France regenerated by the revolution of '89" as "organized by the Emperor," and in opposition to the traditions of the extreme infidel republic, was solemnly shown by his inauguration with a solemn religious ceremony at Notre Dame on New Year's Day (1852); when few could fail to reflect how the like *ten years' term* of the first consul had been abridged. On the same day, the official "Moniteur" published a decree, that "The president, considering that the French Republic in its new form, sanctioned by the suffrage of the people, *may adopt without umbrage the souvenirs of the empire*, and the symbols which recal the glory of that period,"—restored the French eagle on the colours of the army and on the cross of the Legion of Honour. Another decree dissolved the National Guard preparatory to its reorganization (January 12th); and the new constitution was issued two days later ;—to last till the next 2nd of December!

We have traced the outlines of this great change so far as was necessary to understand the new character impressed upon the French state, with which it had been the constant policy of England, since the peace of 1816, to maintain a "cordial understanding." When the news reached London about mid-day of December 2nd—"Paris in a state of siege: the president re-establishes universal suffrage, and appeals to the people"—consols fell

* This part of the story was told by the illustrious De Tocqueville, in a letter to the "Times" (December 11th), since published in his collected letters.

† The exact numbers were: *Oui*, 7,439,219; *Non*, 640,737.

from 98 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 96 $\frac{1}{2}$, but, as fuller information arrived, they rose again to 97 $\frac{3}{4}$. On being informed at Osborne of the success of the *coup d' état*, the Queen wrote to lord John Russell to express her surprise and concern at the events which had taken place at Paris, and her decided view that the marquis of Normanby, our ambassador to the French Republic, should be instructed to remain entirely passive, and should take no part whatever in what was passing, as "any word from him might be misconstrued at such a moment" * (December 4th). The state of mind in the Cabinet upon the first shock is shown in lord John's reply on the same evening:—"Your Majesty's directions respecting the state of affairs shall be followed. Lord Normanby has asked whether he should suspend his diplomatic functions; but the Cabinet were unanimously of opinion that he should not do so. The result is very uncertain; at present the power is likely to rest with the army, to whose memory of victories and defeats the president has so strongly appealed." On the next day (December 5th) lord Palmerston wrote an official despatch to lord Normanby, instructing him to make no change in his relations with the French Government.

When the answer to this despatch came in due course to the Queen's notice, it brought a startling revelation. Lord Normanby wrote to lord Palmerston, on the 6th, that, in communicating its substance to the French Foreign Minister, he apologized for some accidental delay, which—M. Turgot replied—"had been of less importance, as he had two days since heard from M. Walewski† that *your lordship had expressed to him your entire approbation of the act of the president*, and the conviction that he could not have acted otherwise than he had done." In the explanations which ensued, it appeared that some such conversation as that reported had taken place on the day after the *coup d' état* (December 3rd), though lord Palmerston maintained that the report was rather a highly coloured version of what he had said to M. Walewski, "the sum and substance of which was, that I thought that what the president had done the day before was the best thing for France, and, through France, for the rest of Europe." ‡ The reasons for this opinion were set forth in a letter to the Prime Minister (December 16th), which contains the ablest vindication of the *coup d' état* on the grounds of political expediency irrespective of its moral character.§ Lord John Russell replied,|| that lord Palmerston appeared to mistake the question at issue. "That question is not, whether the president has been justified in dissolving the assembly and annulling the constitution, but

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 411. It has been already mentioned that this was the same day on which lord John Russell wrote to lord Palmerston the views of the Cabinet respecting the affair of the Radical addresses (see chap. viii. p. 73).

† The French ambassador in London.

‡ This brief and pointed statement is from a letter to his brother, deliberately reviewing the whole crisis a month afterwards (January 22, 1852).—Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. p. 312.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-306. Similar views were expressed in a despatch of the same date to lord Normanby (pp. 297-9).

|| December 17th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 415.

whether you were justified, as the Queen's Secretary of State, in expressing an opinion upon the subject"—without first consulting the Cabinet. After arguing out this point, the letter ended thus:—"I must now come to the painful conclusion. While I concur in the foreign policy of which you have been the adviser, and much as I admire the energy and ability with which it has been carried into effect, I cannot but observe that misunderstandings perpetually renewed, violations of prudence and decorum too frequently repeated, have marred the effects which ought to have followed from a sound policy and able administration. I am therefore most reluctantly compelled to come to the conclusion, that the conduct of foreign affairs can no longer be left in your hands with advantage to the country." This virtual dismissal was accompanied by an offer of the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, with or without a British peerage, and the letter concluded with expressions of high admiration and regard.

In accepting this decision, lord Palmerston declared that his conversation with count Walewski was unofficial and in no way fettered the Government;* and he insisted that lord John's doctrine was "new and not practical." For "if the Secretary of State were to be precluded from expressing any opinion on passing events, except as the organ of a previously consulted cabinet, there would be an end to that easy and familiar intercourse, which tends so usefully to the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign governments."† It will be seen that up to this point the decision had been taken by lord John Russell *alone*; and he now explained his reason for taking it on this occasion, not merely as a censure for the present indiscretion, but as the inevitable termination of relations strained to the point of breaking, and dangerous to the influence of England in the peace and welfare of the world.‡ Two days later (December 22nd) the cabinet gave a unanimous approval to the Prime Minister's decision; and the office of Foreign Secretary, having been declined by lord Clarendon, was accepted by earl Granville (December 27th), who had been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under lord Palmerston from 1837 to 1840.

Lord Palmerston, his biographer informs us, was silent except to his most intimate friends,§ for, as he said to lord Broughton, "When a man resigns, he is expected to say why; when he is removed, it is for others to assign reasons." Accordingly, on the re-opening of Parliament (February 3, 1852) lord John Russell rose to explain "the reasons which had made it impossible for him to act any longer with his noble friend in that

* On this plea the duke of Wellington said, in a conversation with Prince Albert, "Oh, but that won't do! That would be dishonest. It would be appearing in two characters."

† For further details of the discussion we must be content to refer to the "Life of the Prince Consort," and Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston."

‡ Letter to the Prince Consort, in reply to the Prince's letter (which is well worth careful reading) announcing the Queen's acceptance of lord Palmerston's resignation.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 419, 420.

§ Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 308. How he represented the case to them is fully told in that work.

situation in which he had shown such distinguished ability." His clear statement derived overwhelming force from his citation of the Queen's memorandum of August, 1850, which was now first made known to the public. After this, lord Palmerston, to use his own words, "had nothing to say," except the reiteration of his opinion on the *coup d'état* and the explanations already given in his letters. His attached friend, lord Dalling and Bulwer, who was present, describes lord John Russell's speech as "one of the most powerful I ever heard delivered," while of lord Palmerston's reply he says, "I felt, and all his friends felt, that it was feeble as a retort to the tremendous assault that had been made on them." Lord Dalling reports the sentence of Mr. Disraeli, "There *was* a Palmerston!" and adds—"Palmerston is *smashed!*" was, indeed, the expression generally used at the clubs; but it did not in the least convey the idea that lord Palmerston had formed of his own position. I must say in truth that I never admired him so much as at this crisis. He evidently thought he had been ill-treated; but I never heard him make an unfair or irritable remark, nor did he seem in anywise stunned by the blow he had received, or dismayed by the isolated position in which he stood. . . . He could not, in fact, have gained a victory against the Premier on the ground which lord John Russell had chosen for the combat, which would not have been more permanently disadvantageous to him than a defeat. The faults of which he had been accused did not touch his own honour nor that of his country. Let them be admitted, and there was an end of the matter. By-and-by an occasion would probably arise in which he might choose an advantageous ground for giving battle, and he was willing to wait calmly for that occasion.*

The fall of a minister, whose zeal and restless energy had been so long felt and often feared through Europe, is said to have been regarded, on the one hand, "as a triumph for the absolute and a blow for the Liberal cause"; † on the other, as having an immediate effect in improving our diplomatic relations with the continent. ‡ The two views are not altogether inconsistent; only the first has to be qualified by the natural chagrin of the absolute ruler of France, who also bore a remarkable witness to the truth of the second. As soon as the tidings reached Paris, Louis Napoleon described the fall of lord Palmerston as the greatest blow he had received; not only as the loss of a friend, but for the deeply significant reason that, *as long as he was minister, England had no allies.* The indirect satisfaction of the older despotic courts was turned by a portion of the English press into an allegation of their direct influence in bringing about the event. Lord Palmerston's removal was declared to be the result of a

* Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. pp. 331-2.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 308.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 424.—So thorough a Liberal as Macaulay wrote in his diary (December 24th): "Palmerston is out. It was high time; but I cannot help being sorry. A daring, indefatigable, high-spirited man; but too fond of conflict, and too ready to sacrifice everything to victory, when once he was in the ring."—Trevelyan's "Life of Lord Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 229.

“foregone conclusion,” of “poison instilled into the Premier’s mind by Russian emissaries,* of intrigue on the part of ‘the enemies of England.’” Nor were insinuations spared, that the minister was the victim of a hostile feeling in the highest quarters at home.

The more deliberate estimate of one another by the personages concerned, will be the best antidote to these baseless imputations. Of lord Palmerston the Prince’s biographer writes, in words evidently expressing the Queen’s mind,† “Whatever his faults as a foreign minister might have been, his influence in the country and the House was too great to be shaken even by the unpleasant circumstances which led to his temporary exclusion from office. At all events he was not a man to be daunted by defeat. Its bitterness, no doubt, was not soon forgotten. It appears to have continued for a time to warp his judgment both of his sovereign and of the Prince. But a day was to come, in which more intimate knowledge made him see that they, who had but one motive of action in their public life—a single-minded care for the welfare and dignity of England—had not to learn, even from the most spirited of ministers or the subtlest of diplomatists, how these were best to be maintained, and that in much that he had said and written of them he had been utterly mistaken.”

The time soon came when lord Palmerston had an opportunity of forming and expressing his estimate of Prince Albert, in direct comparison with the adventurer who was the occasion of the present misunderstanding. We possess an authentic record of the spontaneous tribute of admiration paid to the Prince’s character by lord Palmerston when, as Prime Minister, he had come to know him well, preserved by an impartial witness.‡ “To the remark—‘What an extraordinary man the emperor was’—lord Palmerston replied, ‘Yes he is, but we have a far greater and more extraordinary man nearer home.’ Lord Palmerston paused, and I said, ‘The Prince Consort?’ ‘Certainly,’ he replied. ‘The Prince would not consider it right to obtain a throne as the Emperor has done; but in regard to the possession of the soundest judgment, the highest intellect, and the most exalted qualities of mind, he is far superior to the Emperor. Till my present position gave me so many opportunities of seeing his Royal Highness, I had no idea of his possessing such eminent qualities as he has, and how fortunate it has been for the country that the Queen married such a Prince.’ These are as nearly as possible lord Palmerston’s words, which made a deep impression upon me.” §

* The Russian ambassador wrote to lord John Russell expressly to contradict such allegations.—See the “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. pp. 423-4.

† Vol. ii. p. 426.

‡ See the “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 429. The conversation took place just after the visit of the Queen and Prince to the Emperor and Empress in August, 1855.

§ See further a most interesting letter from lord Palmerston to sir C. Phipps (1860) defining the sovereign’s action in government, and testifying that her Majesty’s “steady adherence to and studious observance of the principles of the constitution have, during the whole course of her reign, been appreciated and admired by men of all political parties.”

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Palmerston's Forecast of the coming Session—Opening of Parliament—Question of Reform—Conference at Manchester—Lord John Russell's abortive Bill—Effect of the *coup d'état*: schemes of Louis Napoleon: apprehensions of war and invasion—Volunteer Rifle Corps and the Militia—Views of the Queen and Prince—Government bill for a local Militia, defeated by Lord Palmerston—Resignation of the Government—First Ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli: purely Protectionist—Obscurity of their Colleagues—Different utterances of Ministers—Mr. Disraeli's Address—Attempts of Free Traders to force a declaration of policy—Mr. Walpole's Militia Bill; supported by Palmerston and Wellington—Mr. Disraeli's provisional Budget—Acts of Parliament—Dissolution—Mr. Disraeli's Address: Ministerial intentions: "exploded politics"—Protection thrown overboard—The steadfast Protectionists—Result of the Elections—*Senatus consultum* for re-establishing the Empire—The President's tour: Speech at Bordeaux—"The Empire is Peace"—Death of the DUKE OF WELLINGTON—His unique position in the State—His devotion to Duty—Lord Palmerston on the Duke—Lord Brougham's eulogy—Loss felt by the Queen and Prince—Lord Hardinge Commander-in-Chief—General order to the Army—The Queen's desire for a public funeral—Free Trade Meeting at Manchester—Napoleon made Emperor.

WE have seen lord Palmerston's forecast of the session of 1851: that which he made for 1852 is still more interesting*:—"The general opinion is that the Ministry will not stand long after the meeting of Parliament. Indeed it is likely that they will be wrecked upon the Reform Bill. At all events, it is scarcely probable that they should get through the session without some defeat which would lead to their resignation. In that case the Queen would send for lord Derby, who would probably be able to form a Government, even without the Peelites; but they would most likely join him." Not a word about upsetting the Government himself, and we have evidence that that was not his expectation or desire.†

On the 3rd of February, the fifth and (as it soon proved) the last session of the Queen's Third Parliament was opened by her Majesty in a Speech of which the chief feature was the recommendation of the present state of peace and prosperity as a fitting time for calmly considering whether it might not be advisable to make such amendments in the Act of the late reign relating to the representation of the people as would be calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law was founded. The Radicals had never ceased to agitate for an extension of Parliamentary Reform, and the Prime Minister, who had moved the bill of

* In the letter to his brother (January 22, 1852), already cited more than once.—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 317.

† Sir G. C. Lewis to sir E. Head.—"Letters," p. 251.

1831, and had afterwards insisted on its finality, was now desirous of signalizing his administration, and perhaps averting its too probable fall, by putting the finishing touch to his work. But fate denied him this satisfaction; and, after the failure of repeated attempts during the ensuing fifteen years, he had to assist in its accomplishment by his political opponents on a far broader basis than he considered safe or prudent.

In anticipation of the intentions of Government, a Conference had been held at Manchester, at which Mr. John Bright—who had by this time made the question specially his own—proposed and carried a series of resolutions in favour of a household rate-paying franchise,—a redistribution of seats, on the principle of representation in proportion to numbers;—vote by ballot;—shorter Parliaments;—and the abolition of the Property Qualification of members. But lord John Russell was not prepared for any change inconsistent with the governing principle of the Act of 1832—the maintenance of the political centre of gravity in the middle class—nor for a representation according to numbers only. In moving his new Reform Bill (February 9th) he disputed the doctrine of every man's right to the suffrage as “our own flesh and blood” (Mr. Gladstone's plea at a later time), seeing that the only object in view ought to be the good government of the country. To this end he wished to preserve the balance of county and borough representation, and also the small boroughs, without which many able men would be excluded from Parliament. Of the details of his abortive Bill it need only be said that, besides a lowering of the franchise, both in boroughs and counties, to half the existing standard (roughly speaking), he proposed to give votes to all residents, whether in boroughs or counties, paying 40s. a year in taxes; to enlarge the boundaries of the smallest class of boroughs; and to abolish the property qualification of members. The cold reception of the Bill was a sign of its author's impending fall.*

But already the first reflex effect of restored Bonapartism was felt in the postponement of domestic questions to alarms of war and preparations for defence. After all said by the apologists of Louis Napoleon, it is certain that the general effect of the *coup d'état* in England was a great shock to the hopes of assured peace.† Looking not only at his peaceful professions in the light of his past avowals, and his present revival of those imperial

* At a later period of the session, Mr. Hume's motion for a household and lodger franchise, vote by ballot, and triennial Parliaments, was negatived by 244 votes to 89 (March 25th).

† Mr. McCarthy's estimate is perfectly just:—“The news of the *coup d'état* took England by surprise. A shock went through the whole country. After a while, a certain admiration, not to say adulation, of Louis Napoleon, began to be a kind of faith with many Englishmen, and the *coup d'état* was condoned and even approved by them. But there can be no doubt that, when the story first came to be told in England, the almost universal voice of opinion condemned it as strongly as nearly all men of genuine enlightenment and feeling condemned it then and since.”—“History of Our Own Times,” vol. ii. pp. 148-9. See also his description of the ambitious projects with which public opinion credited Louis Napoleon—a foresight justified by his past avowals, and verified by his later action (*Ibid.*, pp. 173-4).

traditions which England understood to her cost, but also at the probable effect of his usurpation on the continental powers, the prospect was dark and doubtful. It was therefore a sound popular instinct which opposed to the resuscitated traditions of the Empire, the revival of the Volunteer Corps, which were more fully organized to meet the actual threats made in 1858.* But it was the duty of Government to provide for a reinforcement of our national defences; and they framed a scheme for reviving the Militia, which, having for long ages of our early history formed our sole military force, had afterwards become chiefly a reserve for the standing army; and, since the close of the great war, had fallen into neglect. But, instead of an efficient plan for reorganizing the old regular Militia, they purposed the novel scheme of a *Local Militia*.

The proposal gave rise to a very interesting correspondence with the Queen and Prince, who pointed out that this was the *third time* during her reign that a panic about war and invasion had led to hasty measures, which became a dead letter when the panic subsided. To avoid such imperfections, and the effects of haste in producing alarm at home, and the appearance of provocation to the apprehended enemy, her Majesty suggested that the measures *now* to be proposed should “(1) be really sufficient for the security of the empire; and (2) that their nature be such as to warrant the expectation, that the community will not become *disinclined to uphold them during long periods of peace and confidence* on account of their expensive or oppressive character.” The Queen therefore desired a statement of our whole available resources, naval and military, to enable her “to judge how far the separate measures in contemplation are likely to realize the desired objects, and to *accord with each other* as parts of a *general and permanent* system.” † The light which this statement threw on the whole subject proved very unfavourable to the Government scheme; and they were plainly warned of its defects by the duke of Wellington. “The ordinary Militia could be taken anywhere; the local Militia could not be moved out of their counties. How could such a force be made readily available in case of invasion? In many counties there were no barracks. Where, then, were the local Militia to be assembled and drilled?” ‡

When lord John Russell introduced his measure (February 16th) these objections were urged by lord Palmerston with a force and eloquence, to which the House responded by cheer upon cheer. They seemed glad to feel that this time he was in the right, and their sympathies went entirely with his zeal for the national defences, a cause in which he was always earnest. “The time was come,” he said, “when we should no longer be without a really disciplined force of armed men sufficient in numbers to

* Sanction was afterwards given to several local corps of Volunteers.

† “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. pp. 434-5. We must be content merely to refer to the very interesting statement of the Prince’s ideas for a Reserve Force, and the criticisms of the duke of Wellington on his plan, which was long afterwards adopted in its most essential features.

‡ “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 439.

make us feel secure against invasion. The Militia is that force. The regular Militia is founded upon Acts of Parliament which now exist, but, under the new Bill, it is doubtful whether the new force could be called out until the enemy had landed, and until it was too late to be of any service." Accordingly, on the bringing up of the Report of Committee (February 20th) proposing a Bill "to amend the laws respecting the local Militia," he proposed two amendments,—to substitute *consolidate* for *amend*, and to omit the word *local*. Supported by the Protectionists and the leading Peelites, the amendment was carried by 135 votes against 126, and lord John Russell at once announced the intention of the Government to give up their Bill and to resign office.* This result was a complete surprise. It would have been quite proper for Government to accept the amendment, which involved no vital question of policy. But, as sir G. C. Lewis wrote at the time,† the cup being full, a little movement was sufficient to make it run over. The division merely declared what was already obvious, that the Government had lost its hold upon the House, and the power to carry its measures.

The only possible successors were LORD DERBY and his followers, as the only large and organized party that had contributed to defeat the Ministry. But they had to take office under the same difficulties which had prevented them from assuming it the year before. Protection to native industry, in opposition to Free Trade, was still the one watchword of the party, to which its chief leaders had recently avowed their steadfast adherence, and lord Derby had declared it as his policy, in case of his having to take office. To take office now, with a sudden announcement that he accepted Free Trade as an accomplished fact—a course quite alien to his chivalrous spirit—would have broken up the party, and have exposed its leaders to the very odium with which they had so bitterly assailed Peel. But their adherence to Protection at once offered all classes of their opponents a battlefield, on which they were sure to rally their divided forces, and as sure of success under the popular flag of untaxed food and unfettered commerce.‡ That there was no alternative was proved by lord Palmerston's refusal, on this very ground, of the offer at once made to him by lord Derby; and the same reason made any union with the Peelites still more impracticable.§

There was another disadvantage in the personal composition of the cabinet.|| The commanding ability, unsurpassed debating power, and fiery courage of the chief, whom Mr. Disraeli had named "the Rupert of debate,"

* For lord Palmerston's view of the crisis, see his letter to his brother (February 24th).—Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. p. 334.

† "Letters," p. 251.

‡ Of the storm which the attempt would have raised in the country a most significant sign was given by the meeting held at Manchester, immediately upon the formation of lord Derby's government, when the Anti-Corn-Law League was revived, and £27,000 were subscribed in ten minutes towards its funds (March 2nd).

§ See Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. p. 335.

|| For the composition of the cabinet in this first ministry of lord Derby (sworn in, February 27th), see the "List of Administrations."

were well seconded by the now acknowledged powers of his lieutenant in the Commons, whose courage did not shrink from leading the House when he was only beginning to lead his party in it, or from becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer without having shown any knowledge of finance. How well he led his party and the House, in and out of office, for nearly thirty years, needs not now be told. The Lord Chancellor, sir Edward Sugden, lord St. Leonards, was second to no living lawyer, but had no weight as a political leader; and Mr. Herries was a veteran Tory official. But the almost unknown gentlemen who filled the other seats have been described, with very little exaggeration, as "men whose antecedents scarcely gave them warrant for any higher claim in public life than the position of chairman of quarter sessions."*

The embarrassed position of the Government was enhanced by the diverse utterances of its members in seeking re-election. Lord Derby had stated to the Queen that, though in a minority in the Commons and not sure of a majority in the Lords, yet in the critical state of the country as to its foreign relations and the precautions they demanded, he did not think he ought to ask for permission to dissolve Parliament. He proposed to carry through the necessary business of the session, and then to take the sense of the country on the issue between Free Trade and Protection. His explanation in the House of Lords (February 27th) was to the same effect; and he said that, "though a revision of our late financial policy might be desirable, it was a question only to be solved by reference to the clearly expressed and well understood opinion of the intelligent part of the people." Some, indeed, especially of the subordinate Ministers, as if they could not make too much of their novel position, did their best to commit their leaders and rouse public hostility. But a very different tone was taken by Mr. Disraeli, who knew what was coming, and had now to begin the great task of "educating his party" for a practical course of politics. He had already six months before † announced his conviction that the system generally known as *protectionist* could never be brought back, unless the nation should declare in an unmistakable manner that it was for the interest of all classes that such a system should regulate the national industry; and now he satisfied himself with holding out to his constituents the hope of the Government, "at no distant period, with the concurrence of the country, to establish a policy in conformity with the principles which in opposition we have felt it our duty to maintain. We shall endeavour to terminate that strife of classes which of late years has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom; to accomplish those remedial measures which great productive interests, suffering from unequal taxation, have a right to demand from a just Government; to cultivate friendly relations with all foreign powers, and secure honourable peace; to uphold in their spirit, as well as in their form, our political institutions; and to increase the efficiency, as well as maintain the rights, of our National and Protestant Church."

* McCarthy, vol. ii. p. 180.

† In a speech at Aylesbury, August 17, 1851.

On the other side, a large meeting of Liberal members met at lord John Russell's house, and agreed to force the Government to a full declaration of their policy (March 12th). In reply to the question put by Mr. Charles Villiers, the veteran Anti-Corn-Law leader in the House, Mr. Disraeli announced the refusal of the Government to commit themselves to any specific measure till the verdict of the country had been obtained; and lord Derby declared that "the next election must finally decide, at once and for ever, the great question of our commercial policy." But he deprecated an appeal to the country on a single question, when the entire general policy of the late Government was in dispute.

By a coincidence worth noting, the new scheme for the Militia was proposed by Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, on the same day on which Louis Napoleon held out the revival of the Empire to his newly-elected Chambers (March 29th). Without abandoning the ballot, should it prove to be necessary, he proposed, with the aid of bounties on enlistment, to raise in this and the following year 80,000 volunteers, for five years' service, to be trained for twenty-one days in each year, but reserving power to the Crown to increase that term to seven weeks or limit it to three years; the drilling and training to be regulated by the old Act of 1801 (42 George III. c. 91).* The measure was most favourably received, and was warmly supported by lord Palmerston and by the duke of Wellington, who, in almost his last speech in the House of Lords, drew a striking picture of the state of our defensive forces:—"I tell you, you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty in the different parts of the world. . . . What I desire is, that you should give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment. It will not be at first, or for some time, everything we could desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army."

After the Easter recess, Mr. Disraeli produced an unambitious Budget, founded of course on the estimates of his predecessor, proposing no change but the renewal of the Income Tax for one year, as a provisional measure, without which there would be a large deficiency. This modest first essay, in his new position, and his skill in handling complicated figures, won the sympathy and approval of the House. It was much to the credit of the Government that, in their provisional relation to Parliament, they carried various important measures, some of which indeed had been planned by their predecessors. The Reform of the Law, which had been recommended in the speech from the throne, was advanced by an important act for amending the Procedure at Common Law (15 and 16 Vict. cap. 76). An act (cap. 31) was passed legalizing the formation of Industrial and Provident Societies, under which most of the Co-operative Societies of later years have been formed.† Further facilities were given for the enfranchisement of copyholds (cap. 51), and the Law of Patents was amended (cap. 83). The sanction of Parliament was given to a Convention for International

* The Act of 1852 is the 15 and 16 Victoria, c. 50.

† But some are under the Friendly Societies' Acts.

Copyright with Franco (cap. 12). A representative Constitution was given to the rising Colonies of New Zealand* (cap. 72). In view of the new election, and the vastly improved means of intercommunication, the least interval required by law for the assembling of a new Parliament after a dissolution was shortened to thirty-five days (cap. 23).

On the 1st of July, the Queen in person prorogued her Third Parliament, which had existed just five years,† and its dissolution was proclaimed on the same day. But the answer of the country on the chief question at issue had not been waited for by Ministers; ‡ and even a month before the dissolution (June 2nd) Mr. Disraeli's address to the electors of Buckinghamshire had abandoned Protection, and announced the intention of compensatory legislation in its place. The last remnant of reserve was cast aside when Mr. Disraeli, at his election (July 16th), replied to the question, Are you a Free Trader or are you not?—"The time has gone by when these *exploded politics* could interest the people of this country. No one supposes that the present Administration *has any intention, or ever had any intention*, to bring back the laws that were repealed in 1846." To the same effect the Premier's son, lord Stanley,§ told his constituents at Lynn that he believed the feeling of the people to be such as to render the imposition of any protective duty on foreign corn impossible. "It is (he added) to economy in the national expenditure, and revision of the national taxation, that the farmers of England must look for the amelioration of their present condition." "The question of Protection is set at rest, and I am glad of it."

In spite of the very different tone taken by other members of the Government, the real issue was now clearly before the country. The party in power, now no longer "Protectionist," appealed to the country as the legitimate representatives of the great Tory or Conservative party and of its traditional zeal for the institutions of the country, a position won during the last six years, chiefly by the skilful tactics, the steadfast patience, and the audacious attacks, of Mr. Disraeli. The cause of protection was lost, but, as the battle was over, they had no need to renew the party schisms of 1829 and 1846 by assuming the advocacy, or completing the work, of Free Trade. Their protectionist supporters were indulged with the prospect, which Mr. Disraeli was bent on realizing if possible, of compensation for the lost advantages by a readjustment of the burdens upon land, and in particular their favourite nostrum of the total or partial repeal of the Malt-tax. So they joined in the strenuous efforts of the Conservative party,

* The opening of the University of Sydney, New South Wales (October 11, 1852), is an important event in the history of the Australian Colonies.

† It was elected after a dissolution on July 23, 1847, and met on November 18th.

‡ On the eve of the dissolution the Queen wrote:—"Lord Derby himself has told us, that he considered Protection as quite gone. It is a pity they did not find this out a little sooner; it would have saved so much annoyance, so much difficulty."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 451.

§ Lord Stanley (afterwards the 15th earl of Derby) had begun his official career, in the 26th year of his age, as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in his father's Government; of course, not in the Cabinet. He went over to the Liberal party in 1880.

though not without mutterings of discontent; and in some places the farmers returned candidates of their own order.

The elections were finished on the 31st of July; and they were estimated to have returned 310 supporters of the Government and 344 members of the Opposition—showing a gain for ministers, but still a decided majority against them. The question at once arose, what use would be made of that majority; or could the Ministry stand by the force of their measures? Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother (July 24th)*:—"The Government seem to have gained by the elections just strength enough to make it impossible to carry, at the beginning of the session, a vote of no confidence, and I should expect that no such vote will be attempted; but they have not gained strength enough to carry them through their measures in the session, and what I expect is that they will be beat upon some of their fanciful schemes for relieving everybody and increasing nobody's burdens. This is too mountebankish to be practicable." So, in fact, it happened; but, before the decisive issue, public attention was absorbed by two events, the more striking from their concurrence.

On the 13th of September the Senate of France adopted an address to the Prince President, praying the re-establishment of hereditary power in the family of Bonaparte, in accordance with addresses voted by the General Councils of the Departments. Next day the petition appeared in the official "Moniteur," with an announcement that the President had been received at Bourges, not only as the Emperor-elect of the French people, but as "the elect of God"; † while the "Constitutionnel" hinted at an invasion of England.

On that same morning the duke of Wellington breathed his last in a gentle sleep, at Walmer Castle. Advanced far into his eighty-fourth year, the duke had survived his great antagonist and equal in age more than thirty years. Since the close of his military career with the crowning victory of Waterloo, he had devoted the second half of his long life to the service of his Sovereign and his country, with a political disinterestedness—for personal interest it would be an insult to his memory even to name—which raised him to a solitary eminence above the strife of party. His party career, indeed, marked by no great political success and by one crowning error, closed with the Reform Bill, in the passage of which he made his own transition to the part of an arbiter between contending parties, a counsellor whose authority was confessed by Sovereign, Parliament, and people, and often as a "deus ex machinâ" to solve an inextricable crisis.

* Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. i. p. 365.

† Similar demonstrations greeted the Prince on his tour through the centre and south of France. At Bordeaux (October 9th) Louis Napoleon made the celebrated speech, in which, after declaring the desire of France for a return to the Empire, in order "to produce confidence in the present and security for the future," he went on to say—"There is one objection to which I must reply. Certain minds seem to entertain a dread of war; certain persons say *the Empire is only war*. But (he exclaimed with strong emphasis) I say **THE EMPIRE IS PEACE**, for France desires it, and *when France is satisfied the world is tranquil*." For *l'Empire c'est la paix* "Punch" rendered *l'Empire c'est l'épée*; and the reading was confirmed by the Crimea, Solferino, and Sedan.

Nor was this position yielded merely to the high honours he had won and the gratitude of his country—even such debts are soon cancelled by subsequent unworthiness—but by his sagacious common sense, and, above all, by his unswerving simple-minded devotion to DUTY. To the question he proposed in the discussion on the Reform Bill,—“How is the King’s Government to be carried on?”—the rest of his life was spent in always giving the best practical answer in his power.

“So we have at last lost our great duke”—wrote lord Palmerston—“Old as he was, and both bodily and mentally enfeebled by age, he still is a great loss to the country. His name was a tower of strength abroad, and his opinions and counsel were valuable at home. No man ever lived or died in the possession of more unanimous love, respect, and esteem from his countrymen.”* His character stands forth on the page of history brightened by contrast with the selfish blood-stained “glory” † won for a brief space by the Emperor he overthrew, and which lured to his ruin the new Emperor whose “star” rose as the sun of Wellington set; nor, amidst the Cæsar-worship of the day, should we fail to mark the contrast with their avowed prototype—“the conqueror who crossed that river which all the confidence of all the armies under the sun could never have tempted our illustrious chief even to let the dream of crossing pass over his imagination,—the Rubicon that separates the provinces of the honest, the peaceful, the loyal citizen, and of the traitor, the usurper, and the tyrant.” ‡ A most touching utterance of the universal grief was written by the Queen, who received the news beside the Dhu Lech in a wild Highland glen:—“He was the pride and good genius, as it were, of this country,—the most loyal and devoted subject, and the staunchest supporter the Crown ever had. He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser. . . . We shall soon stand sadly alone. Aberdeen is almost the only personal friend of that kind left to us—Melbourne, Peel, Liverpool, now the duke—all gone! . . . Albert is much grieved. The duke showed him great confidence and kindness.” §

The loss of the great master of war, whose existence among us had inspired a consciousness of strength and security for more than a generation, was deeply felt at this special crisis. Speaking of the *manly virtues* which we honoured in him, the “Spectator” added: “We need some of this manly virtue now, and it will still cost much more before we can reach a state of perfect security against French invasion.” It was necessary at once to fill up the post of Commander-in-chief, for which viscount Hardinge

* Ashley’s “Life of Viscount Palmerston,” vol. ii. p. 370.

† It has been often said that this word never occurs in the duke’s despatches; but the real fact is still more significant. In his letter to the earl of Aberdeen, on his brother’s death at Waterloo, he wrote, “The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me.”—“Despatches,” vol. xii. p. 489.

‡ Lord Brougham’s “Speech at the Dover Festival,” held in honour of the duke as lord warden of the Cinque Ports, 1839.

§ Letter to King Leopold (September 17th).—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 465.—See also the Prince’s letter to colonel Phipps (p. 464), and his very interesting correspondence with baron Stockmar (pp. 466-470), who wrote a most able analysis of the Duke’s character, and exhorted the Prince not to shrink from the attempt to replace him.

had been already designated; and his office of Master-General of the Ordnance was conferred on the duke's old comrade in arms, and long his trusted friend and secretary, lord Fitzroy Somerset, with a peerage by the title of Baron Raglan. The general order to the army (September 22nd), drawn up by the Prince in concert with lord Derby, who happened to be in attendance on the Queen at Balmoral, set forth the example of their late commander:—"The discipline which he exacted from others, as the main foundation of the military character, he sternly imposed upon himself; and the Queen desires to impress upon the army that the greatest commander whom England ever saw has left an example for the imitation of every soldier, in taking, as his guiding principle in every relation of life, an energetic and unhesitating obedience to the call of duty."

As to the national tribute to the duke's mortal remains, it was felt that Nelson's death had furnished the only parallel; and, according to the precedent in that case, the Queen might at once have ordered a public funeral. But a letter from lord Derby to the Home Secretary expressed her Majesty's desire to associate the people with the Crown "in paying honour to the memory of one whom no Englishman can name without pride or sorrow." The duke's body was placed under a guard of honour, to await the sanction of Parliament to his being deposited "at the public expense, and with all the solemnity due to the greatness of the occasion, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, there to rest by the side of Nelson—the greatest military by the side of the greatest naval chief who ever reflected lustre upon the annals of England."

The solemn interval postponed the decisive conflict of parties, without interrupting their preparations. On the eve of the meeting of the new Parliament, a great meeting was held at Manchester, including seventy-nine of its members, to make a demonstration of firm adherence to Free Trade, and of their resolution, if necessary, to re-organize the whole machinery of the Anti-Corn-Law League. On the next day (November 4th) the *Fourth Parliament* of Queen Victoria, the *Sixteenth* of the United Kingdom, met and re-elected Mr. Shaw-Lefevre as Speaker. During the week occupied with swearing-in the members, and while the duke still lay above the ground, the change long prepared in France was virtually accomplished.

On that same 4th of November the Senate met to receive a message from the Prince President, desiring them to deliberate on the wish clearly manifested by the nation for the re-establishment of the Empire. As he proposed to preserve the Constitution of 1852, he described the change as chiefly formal, but yet of immense significance, as guaranteeing the interests of the people by closing the era of revolutions, and satisfying its just pride by this peaceful revenge of its reverses. The Senate passed a *Senatus Consultum* re-establishing the imperial dignity in the person of Napoleon III. and his direct descendants in the male line only (Nov. 7th). The confirmation of this decree was referred to the universal suffrage of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

Opening of the Queen's *Fourth Parliament*—Speech from the Throne: paragraph on the results of Free Trade—Ministerial Declarations—Policy of Mr. Disraeli—Funeral of the great Duke—Tombs of Nelson and Wellington—Mr. Villiers's Free Trade Resolutions and Mr. Disraeli's Amendment—Lord Palmerston's Resolution adopted—The fifty-three faithful Protectionists—Final decision of the Commons for Free Trade—*Plébiscite* for the Empire in France—Proclamation of NAPOLEON III.—Mr. Disraeli's Budget—The decisive debate—Mr. Disraeli's defiant speech—"England does not love Coalitions"—Mr. Gladstone's reply—His past career and present position—Impression on the House—Defeat and resignation of the Ministry—Position of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli—Proposed combinations—Views of the Queen—End of the period of government on sufferance—Lords Lansdowne and Aberdeen—Whigs and Peelites—Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen—Composition of the Cabinet—Lord Palmerston as Home Secretary—Satisfaction of Queen and People—Breakers ahead—Character of Lord Aberdeen—The National Defences—Camp at Chobham—Epoch in English History—Second Burmese War, and Annexation of Pegu—Submarine Telegraph between England and France—Mr. Neild's bequest to the Queen.

ON the 11th of November Parliament was formally opened by the Queen in person, with a speech promising a variety of important measures, which the speedy result makes it superfluous to mention. On the one great issue her Majesty spoke as follows:—"It gives me much pleasure to be enabled by the blessing of Providence to congratulate you on the generally improved condition of the working classes. If you should be of opinion that recent legislation, *in contributing, with other causes,* to this happy result*, has at the same time inflicted unavoidable injury on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable to meet successfully that unrestricted competition, to which Parliament in its wisdom has decided that it should be subjected." In both Houses, the leaders most distinctly announced that they bowed without reserve to the decision of the country on the principle of Free Trade, and Mr. Disraeli went so far as to say, "Neither myself nor any of my colleagues have the slightest intention to propose any policy which would give artificial prices, or *attempt to give* what honourable gentlemen on the other side have mentioned as *compensation* for the losses occasioned by changes in the legislation which has regulated the commercial interests of the country." But he maintained

* The "other causes" hinted at in this ingeniously qualified admission were explained in the ensuing debate to be, especially, the great importation of gold and the extensive emigration during the last few years.

that those changes ought not to have been made without a corresponding revision of taxation, and it was the intention of Government "to put before this House a policy that would place our financial system more in harmony with our commercial system. The speakers on the other side complained that the language of Ministers and of the Royal Speech itself, with regard to Free Trade, was vague, wavering, and defective, and Mr. Villiers gave notice of a motion to bring the question to a decisive and final settlement.

There were those who reflected sadly on what the great man, whose remains were lying in state at Chelsea, could have done to mitigate the impending strife, when we might soon have to oppose a united front against invasion; and first all parties joined to do him honour. The two Houses concurred in the Queen's message for a state funeral at St. Paul's, which all surviving witnesses remember as the most touching ceremony of our times (November 18th). Amidst all that funeral pomp and military display could do to enhance the grand solemnity of the procession, far more impressive was the spectacle of the myriads who gathered to behold it, or rather to express by "a great silence, not unbroken by sobs," their reverence for their lost defender and counsellor. But the scene beneath the majestic dome abides with us as a remembrance never to be effaced, a landmark in our life: the unwonted spectacle of the cathedral filled through its whole length with thousands whose common sympathy was felt by each and all; the gathering of all those highest in rank and fame; the constant swell and dying away of the trumpet notes of the Dead March breathed along from the grand entrance while the procession was approaching; the coffin borne up the nave, surmounted by the hat the plumes of which were once raised by a breath of the west wind from the open doors, and fell again, as if tossed by the head of a mounted warrior; * the service so familiar to mourners, read by Dean Milman in a voice audible throughout the building, with the deep-breathed responses of the vast multitude as with one hushed voice; the proclamation of his long roll of titles, each significant of some great deed or service; the slow sinking of the coffin from amidst the group of veteran generals, bearing decorations won under their lost chief, and moved to tears and sobs; the last farewell of his son, who stepped forward from his place as chief mourner and laid his hand upon the coffin as it was passing out of sight; the deep emotion of the Queen's Consort, whose presence gave point to the beautiful anthem taken from the burial of Abner †:—"And the king himself followed the bier: and the king lift up his voice and wept at the grave; and all the people wept: and the king said unto his servants, *Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?*" No shrine is more worthy of a visit than the twin tombs beneath the centre of the dome, where Nelson and Wellington lie apart from all the illustrious dead of Britain, whether in the central

* The incident may seem trivial in the recital, but to the feelings of those present it was very touching.

† The Anthem was composed by Mr. Goss, the organist of St. Paul's.

cathedral or the western minster, not because the nation ranks the heroes of war above men illustrious in the arts of peace, nor even because a grateful people venerates the two chiefs who saved their country and the whole cause of freedom from the greatest danger that ever threatened both; but because, in so doing, they were constant to the one motive which Nelson uttered with his last breath:—"Thank God I have done my *duty*." They have left us the same example, which they received from many a predecessor, for

" Not ONCE or TWICE, in our rough island story
The path of duty was the way to glory." *

From the solemn union around the honoured dead we turn back to the contests of the living. On the next day lord Derby met his followers in Downing-street, to explain his policy and promote the concord of his party, who responded with the assurance of their confidence. On the 23rd, Mr. Villiers moved his resolutions:—"That the improved condition of the country, and particularly the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the Act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and *that that Act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure*; that it is the opinion of this House, that the maintenance and further extension of the policy of Free Trade, as opposed to that of Protection, will best enable the property and industry of the country to bear the burden to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people;" while a second resolution affirmed the readiness of the House to consider measures laid before it by Ministers *consistent with these principles*. To this Mr. Disraeli opposed an amendment, admitting that the cheapness of food caused by recent legislation had *mainly contributed*† to improve the condition of the working classes; that unrestricted competition had been deliberately adopted by the House as the principle of our commercial policy; and therefore it was "the duty of the Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce."

It will be seen that Mr. Villiers's first resolution (especially the declaration we have emphasized) could not have been accepted by the late supporters of Protection without doing public penance for their past opposition to Free Trade and sir Robert Peel; while the second passed a foregone condemnation on the whole principle of compensatory adjustments, for which the last clause of the amendment seemed to leave a licence too wide to be allowed by the advocates of Free Trade. The issue therefore involved the existence of the Government. But many thought it better, in

* Tennyson's "Funeral Ode," one of the few poems composed officially for a set occasion, which have proved as worthy of their theme as if poured forth spontaneously. Among the numerous memorials of the Great Duke, special mention must be made of the *Wellington College* for the orphan sons of officers, which was erected and endowed by a voluntary subscription amounting to £159,000.

† Observe the advance on the more qualified admission in the Speech from the Throne.

the critical state of the country, and the difficulties in the way of forming a new ministry, to give them a fair trial: if they could stand for a time it would be well; but if they must fall, let it be on the demerits of their measures, not on a retrospective question of "exploded policy." Such, for obvious reasons, was lord Palmerston's opinion, and he intervened to save the Government, while affirming the great principle at issue. His skilfully framed amendment, having obtained the rejection of Mr. Villiers's resolution by a majority of 20 (256 to 236), was adopted as the final resolution of the House on the question by the decisive vote of 468 against 53, the "few sad relics" of the great party of Protection (November 26th). The resolution which ended the great controversy between the principles of Protection and Free Trade was in the following terms:—"That it is the opinion of this House that the policy of unrestricted competition, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burden, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people; and that the House will be ready to take into consideration any measures consistent with these principles, which, in pursuance of her Majesty's gracious speech and recommendation, may be laid before it."*

The week that passed before those measures were brought forward saw the formal completion of the change in France. On the 1st of December the result of the *Plébiscite* on the question of re-establishing the Empire was announced in the *Corps Législatif*;—7,864,189 *Ayes*; 253,145 *Noes*; and 63,326 votes null and void. On the following day, the anniversary of Austerlitz and the *coup d'état*, the new emperor was proclaimed by the title of NAPOLEON III.; and a few days later both Houses of Parliament were informed that her Majesty's Government had cordially recognized this almost unanimous election,† and that the Emperor had pledged himself to respect the territorial settlement of 1814.

The Budget, which was at length to reveal the mystery of compensatory adjustments of finance, was produced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 3rd of December. It had the disadvantage of being very complicated; and its fate has deprived its lesser details of all permanent interest. The great boon offered to the suffering owners and occupiers of land was a remission of half the Malt Tax, at a sacrifice of £2,500,000, the great part of which was to be made up by a doubled House Duty. The mass of the people were to be propitiated by a reduction of the Tea Duties; and the Income Tax was to be renewed with various readjustments (including a reduction of 50 per cent. of the levy on farmers' profits), and to be extended to Ireland.

The fate of this too ingenious budget, and of the Ministry with it, was at once sealed. Mr. Disraeli's able exposition won new respect for his genius,

* The Protectionist party confessed its defeat by dissolving the National Association for the Protection of British Industry on the 7th of February, 1853.

† Austria and Prussia soon recognized the Emperor, but the Czar Nicholas stood obstinately aloof, though he had warmly praised the *coup d'état*.

though the prediction of his colleague, Mr. Walpole, that his reputation would be as extensive as the Empire for which he was legislating, was *then* received with laughter! But it was the man of genius working under impracticable conditions, and the result was what the man of keen sense had predicted.* The partial boon offered them was scarcely welcomed by the landed interest; the price to be paid for it was bitterly resented by the people, who well knew its pressure; and battle was offered on a field on which Peelite, Whig, and Radical, could cordially unite. The debate, which was taken on the House Tax,† was one of the most brilliant of our time. Mr. Lowe's‡ argument against the probability of a much lower price of beer, and consequent benefit to the farmers from the reduction of the Malt Tax, in face of the great brewers' monopoly, laid the foundation of his parliamentary fame; and other speeches of great ability might be cited. But the great spectacle, which excited admiration—in the twofold sense of the word—was the attitude of Mr. Disraeli. Serious and business-like to the depth of gravity in the serious business of the House; brilliant and animated in leading an assault with that invective which he once pronounced “the ornament of debate”; he more than once showed the utmost recklessness of defiance in fighting a battle which he knew to be already lost.§ Always keenly alive to the *game* of party politics, as well as to their serious aspects, he seemed to enjoy it with the wild delight which the quarry is said to share with the hunters. The strange threats which gossip ascribed to him against sir James Graham and sir Charles Wood, in particular, were hardly stronger than the phrases he hurled at them in the debate; and if these disgusted many of his hearers, all felt the force of the peroration, pointed with one of those phrases which he from time to time added to our language—a phrase soon verified in this case against universal expectation. Well aware that the Opposition had composed their feuds, he said:—“I know what I have to face—I have to face a Coalition. The combination may be successful. A combination has before this been successful; but coalitions, though they may be successful, have always found that their triumphs have been but brief. This I know”—he exclaimed, with an implied appeal to Pitt's triumph over Fox and North—“that *England does not love coalitions*. And I appeal from the coalition to that public opinion

* See above, p. 112.

† Besides the Budget night, the debate was continued on the 10th, 13th, 14th, and 16th of December, the division being taken after 4 o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

‡ Mr. ROBERT LOWE (*b.* 1811) was one of the new members elected to this Parliament, having returned in 1850 from a successful career as a barrister at Sydney, New South Wales, and made his mark as a writer in the “Times.” He had formerly been distinguished as a scholar and classical tutor at Oxford, and was elected in 1868 the first member for the University of London—a constituency which Mr. Disraeli humorously professed to have created on purpose to furnish Mr. Lowe with a seat. Having been sometimes a member, and sometimes a keen critic, of successive liberal Governments, he was transferred to the House of Peers, as VISCOUNT SHERBROOKE, on the formation of Mr. Gladstone's second ministry (1880).

§ It was the same in his reply in the great debate on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions for the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1868.

whose wise and irresistible influence can control even the decrees of Parliament, and without whose support even the most august and ancient institutions are but the baseless fabric of a vision."

As Mr. Disraeli sat down at two o'clock in the morning, the sensations of mingled admiration and indignation seemed exhausted; but another reputation, which had long been rising, was to be made once for all that night; and the "foeman worthy of his steel" was to begin the brilliant antagonism, which was continued across the table of the House for a quarter of a century. Mr. Gladstone at once started to his feet, to deliver one of those *impromptu* replies, which divide the palm of eloquence with his most elaborate expositions. The future leader of the Liberals, who had entered the first reformed Parliament (1832) as the High Tory member for the close borough of Newark, was four years younger than the Tory chief, who about the same time had attempted Marylebone as a Radical.* Mr. Gladstone's Oxford training and classic tastes, and his early devotion to politics as a profession, attached him at once to sir Robert Peel, whose official fortunes he shared in 1834-5 and 1841-6 (save for a brief interruption on account of the Maynooth endowment), and he followed him in his conversion to Free Trade. But, on sir Robert's famous declaration for the repeal of the Corn-Laws, Mr. Gladstone's conscience would not allow him to keep the seat which he owed to the duke of Newcastle; † so that he lost the opportunity of distinction in the crisis of the battle between sir Robert and the Protectionists. Returned by his own University in 1847, he had tended, more perhaps than the other Peelites, to liberal politics, except on ecclesiastical questions, and, staunch Churchman as he was, his hold on Oxford had been shaken. He had given many proofs of an eloquence, which had been perhaps rather too academic for the full sympathy of the House; but now he had an opportunity which he so used as to win the foremost rank in practical debate. Though the House resents "preaching" and the assumption of moral superiority, a feeling had been roused by Mr. Disraeli's licence of speech, which redeemed from those imputations the rebuke which Mr. Gladstone's weight of character permitted him to deliver without offence. The precise words of both, however, were of that character which it behoves the lasting record of history to blot out, as among the passing bursts of passion on which not oven one day's sun ought to go down. ‡

* Mr. Disraeli was born on the 21st of December, 1804; Mr. Gladstone on the 29th of December, 1809; so that the one was now just 48, the other 43. Mr. Gladstone first sat for Newark in 1832; Mr. Disraeli, having been unsuccessful at Marylebone at the general election after the Reform Bill, was returned for Maidstone as a Conservative in 1837.

† This (the 4th) duke of Newcastle, one of the highest of Tories, and well known as the vehement opponent of Reform, died in 1851. His son and successor was a Peelite, and a leading member, as we shall presently see, of lord Aberdeen's Government, 1853-5.

‡ It is far more pleasant and profitable to preserve the graceful amends made by Mr. Disraeli, on the first opportunity, in announcing his resignation (December 20th). After thanking both sides for their indulgent and generous support in the attempt to conduct the business of the House, he added, "If, sir, in maintaining a too unequal struggle, any word has escaped my lips (I hope, never except in the way of retort, which has hurt the feelings

Mr. Gladstone's was believed to be one of those rarely occurring speeches which have had a direct influence on the decision of the House of Commons. The Government were left in a minority of 19 in a committee of nearly 600 members,* about four o'clock on Friday, the 17th, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the significant adjournment of the House till Monday. "It will be an unpleasant day for going to Osborne," was Mr. Disraeli's quiet remark, as he walked out into the wet chill of the December morning. In fact, neither he or his chief could regret the result of their short but gallant struggle. The one had at length laid a hand, well knowing that it could be but for a moment, on the first great goal of his ambition,† and could ask nothing better than a pause to gather strength for a more favourable opportunity. The other, always indifferent to the cares and honours of office, had discharged the duty to his Queen and country which he chivalrously undertook at a crisis difficult for both. Within an hour from the division, lord Derby wrote to the Queen a letter which concluded thus: "He will never cease to retain the deepest and most grateful sense of the gracious favour and support, which he has on all occasions received at your Majesty's hands, and which he deeply regrets he has been unable to repay by longer and more efficient service." The same evening he placed his resignation in the Queen's hands at Osborne.‡

In foresight of the catastrophe, lord Palmerston had written, "*One ought not to make a Government for the Queen till one is quite sure what her intentions*

of any gentleman in this House, I deeply regret it; and I hope that the impression on their part will be as transient as the sense of provocation on my own." A cordial response was made by lord John Russell and sir Charles Wood, as well as by sir James Graham, who expressed his great admiration for the talents of Mr. Disraeli and the ability with which he had conducted the business of the Government.

* The full analysis gave 286 votes for the Government Resolution on the House Duty, and 305 against it, making 591, but, with the tellers, chairman of committee, and Speaker, 597 members were present. Besides these 28 members paired; the absentees were 18 Liberals and 8 Conservatives, a disproportion which added to the significance of the vote.

† This overleaping of all lower grades of the official hierarchy (we borrow the useful French term under protest) is not the least remarkable feature of Lord Beaconsfield's career. Unlike the regularly trained politicians who, beginning as junior lords, assistant secretaries, and so forth, have advanced to secretaryships of state, and shifted about from one office to the other, he never held but two, each the highest of its kind—Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the leadership of the House of Commons—First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister. (Of course this statement is not affected by his temporary tenure of the Privy Seal together with the Treasury, 1876-8.)

‡ We must somewhat reluctantly be content with a mere reference to lord Palmerston's letters on the crisis and the state of parties (Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 378, 1st edition). The most interesting point in them is the proof that the office held by lord Palmerston in the Aberdeen Government, however incongruously (as was thought at the time), was his own choice. "I should, in any case, much prefer the Home Office to going back to the immense labour of the Foreign Office. *J'y ai été*, as the Frenchman said of fox-hunting." In a letter on his acceptance of the post he repeats that his decision had long been formed, and adds powerful motives (December 22nd):—"It does not do for a man to pass his whole life in one department, and the Home Office deals with the concerns of the country internally, and *brings one in contact with one's fellow countrymen,*

are upon that matter."* It turned out that her Majesty's intentions were as clear as they were wise in the actual position of affairs, and the course of events is best related by the biographer of the Prince Consort:—"The Queen felt that the time had now come for the formation of a strong Administration, and *for closing the unsatisfactory epoch of government upon sufferance*, which had resulted from the disorganization of parties since 1846. With this view she decided to call to her councils the two veteran leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties, lord Aberdeen and lord Lansdowne.† The latter was prevented by illness from obeying her Majesty's summons, but a full and satisfactory understanding between lord Aberdeen and himself was come to at a personal interview before lord Aberdeen left town for Osborne. They both felt strongly that in the present juncture no private or personal feelings ought to stand in the way of the formation of a popular, efficient, and durable Government, composed of the representatives of Liberal and Conservative opinions. It was known that the Peelites would not serve under lord Lansdowne, even had he felt justified by the state of his health in undertaking the Premiership, which he did not;—still less were they disposed to act under lord John Russell. Lord Aberdeen had, however, assured himself before leaving town that his friends were prepared to act along with these and the other leading members of the former Whig Government, and that lord John Russell was prepared to fall into the ranks, taking the place of leader of the House of Commons. In these circumstances her Majesty had no hesitation in charging lord Aberdeen with the formation of the Government.‡

The proposed combination might well be called a second Ministry of All the Talents; and the difficulty of adjusting the rival claims of so many former ministers and new men of eminent ability delayed the formation of the Government till the 27th of December. The late Whig Premier took for a short time the seals of the Foreign Office, but before Parliament met he gave them up to lord Clarendon, retaining a seat in the Cabinet and the lead of the House of Commons.§ The venerable marquess of Lansdowne also sat in the Cabinet without office, the Presidency of the Council being assigned to earl Granville. The duke of Argyll|| now began his official career as Lord Privy Seal; and the veteran Whig, sir Charles Wood, as an indispensable "plank" in a Liberal Cabinet, was President

besides which it gives one *more influence in regard to the militia and the defences of the country.*"—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.

* It may be well for those who take the purely democratic view of our Constitutional Monarchy to remember that these are the words, not of lord Beaconsfield, but of lord Palmerston.

† The marquess of Lansdowne (born July 2, 1780: and now in his 73rd year) had been President of the Council in all the Liberal Governments since 1830. The earl of Aberdeen was about to enter on his 70th year, having been born in January, 1784.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 482.

§ On February 3, 1853. In June, 1854, lord John Russell became President of the Council, earl Granville being transferred to the Duchy of Lancaster.

|| Born April 30, 1823.

of the Board of Control. These, with the Lord Chancellor, lord Cranworth,* who had long left politics for the bench, were the seven Whig members of the Cabinet. They were nearly matched in number and quite so in ability by five Peelites; the Premier himself, Mr. Gladstone, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer, sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, the duke of Newcastle, Secretary for War and the Colonies,† and Mr. Sidney Herbert, all of whom had gained official experience under their departed chief.‡ The "Manchester School" had no part in the Cabinet, but the "philosophic Radicals" were represented by sir William Molesworth, as Chief Commissioner of Parks and Public Buildings. Last, though not least, lord Palmerston, who rejected the name of Whig, and represented the liberal patriotic Toryism of Canning, carried to the Home Office the same energy which he had shown in diplomacy, putting into force the new sanitary legislation, shutting up the London graveyards, prosecuting manufacturers and city magnates without fear or favour in his zeal against the smoke nuisance which lies at the root of much social misery, and teaching Presbyteries to obey God's laws in nature as the means of giving effect to their prayers against pestilence.§ Not that he let foreign affairs alone; for we shall soon see how the action in the Cabinet of "the one man who knew his mind" determined the most momentous issue of peace or war that has marked the present reign. These fourteen Cabinet Ministers were supported by a singularly strong band of rising statesmen in the second official rank, such as Mr. (afterwards viscount) Cardwell, President of the Board of Trade, viscount Canning, Postmaster-General, lord Wodehouse (afterwards earl of Kimberley) at the Foreign Office, Mr. Lowe, Secretary to the Board of Control, and others too long to name. The Irish Roman Catholics were represented by Mr. Keogh, Mr. Sadleir, and Mr. Monsel, afterwards lord Emly, who were, however, taken to task by the Irish Tenant-Right League for accepting office under lord Aberdeen.||

The high expectations of the country, and the general satisfaction at

* Sir Robert Rolfe had been Solicitor-General under lord Melbourne in 1834, and again 1835-9, when he was made a Baron of the Exchequer, and, in 1850, Vice-Chancellor, with a peerage.

† To meet the pressure of business in the war with Russia, this office was divided in June, 1854; sir George Grey returning to the Cabinet as Colonial Secretary, while the duke of Newcastle retained the Secretaryship for War, in which the subordinate (and chiefly financial) office of Secretary *at* War was absorbed. There were thus four Secretaries of State, instead of three, and a fifth was created, for India, in 1858.

‡ Gladstone, Herbert, and Newcastle, were all distinguished Oxonians, intimate friends, and nearly of the same age, having been born respectively in 1809, 1810, and 1811. The earl St. Germans, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the earl of Dalhousie, who had been Governor-General of India since 1848 and continued so till the middle of 1855, were both of the Peelite party.

§ Respecting lord Palmerston's multifarious activity at the Home Office, see Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 7-10. See also pp. 4, 5 for his rejection of overtures from the Opposition, who, after their late defeat, were in one of those moods of rebellion against Mr. Disraeli, his repeated triumph over which gave signal proof of his tact and temper.

|| In the ensuing session these gentlemen resigned in consequence of some strong remarks

having at last a strong Government, are faithfully reflected in the Queen's letter to King Leopold the day after the new Ministry entered on office (Dec. 28th):—"The success of our excellent Aberdeen's arduous task, and the formation of so brilliant and strong a Cabinet, would, I was sure, please you. It is the realization of the country's and our own most ardent wishes, and it deserves success, and will, I think, command great support."* There was great need for it: as lord Palmerston wrote on Christmas Eve: "The state of the country in all its interests, foreign and domestic, requires a Government as strong as there are elements for making it." Besides many reforms called for at home now the more urgently in proportion to the increased power of the Government, the ominous cloud still hung over the horizon beyond the sea, and the trouble was aggravated by its breaking out in a very different and unexpected quarter, though the unheeded movement had already begun, and that as a part of the very schemes that were now apprehended from France.† And this danger was just the one, for facing which there were unsuspected elements of weakness in the Ministry. We have seen the strange doctrine once propounded by sir Robert Peel about the postponement of national defence to commercial and economical considerations; and no small leaven of this spirit was brought into the Cabinet by his followers; while in the Prime Minister it was heightened by a constitutional want of resolution, aggravated by age, by an entire absence, with all his accomplishments and experience of the genius which sees each new crisis and discerns the means of meeting it,‡ and by that passionate devotion to a pacific policy, quickened doubtless by his having been a close spectator of the horrors of the great war,§ which defeats itself by crying *Peace!* when there is no peace. This note was in part struck from the first in his speech announcing the formation of his Ministry (Dec. 27th):—"With regard to Foreign Powers, he would adhere to the principle pursued for the last thirty years, in respecting the rights of all independent states, in abstaining from interference in their internal affairs, while at the same time we asserted our own rights and interests; and, *above all, in an earnest desire to secure the general peace of Europe.*"|| He added, however,

of lord John Russell's (May 31st) on the disloyal spirit shown by the Irish Catholics instead of gratitude for Emancipation; but on lord Aberdeen's disavowing lord John's language, the resignations were withdrawn.

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 483.

† No distinction is more important than that between the *cause* and the *occasion* of great events; and it must never be forgotten that the immediate *occasion* of the broil in the East was a move made by Louis Napoleon, in pursuance of his policy for reviving the influence of France and the Napoleonic traditions; and this move had been already made *more than two years before* by the demand urged on the Porte respecting the Holy Places (June, 1850). All this has to be related in its place.

‡ Baron Stockmar hit this blot with his usual sagacity, when its results were so disastrously brought out in 1854.—See the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 543.

§ As special envoy to Austria he accompanied the allied armies in 1813-14.

|| An element of instability perhaps still more dangerous, though at the time hardly suspected by the outside world, will appear, as we proceed, in the temperament of lord John Russell, his dissatisfaction with his subordinate position, and his restless wish to supplant lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister.—See the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 503, *f.*

that this policy might be observed without any relaxation of those defensive measures which had been lately undertaken, after perhaps too long neglect." * These were among the first measures to which the attention of Government was directed, and one great result was the establishment of the training camp on Chobham Common, and of the permanent camp at Aldershot a year later (1854). †

On the completion of the new Government and the issue of writs for the ministerial re-elections (December 27th), Parliament adjourned to the 10th of February, amidst a crisis of expectation which marks an epoch in our history; and the issue of which, at first full of brilliant accomplishment, was destined to prove once more that "there is nothing so certain as the unexpected." Before turning the new page, a few threads of the tissue of events have to be gathered up; and first the "little wars" which, however unworthy of "a great country," are among the necessary incidents forced on a mighty empire against its will. It had long been our deliberate policy to put a stop to the extension of the British possessions in India; but commercial enterprize, pushed forward into the peninsula beyond the Bay of Bengal, had led to a war with Burmah, in 1824-6, ending in the cession to India of the provinces of Arracan, occupying some 200 miles of the N.E. shore of the Bay, and Tenasserim, a slip of coast extending no less than 500 miles along the coast west of Siam and the Malay peninsula. ‡ After a quarter of a century, the oppression of British merchants by the Burmese courts of justice called for the despatch of a squadron under Commodore Lambert to Rangoon, the chief port of Burmah, on the eastern mouth of the great river Irawaddy; and time was given to the viceroy to receive instructions from the king at Ava (October, 1851). No redress having been obtained, and outrages having been done to some of our sailors at Rangoon, the governor of which erected batteries to hem in the British squadron, the *second Burmese War* was begun by our forcing the passage of the Irawaddy (January 4, 1852). Commodore Lambert was sent again to the Irawaddy with the very moderate demand, that the king should make an apology and pay a war indemnity. No concession being made, Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein were stormed by our forces under general Godwin (May and June). Prome, far up the Irawaddy, was taken by Captain Tarleton (July); and finally the city of Pegu, after being taken and abandoned, was recaptured by general Godwin (November 21st). On the 20th of December, the Governor-General, lord Dalhousie, proclaimed the annexation to British India of the province of Pegu, embracing the whole lower course of the Irawaddy, and completing our possession of the Burmese coast, to its junction with our former acquisition of Tenasserim.

* See lord Palmerston's very interesting letter to his brother on this subject.—"Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.

† On the personal interest of the Queen and Prince in the establishment of the Chobham Camp (repeatedly proved afterwards both there and at Aldershot), see the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 495, *fol.*

‡ See vol. viii. chap. xii.

Poaco was not, however, secured till six months later, and after a revolution at Ava, in which the king had been deposed by his younger brother (June, 1853). In South Africa, the second Caffre war, which broke out in 1850, and had been marked by some heavy losses,* was ended successfully in 1853, by the submission of the Gaika chief, Sandilla, to whom and his people lord Cathcart granted the Queen's pardon, but declared the Amatola lands, and others on the frontier, forfeited to Great Britain.

It is one of the curious coincidences, of which human affairs are full, that the epoch of the great political change in France was that of a new triumph of science in establishing instant communication across seas and oceans. An electric telegraph beneath the straits of Dover was planned by sir Charles Wheatstone as early as 1840; but submarine cables were first made practicable by Faraday's suggestion of the use of gutta percha as an insulator, in 1847. Mr. Brett, the patentee of the new process, laid a cable between Cape Grisnez and Shakespere's Cliff, but it was instantly broken by a ridge of rock (August 28, 1850). A new cable was successfully laid on November 13, 1851, when the prices of stocks were mutually communicated between London and Paris within business hours. After nearly a year's successful working and a brief interruption, the final reopening of telegraphic communication between London and Paris was made on the 1st of November, 1852. †

It seems fit to add the record of one personal incident in the same year, the bequest which a rich Manchester merchant, Mr. John Camden Neild, made of his whole fortune to her Majesty—an act in which baron Stockmar saw “*a monument reared to the Queen during her lifetime in recognition of her simple, honourable, and constitutional career.*” ‡

* The wreck of the *Birkenhead* steamship with reinforcements from England (February 26, 1852) demands record for the quiet heroism of the soldiers, who stood to their quarters with perfect discipline and silence till the ship sank under them.

† The first message sent, from the Directors to the Prince President, seems to indicate the feeling of the commercial world of London in favour of his imperial designs, but on a condition:—that “this wonderful invention may serve, *under the Empire*, to promote the *peace* and prosperity of the world.” A submarine cable to Ireland was also laid in 1852.

‡ “*Life of the Prince Consort*,” vol. ii. pp. 463-4.



WILLIAM BENTLEY FRANKLIN

CHAPTER XIV.

Ministerial Re-elections—Mr. Gladstone at Oxford—State of the Continent : The Eastern Question : Russia and Turkey : France and England—Marriage of Napoleon III.—Meeting of Parliament : Speech from the Throne—Canada Clergy Reserves—Prospects after Easter : the light and dark sides—Differences in the Cabinet—Mr. Gladstone's Financial Measures—Proposed Conversion of the National Debt—The Budget—Condemnation of the Income Tax—Its proposed cessation in 1860—Mr. Gladstone on its alleged inequalities—Its extension to Ireland—Duties on Irish and Scotch Spirits—New Succession Duties—Reductions of taxation—Assessed Taxes—Hackney Carriage Act—Stamp Duties : Penny Receipt Stamp—Repeal of the Duty on Advertisements : how carried—Taxes on consumption : their principle—Excise on Soap abolished—Revision of the Customs' Tariff—Review of former reductions, and their effects on Commerce and the Revenue—The Tea Duty—Merits claimed for the Budget : fairness to all classes—Debates on the Income Tax and Succession Duties—Commutation of South Sea Annuities—The Measures Carried—Review of the whole financial scheme—Disappointment of Mr. Gladstone compared to those of Pitt—Reforms of the Law—Penal Servitude substituted for Transportation—Licences or "Tickets of Leave"—Abuses and later modifications—National Education : Lord John Russell's Declaration for its religious basis—The Irish National Schools—Renewal of the East India Company's Charter—Sir Charles Wood's Bill—Abolition of Directors' Patronage—Macaulay on Appointments by Examination—Macaulay's Speech on the Judges' Exclusion Bill—Other Measures of the Session—Arctic Exploration—Franklin and Maclure : their twofold discovery of the North-West Passage.

THE new year opened with the ministerial re-elections, which were unopposed except in one conspicuous case. A large section of Mr. Gladstone's old supporters at Oxford set up against him Mr. Dudley Pereceval, the obscure son of the least distinguished Prime Minister of recent times : and, after a vigorous poll continued for fifteen days, Mr. Gladstone was returned by a majority of 124 (1,022 to 898). The new Ministry applied themselves to domestic legislation with a singleness of devotion which now appears admirable in both senses of the word, knowing as we do what they knew then of the storm which was not merely rising in the East, but already more than muttering its diplomatic thunder.* The first of the conversations—revealed a year later to the astonished world—in which the Czar Nicholas attempted to sound our ambassador, sir Hamilton Seymour, about the disposal of the "sick man's" inheritance, took place on the 9th of January, 1853 ; and in the same month we find lord John Russell making

* The whole course of the Eastern question will be followed in subsequent chapters ; but some incidental allusions to what was already taking place are meanwhile necessary.

warm remonstrances against the steps first taken by France to disturb the sleeping question at Constantinople—that slough of despond which recalls the Greek proverb:—

“Stir not up Camarina: much better leave it unstirred.”

It seemed, indeed, in spite of our double recognition of the new dynasty in France, that certain of our Ministers were bent on provoking the Emperor to put a hostile interpretation on our measures of defence. Sir James Graham spoke strongly; but sir Charles Wood told his constituents at Halifax, with great but unseasonable truth, that—“Such a despotism never prevailed in France even at the time of Napoleon I. The press gagged, liberty suppressed, no man allowed to speak his opinion; the neighbouring country of Belgium forced to gag her press; no press in Europe free but ours, which—thank God—he cannot gag. And hence his hatred of our press, which alone dares to speak the truth.” Such language represented one strong current of opinion in England; * but there was a prevailing disposition to accept the friendly professions of the Emperor, who won general good-will by making a marriage of affection, instead of persisting in the attempt to cement his dynasty by an alliance with the reigning houses of Europe. What memories of strangely affecting vicissitude are now roused, as we recal in the widowed and childless exile of Chislehurst the youthful bloom of the Spanish countess, Eugénie de Montijo, who was led to the high altar of Nôtre Dame as the bride of Napoleon III. on the 29th of January, 1853! †

Parliament re-assembled on the 10th of February, when, in accordance with precedent, ‡ lord John Russell made a statement of the proposed ministerial measures, with only such reference to the impending troubles, as was implied in a provision for the national defences, and the postponement of the Reform question till next year. The chief measures discussed during the short time left before Easter § were the Jewish Disabilities Bill,

* As for example in the vehement attacks on the Prince President in the “Times” during 1852.

† The Emperor was now in his 45th year, the Empress in her 27th. The general feeling in England was expressed by lord Palmerston with his usual vivacity.—(Ashley’s “Life,” etc., vol. ii. p. 7).

‡ It seems convenient to explain, once for all, in the case of what is called an autumnal session of Parliament, the recess from Christmas to the usual time of meeting (about the beginning of February) is by *adjournment*, not *prorogation*; and no second Queen’s Speech or message is delivered at re-assembling, even though a change of Ministry has taken place in the interval (as in 1852-3), or, even though, owing to the sudden occasion for the earlier meeting, the ministerial measures may not have been indicated in the speech from the throne (as in 1878-9). In former times, Parliament used to be assembled more than once in the year for short terms, each of which was counted as a distinct session. Another peculiar case has occurred in 1882, when, instead of an autumn session for a special purpose, Parliament simply adjourned from August to October, and the autumn *sitting* formed a part of the *single session* of the year.

§ Easter fell on March 27th, and the Houses adjourned on Friday the 18th.

which we have already noticed,* and a Bill for carrying out the "free church" principles already adopted in Canada, by empowering the Colonial Legislature to deal with the "Clergy Revenues" † in accordance with the Queen's consent to an Address of the Colonial Assembly two years before. ‡

Parliament rose for Easter amidst bright political prospects, though with the mass of its work still to be done; but we now possess two strongly contrasted views of the situation. "Our session will be long but not dangerous"—wrote lord Palmerston to his brother. § "We shall have to renew the Income Tax and the East India Charter. . . . We may have some difficulty next year about Parliamentary Reform, but enough for the year are the troubles thereof. *As yet nothing can be more harmonious than our Coalition Cabinet.*" Not a word about those troubles of the year, day, and hour which soon proved more than enough for all his colleagues, but his own very element; though a decided crisis was marked at this very time by the return of the British and French ambassadors to Constantinople from leaves of absence (April 4th and 5th). || The other side of the prospect is drawn by the Prince Consort's biographer ¶:—"During this period the Eastern question, which was so soon to become the all-absorbing topic of the time, had assumed a very serious aspect, all the more serious in the eyes of the Queen and Prince, that *the views of some leading members of the Cabinet as to the proper mode of dealing with it had begun to show signs of divergence, which unless reconciled might lead to the breaking up of the Ministry.*"

Among the Ministers so averse to war, that they almost seemed to hope it could be averted by persevering in "the blessed work of improvement" ** suited to assured peace, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was conspicuous. No man ever made a more brilliant use of a finer opportunity. Trained in the financial school of his great leader, his mode of setting to his work was as unlike as could be to the system—or want of all system—which the Whig Chancellors of the Exchequer had pursued before sir Robert Peel, and to

* See chap. iii.

† These Revenues were the produce of the sale (under an Act of 1840, 3 and 4 Vict. c. 78) of the waste lands allotted to the Protestant Clergy under the name of Clergy Reserves.

‡ Communicated on January 27, 1851, by earl Grey, as Colonial Secretary. The new Act received the royal assent on the 9th of May (16 and 17 Vict. c. 21).

§ April 3rd.—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

|| Sir Stafford Canning, then already a veteran diplomatist—the *Great Elchee* (Turkish for *ambassador*) of Mr. Kinglake—was raised to the peerage, during his visit to England, as viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (1852). Born before the first French Revolution (January 6, 1788), he began his career at the Foreign Office under his cousin, George Canning, in 1807, and was Minister Plenipotentiary to the Porte from 1810 to 1812, from 1825 to 1831 (with some small intervals), and again from 1841 to 1858. At the age of ninety, he still contributed the light of his experienced wisdom to the never-ending Eastern question; and died, with his mind still clear and bright, in his 93rd year (August 14, 1880). The title chosen by lord Stratford de Redcliffe refers to his ancient descent from William Canninge, the "pious founder of the Church of St. Mary Redclyffe" at Bristol. He was the author of an excellent little work on the "Evidences of Christianity."

¶ Vol. ii. p. 494.

** A phrase of Mr. Gladstone's Budget Speech.

which they had since returned, as if incapable of learning from his example. While professing the political economy which taught that, if certain duties were reduced, the revenue would gain by the increased consumption of the articles, and that others which hampered trade and manufacture might be entirely remitted with the sure prospect of reimbursement from other sources of revenue stimulated by such remission, they showed no practical faith in these principles. An even national balance-sheet produced the stereotyped budget "I cannot reduce taxation, as I have no surplus." A deficit—the normal condition under the second Melbourne Administration—was met by postponement and borrowing, as far as possible, and at last by the childish expedient of clapping five per cent. on the Customs and Excise, and ten per cent. on the Assessed Taxes, all round, with the foreknown certainty of a much smaller percentage of gain to the revenue (1840). When, owing to sir Robert Peel's measures and the return of prosperity, lord John Russell's Government at length rejoiced in a surplus year after year, it was generally frittered away by subdivision, with little substantial relief or consequent satisfaction in any one quarter. In truth, however, this sort of finance was less due to the incompetence of Chancellors of the Exchequer, than to the chronic weakness of the Ministry, which forbade the attempt to carry any bold measures in the face of a powerful opposition.

Mr. Gladstone, on the contrary, came into office as the financial organ of a most powerful Government, and on the summit of a tide of prosperity which had never been surpassed, and in one respect (the price of public securities) has never since been equalled.* The opportunity suited the habit of his mind, to take a full grasp of every subject to which he turned his thoughts, exploring its minutest details, discovering aspects of it which no one had seen before, and, rather than overlook any of its bearings, perhaps sometimes perceiving relations of it due only to his fertile imagination. Instead of taking the mere margin of the balance-sheet as the measure of the work he had to do, he followed the example of Walpole, Pitt, and Peel, in undertaking a task of real reconstruction, and that with a threefold purpose. First, to carry on the work of his master in pruning and lopping away duties which pressed hard on commerce and manufactures and the subsistence and comfort of the people, or which were otherwise impolitic or unfair; and, secondly, while doing this, to relieve the nation at length from the Property and Income Tax, the renewal of which had so long been borne as the price paid for the relief thus given. This involved a third problem, which had long become also a question of deep interest to the people,—the fair adjustment of direct taxation on property and of the duties indirectly levied on expenditure; a problem which sir Robert had not survived in office to take in hand, nay, which had been somewhat complicated by his permanent remission of burdens on industry at the cost of a direct tax which professed to be only temporary.

* Since this sentence was written, the 3 per cent. stocks have been above par even for a longer time than in 1852-3, but they have not touched so high a maximum.

Besides this comprehensive dealing with taxation, Mr. Gladstone availed himself of the opportunity, which seemed to be offered by the unprecedented price of the public securities, to make a deep and permanent impression on the gigantic burden of the National Debt, in almost the only way which has ever been successful on a large scale;* the method, namely, of reducing the nominal rate of interest, that is, the amount of annuity paid to the public creditor.

It must be borne in mind, to avoid a prevalent misconception, which seems implied in speaking of *having money in the funds*, that there is no such money in existence, nor even any claim on Government for the repayment of the nominal sum standing in the names of the public creditors.† What the fundholder really possesses—we are speaking of the main bulk of the National Debt—is a right to the punctual payment to him of *an annuity* of so much per cent. on every £100 of the sum which he is said to hold; and he can only recover his capital by selling that annuity in the stock-market to a person who wishes to make this investment in the public funds. The ratio of the annuity to the nominal capital, first when Government contracts a loan, and secondly, the price paid for it at each transfer, is regulated—like all other interest for the use of money—by the value of the security and the credit of the borrower: that is to say, in the case of the public funds, by the abundance or scarcity of money, and of profitable investments for it, the interest it will command in the open market on good security, the prosperity or adversity of the country, the hopeful or threatening aspect of public affairs, and, at the root of all, the stability of the Government on which the obligation of payment lies, a condition, happily, seldom called in question in our country.

Raised, for the most part, under pressing necessities of war, national adversity, and dear money, the bulk of our National Debt was contracted at high rates of interest, higher even than the ratio of the annuity to the nominal principal.‡ In times of peace and prosperity, therefore, the public

* The *qualification* of the above statement is made with reference to two other effective methods of substantially reducing the National Debt. The first is that of borrowing not on *perpetual* but *terminable annuities*, or (by a most ingenious invention of Mr. Gladstone's to be explained hereafter) converting portions of permanent stock, which form investments under the control of Government, into Terminable Annuities. But this is only a *future relief* purchased by a *present increase* of the charge of the debt: a mode of raising money to pay off debt in a concealed, and therefore comparatively unfelt, form. The other mode, and a most excellent one, though operating only on a small scale, is by the *automatic* action of an act passed in 1829 (10 George IV. c. 27), by which, when there is a surplus of income over expenditure it is applied to the reduction of the National Debt (speaking roughly, and leaving the actual *modus operandi* to be explained in its proper place). This was written before the institution of Sir Stafford Northcote's new Sinking Fund, by which the annual charge of the Funded Debt is kept up to twenty-eight millions, a portion of which goes to paying off the capital in a progressive ratio every year. The great effect of this will be seen in its place.

† See a very important paper, "The National Debt—How it Grew," with full Tables of the Debt and its Annual Charge, by Charles Knight.—"Companion to the Almanack," 1860, pp. 133 *f.*

‡ The usual process of raising a loan has been by offering the annuities created to be

creditor is found to be receiving a higher rate of interest than he could command by other investments; and the Government (on behalf of the whole body of taxpayers) has the full right to reduce the annuity to that rate,* provided that it is willing and able to pay to any objecting fundholder the full nominal value of his investment. The test of the practicability of the operation is evidently when the current price of the stock in question is sustained above its nominal value (technically called *par*, the Latin for *equal*) for any considerable time; for such a price proves that investors cannot do better with their money, and there will therefore be no considerable demand for the payment of the principal at par.

This method of reducing the annual charge of the Funded Debt by lowering the rate of interest (so called),—begun by Walpole and Henry Pelham under George I. and II., and resumed after the end of the great war with France—had now brought the main bulk of the National Debt to an annuity of 3 per cent. Owing to the rapidly increasing prosperity of the country and the vast importations of gold from Australia, the price of the three per cent. stocks † had, for the first time since 1749, not only risen to par, but had been maintained at an average price above £100 during the financial year 1852. This appeared to Mr. Gladstone the opportunity for a reduction more decisive than any made since Mr. Pelham's, by offering a voluntary reduction of the 3 per cent. stocks to 2½, in a form more convenient to the fundholder, with the ultimate object of converting the mass of the National Debt into a permanent irredeemable annuity of 2½ per cent. The measure, which Mr. Gladstone laid before the House on the 8th of April, in the first of those marvellous statements of complicated figures which afterwards became so famous, passed through Parliament; but the fascinating scheme was shattered by war, leaving as its only trace a petty fraction of our National Debt in the proposed 2½ per cent. stock.‡

bidden for by great dealers in money, standing as contractors between Government and the investing public, and the sum paid for each annuity of so much per cent. is generally less, and has often been very much less, than £100. Suppose, for example (a purely imaginary case for the convenience of round numbers), a 4 per cent. loan to be taken up at the very low price of £80 for every nominal £100, the annuity of £4 for the £80 actually received would represent an interest of 5 per cent. instead of 4 per cent. Of course this element of loss is incurred once for all, and all future transactions have to be based on the relation of the annuity to the *nominal* capital.

* In fact, investors in the public funds are satisfied with a lower rate of interest than in other securities, on account of their almost perfect security, punctual payment, easy and inexpensive transfer, and other advantages.

† It is usual to take the price of the 3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities (commonly called *Consols*) as a proportionate measure of the price of stocks in general. The consols stood at par in 1749, and from that year to 1820 (for the most part a period of war) their average annual price ranged between 75 and 58. Since then, the usual range has been between 90 and 97, but beyond those limits at some periods of great prosperity and adversity, the lowest being about 85, on the declaration of war with Russia (March, 1854). This fall in nine months, from 101½ in June, 1853, at once checkmated Mr. Gladstone's great scheme for reducing the charge of the debt.

‡ In 1878, out of a total Funded Debt of £710,843,000, the 3 per cent. stocks included more than 706 millions, the 2½ per cents. only a little over 4 millions, besides £418,300 in Exchequer Bonds at 2½ per cent., the invention of which formed another feature of Mr.

Eight days later (April 18th) Mr. Gladstone at one stroke created his fame as a Finance Minister, and surpassed the most brilliant expositions of Pitt and Peel, by the speech of five hours, in which he opened his Budget. The occasion is also memorable as the last year in which the expenditure was so low as what was then, however, considered the extravagant sum of 50 millions (in round numbers). The actual expenditure for the year ending on April 5, 1853, was £50,782,000; and the revenue £53,089,000, leaving a surplus of £2,460,000. But now began the increase for military preparations, as the consequence of revived imperialism in France. Chiefly in consequence of supplemental votes for new defences, three-fifths of the actual surplus were already disposed of; and the estimated expenditure of the year now beginning was increased to £52,183,000. On the assumption that Parliament would consent to renew the Income Tax, the estimated income would be £52,990,000, showing a surplus of £807,000. On such a showing, recent Whig financiers would have been but too happy to "rest and be thankful," but this was not Mr. Gladstone's way.

We have already stated the three great problems which he set himself to solve. First, as to the Property and Income Tax, which was first imposed by Pitt as a *war-tax* (1798-9), and always regarded in that light, till it was revived by sir Robert Peel in 1842, as a *temporary* means of bringing our deranged finances into order, and relieving the springs of commerce and industry. During eleven years it had developed a rapidly increasing productiveness, which tended more and more to make it a permanent part of our financial system. And, while it was strongly opposed on the grounds that it was essentially a war-tax and had only been revived for a special and temporary purpose; that its inquisitorial assessment (an inevitable incident of the tax) caused fraud and extensive demoralization, and imposed an unfair burden on those who made honest returns; that it pressed unequally upon incomes of different kinds, most lightly on the permanent income derived from realized property without the exertion of the owners, and most heavily on the temporary and precarious incomes earned by the toil and strain of body and mind, lasting at best for life, and cut short by death or loss of health or power, leaving the breadwinner or his bereaved family destitute;—there was, on the other hand, a growing disposition to defend it as a fair and politic form of direct taxation, wanting only the assurance of *permanence at a nearly uniform rate* to redress its inequalities and remove the objections urged against it.

Mr. Gladstone has always been among those who hold that the objections to the tax outweigh its advantages; that no adjustments can remove its unequal incidence on different kinds of income, or the evils of the inquisitorial mode of assessment; and that its machinery, so easily set in motion when really wanted (and so easily abused if made an indispensable part of the revenue) is too valuable a resource in case of war, to be resorted to except in

Gladstone's scheme. He also liquidated some minor stocks; among them the *South Sea Annuities*, the name of which preserved the memory of the disastrous speculation above a century before.

other emergencies almost equally exceptional. Its abolition was, therefore, one of the objects of his first great essay in finance. But, before parting with it, he desired to use it once more for the completion of sir Robert Peel's great work of removing or reducing the taxes that pressed on industry and commerce, and especially for a very great simplification of the Tariff of Customs' Duties. He therefore proposed the renewal of the Income Tax for the definite term of seven years, so that it should finally cease on the 5th of April, 1860. This date was in great measure determined by the circumstance, that it was the epoch at which the burden of the Public Debt would be relieved to the annual amount of above two millions sterling by the falling in of the *Long Annuities* created in 1761, and of some smaller Terminable Stocks. Meanwhile, relying on that steadily progressive increase of revenue from the existing sources, which has been a very striking feature, and indeed a crucial test, of prosperous times, he provided for a transition to the final cessation of the tax by a series of progressive reductions from what had hitherto been the constant rate of 7*d.* in the pound, or about 3 per cent.* The tax, which had hitherto been imposed only on incomes of £150 a year and upwards, was now extended to those between £150 and £100, at the uniform rate of 5*d.* in the pound. The tax was also to be extended, for the first time, to Ireland.

After much consideration, the Government declined to attempt the reconstruction of the Income Tax, not only as its continuance was proposed for so short a time, but on grounds relating to the merits of the question. As to the alleged advantage enjoyed by property over temporary incomes, Mr. Gladstone showed that the actual burden of the tax on real property might be estimated at 9*d.* rather than 7*d.* in the pound, besides that the nature of such property precluded the frauds, on the one hand, and the unfair assessments, on the other, which are incident to other incomes. As to professional incomes, without denying the hardship, Mr. Gladstone showed that they contributed only one twenty-second part of the whole tax; but he proposed to allow such persons to deduct from the return of their income the amount expended by them on life insurance, up to one-sixth of the whole income. The extension of the tax, at the lower rate of 5*d.* in the pound, to incomes of from £150 to £100 a year was vindicated by the consideration, that they had already for ten years enjoyed the reductions of indirect taxa-

* The Act which gave effect to Mr. Gladstone's plan was the 16 and 17 Vict. c. 34. The steps were as follows:—for two years from the 5th of April, 1853, at 7*d.* in the £1; for two years from the same date in 1855, 6*d.*; and for the remaining three years from 1857, 5*d.* It is instructive to compare these good intentions with the actual rates levied in the seven years: namely, in 1853, 7*d.* as proposed; in 1854, 14*d.*; and in 1855 and 1856, 16*d.* (with a smaller tax in these three years on incomes below £150); in 1857 it came back to the assessment of 1853, namely, 7*d.* (and 5*d.* on the smaller incomes); in 1858, 5*d.* on both classes of income, the first reduction below the old rate of 7*d.*, and a coincidence, for *this one year*, with Mr. Gladstone's proposed scale; but in 1859, it was raised to 9*d.* and 6*d.*, and in 1860, instead of ceasing, it was further raised to 10*d.* and 9*d.* The causes of these changes will appear as we proceed. They were accompanied by proportional changes on the lower rates (about one-half) levied on farmers' profits under schedule B.

tion made at the expense of others, including those only a little better off than themselves, and it was only just that they should contribute to the cost of the further reductions now proposed.*

The time seemed to have come for applying the principle, that the burden of taxation should be as nearly as possible equalized in the three countries of the United Kingdom, by extending the Income Tax to Ireland. This measure had been deemed inopportune in 1842; but, instead thereof, Ireland was taxed by 1s. a gallon added to the duty on Irish whisky, and by augmented stamp duties. But the additional spirit duty was almost at once abandoned, and Ireland shared with great Britain in the reduction and equalization of stamp-duties in 1850. Besides these, which are but fair examples of English "injustice to Ireland"—in financial matters at least—the sister kingdom was in debt to the imperial exchequer on account of advances for the relief of the famine, on which the Irish had shown a growing reluctance to pay the interest. The sum due was £4,500,000, constituting an annual charge of £245,000, three-fourths of which would have continued for forty years, as has been stated above (p. 29, note †). Mr. Gladstone now proposed to remit the whole of this debt, in consideration partly of the Income Tax now first imposed on Ireland, and partly of an additional duty of 8*d.* a gallon on Irish whisky. The last tax was also a step towards equalizing the excise duties on spirits, the difference of which in the three kingdoms had been a stimulus to smuggling. For the same reason the duty on Scotch whisky was increased by 1s. per gallon; still leaving a higher duty on English spirits for future equalization. These changes were estimated to produce a gain of £436,000 to the revenue, and £113,000 more were to be added by an alteration in the system of granting licences (16 and 17 Vict. cap. 37).

The contemplated cessation of the Income Tax furnished an additional reason for revising the taxation of property, a step which had long been called for on other grounds. Among the chief taxes levied on property itself—not through the income derived from it—were the *Probate* and *Legacy Duties*; the former being a charge on "proving" the will of a deceased person (that is, passing it through the forms required by law before acting upon it), in a progressively increasing ratio to the value of the property; the latter a percentage on Legacies, increasing with the remoteness of the relationship to the testator, up to ten per cent. on legacies to strangers in blood. These duties were levied on personalty only, real property being exempt from both of them. Against this apparent unfairness in the case of the Probate duty certain considerations may be set, which need not be

* Mr. Gladstone cited cases in which persons with incomes between £100 and £150 a year had been benefited by the reduction of duties on necessaries and luxuries to the extent of 6 or 7 per cent., and others with incomes of from £150 to £170 to only 5 per cent., which was in fact only 2 per cent., after their payment of income tax. The extension of the tax to the former class at 5*d.* in the pound (about two per cent.) would still leave their benefit above 4 per cent., or more than double of that enjoyed by the other class. For an excellent summary of all the changes made by this Budget, see an article on "Administrative and Financial Improvement," in the "Companion to the Almanack," 1854.

discussed here; but in the other case, Mr. Gladstone proposed to redress the inequality by substituting for the tax on legacies a similar duty on the succession to property of every kind. This *Succession Duty*, graduated on the same principles as the old Legacy Duty, was in fact an extension of that tax to real property, and it was estimated to produce an increased revenue of two millions sterling.* The total gain from all the new sources of revenue was estimated at £3,139,000.

With consummate rhetorical skill, Mr. Gladstone went through these additions to the burdens of the country in the first part of his speech, holding expectation in suspense for the promised and greater remissions of taxation. "And now"—he resumed—"I feel as travellers are said to feel, and as some of us have felt, when we have accomplished a long uphill journey to the summit of an Alpine pass: I now enter on the downward path, and the plains of Italy are before me!" And then, just as the traveller, descending from the cold bare heights, is delighted by the quick succession of pines and birches, chestnut and walnut trees, and vines laden with rich promise, so did he rapidly unfold the pleasant prospect of remissions and reductions in all branches of the revenue.

The whole system of the *Assessed Taxes*, levied under no less than seventy-two Acts of Parliament, was reduced to greater simplicity and uniformity.† The progressive scale of taxation was to be abolished; exemptions were to cease, except in a few special cases; and compositions were not to be allowed for the future. A reduction of the duty on Hackney carriages was accompanied by a new Act for regulating such carriages in London.‡

The *Stamp Duties* were also subjected to revision; and the graduated scale of Receipt Stamps, varying from 3*d.* for a sum from £5 to £10, up to 10*s.* for £1,000 and upwards, was to be reduced to a uniform rate of 1*d.* on all sums from £2 upwards, in the form of an impressed or adhesive stamp, after the successful example of postage, removing, as in that case, all excuse for, and most of the temptation to, habitual evasion. The Stamp Duty on policies of Life Insurance were reduced from the former progressive scale (from the *minimum* of 2*s.* 6*d.* up to £50, to £5 on £5,000 and upwards) to the uniform rate of 1*s.* per cent.§ Mr. Gladstone proposed to take a further

* (16 and 17 Vict. c. 51.) The Succession Duty on real property was assessed on the following principle. The average age at which persons succeed to property being calculated at 35 years, and the expectancy of life at that age at 15½ years, the duty was charged on somewhat less than half the capital value, and was payable in half-yearly instalments within a period of 4½ years, with a discount of 10 per cent. for immediate payment.

† 16 and 17 Vict. c. 90.

‡ By this Act (16 and 17 Vict. cap. 33), named after its proposer, the Hon. H. Fitzroy, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, the fare for cabs was fixed at 6*d.* a mile, a change which the London cabmen resisted by a general strike, which lasted for three days (July 27th-29th; coinciding with the "three glorious days" of 1830 in Paris). The Act reducing the Duties (16 and 17 Vict. c. 127) made some alterations of minor matters in favour of the proprietors, and further concessions have been made to them by later Acts.

§ 16 and 17 Vict. c. 59. Small insurances were encouraged by a duty of 6*d.* on policies under £50. This Act also simplified the administration of the Stamp Duties by placing

step in reducing the duty on advertisements in newspapers, from 1s. 6d. (and 1s. in Ireland) to 6d.; but the House outran his intentions by a curious vote. Mr. Milner Gibson, who had already, earlier in the session, carried an abstract resolution condemning the tax,* moved, in Committee, an amendment for the total repeal of the advertisement duty, which was rejected by 109 to 99. By the form of the resolution, a blank was now left for the figure, and on a second division, Mr. Craufurd's motion to fill up that blank with a cipher, instead of 6d., was carried by 70 against 61, a decision for the practical repeal of the tax which the Government forthwith accepted. †

There remained the two great systems of indirect taxation on articles of consumption, the Excise Duties on home productions, and the Customs Duties on articles imported from abroad, ‡ through which alone a large portion of the people contribute their share towards the maintenance of the Government which protects their life and industry. The proper bases of this branch of taxation might now be regarded as settled. The principle, almost universally accepted, that all classes, above the utterly destitute, § should contribute something—however little—in this only possible form, becomes more important with every extension of the suffrage; for the maxim, “No Taxation without Representation,” involves the converse, “No Representation without Taxation.” The most obvious mode of applying this principle would be by a number of small taxes on common articles of consumption all round; and the acute political philosopher, Arthur Young, argued ingeniously that such a mode of taxation was adapted to raise a large aggregate revenue in sums almost insensible to the tax-payer. But these small taxes (not so insensible as the argument assumes) are found to add much more than their own amount to the price of the article, to hamper commerce and manufactures, and to involve a cost of collection quite out of proportion to their produce to the revenue. For these and other reasons, it has been the policy of modern finance to choose as the main pillars of indirect taxation a few articles of universal consumption, but not (so far as possible) of prime

them under the superintendence of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, and made the Stamp Duties in Ireland perpetual.

* On the 14th of April, in a speech described at the time as “clear and logical,” Mr. Gibson moved three resolutions in favour of the total repeal of Advertisement Duty, the Stamp on Newspapers, and the Excise on Paper. The first resolution was supported by Mr. Disraeli, and was carried against Ministers by 200 against 169; but the other two were rejected by very great majorities.

† 16 and 17 Vict. c. 63. The Act also modified, in favour of newspapers, the mode of charging the Stamp Duty, which had been already reduced in 1836 to 1d. on each newspaper, and ½d. on each supplement. Two years later, the newspaper stamp was abolished, except for transmission by post (18 and 19 Vict. c. 27, June 15, 1855). It had already been condemned, in principle, by a Committee of the House of Commons, in June, 1851.

‡ Customs on Exports had already been abolished.

§ Even these contribute *vicariously*, by their mere existence, through the taxed articles of consumption supplied to them by public or private charity, and more directly when they give any labour in return for the means of subsistence, as do many paupers and prisoners.

necessity, and to lay the heaviest burden on those luxuries,* or at least indulgences, which human nature craves so largely, that the tax will not stop or usually much check their consumption, and so prove unproductive, while they *can* be dispensed with by self-denial, so that the tax has much of a voluntary character.† The last consideration applies especially to alcoholic liquors and tobacco; and, in the former case, at least, their taxation is further approved on the moral ground of the frightful results of their abuse, not only to the welfare of the individual and society, but to the good order and prosperity of the State, its peaceable government, and even its financial interests.‡ Though it is not the business of Government to attempt to check vice by making it costly, nor on the other hand to play upon human passions by drawing a profit from their indulgence,—as a *primary* object of policy,—yet these considerations have combined to establish the propriety of taxing such indulgences, in due proportion to other forms of taxation, up to the limit at which such taxes are found to defeat their object by making smuggling a profitable speculation.

These principles have still been held, amidst all the financial reforms of recent times, to justify the Excise and Customs' Duties on Alcoholic Liquors, on Malt and Hops, or (since the budget of 1880) on Beer, and on Tobacco. In the department of *Excise*, the reforms of sir Robert Peel, and of others both before and after him, had already reduced the 28 heads of duties (in 1797) § to only five in which officers of the board interfered during the process of manufacture. These were malt, hops, spirits, paper, and soap. The reasons for retaining the first three have been just stated. The paper duty only awaited a fit opportunity in that second great revision of finance, to which Mr. Gladstone looked forward in 1860. Meanwhile the Soap Duty was to be entirely abolished, not only as detrimental to the health and comfort of the people, but for the reasons which had already prevailed against other Excise Duties, namely, that the necessary interference in the process of soap-making hindered improvement and disabled the manufacturer from competing with his unburdened rivals in foreign markets; while the necessity of allowing drawbacks on soap used in textile manufactures led to much fraud and loss to the revenue.

In the department of *Customs* Mr. Gladstone proposed to carry on the

* The apparently obvious principle, that luxuries of all sorts are fit objects of taxation, is limited by the important consideration of the encouragement of commerce, especially in the case of the products of artistic taste or refined manufacturing skill, which certain nations offer in exchange for our manufactures, such as the laces of Belgium, the silks and gloves of France, the watches of Switzerland, and many others.

† In fact, under our present system, those whose dwellings and wages are below the reach of the house and income taxes, and who choose to abstain from alcoholic liquors, tea, and tobacco, may go absolutely untaxed.

‡ The statistics of crime—to say nothing of idleness, waste of wages, civil disputes, and other evils—prove how large a share of the expenses of justice, police, and prisons, must be put down to the account of drunkenness.

§ The chief of these were: salt, wine, beer, cider and perry, sweets and mead, hides and skins, printed goods, candles, bricks and tiles, stone bottles, glass, soap, starch, and sales by auction. The last duty was replaced, in 1845, by a licence to be taken out by auctioneers.

work of sir Robert Peel by a thorough revision of the Tariff, having regard to the following principles:—(1) To lower the duties on foreign articles of food, which form a large part of the comforts of the people:—(2) To abolish, as far as regard for the revenue would allow, the duties on manufactures, except those in the last stage of finished articles and the products of hand-labour, in which reduction seemed the more prudent course:—(3) To place foreign and colonial products on equal terms:—(4) To abolish unproductive duties, except such as it was necessary to keep because of their connection with more important articles:—(5) To substitute, as far as possible, rated duties for duties *ad valorem*:—(6) To get rid of the increment of 5 per cent. on all duties (imposed by a struggling effort of Whig finance in 1840), except in certain cases where its loss could not yet be afforded.* The room left for the application of these principles will be the better understood by a glance at what had been done already.

In 1826, an Act for the consolidation of the law of customs † enumerated 1,150 rates of duty chargeable on imports; and out of this number it was found, in 1839, that 46 articles contributed the whole Customs' revenue, except about one hundredth part. The 1,052 articles still subject to duty in 1840 were reduced by sir Robert Peel to 590, and this number was brought down to 466 in 1852, while many of these were subject only to reduced duties. And with what result to the revenue, and what stimulus to commerce, let us now see. While the income produced by the duties abolished and reduced since 1840 had been nearly nine millions, the actual loss of revenue had been only twelve hundred thousand pounds, that is, between one-eighth and one-seventh of the apparent loss.‡ In the same twelve years the exports had doubled, the imports had increased from 62 to 109 millions, and the total tonnage of shipping inwards and outwards had been nearly doubled. And yet, owing to the much smaller number of articles on which duties were levied, and the simplified arrangements of the service, this increase of our foreign commerce had caused an addition of only 151 officers to the staff of the Customs; and the cost of collection was actually less by £22,250 than in 1840. Mr. Gladstone now proposed to deal with just half the articles still on the Tariff, entirely repealing the duty on 105, and making reductions on 126.§

* The 5 per cent. was retained on seven articles: namely, tobacco, wine, colonial timber, pepper, currants, figs, and gloves.

† The statute law relating to the Customs had been at one time spread over 1,500 Acts of Parliament. In 1810, five years were required to digest these laws into 1,375 pages. In 1826 they were consolidated into 11 separate Acts, and 443 statutes were repealed, many of them having become obsolete. In 1853, the whole Customs' Law of the United Kingdom, the Isle of Man, and the Colonies, was reduced to one plain and simple statute, the *Customs' Consolidation Act* (16 and 17 Vict. c. 107), and another Act (c. 106) exhibits the whole Tariff in alphabetical order.

‡ This is out of a *net* revenue of about 20 millions, in round numbers.

§ A complete list of the new Tariff, compared with that of 1852, is given in the "Companion to the Almanack," 1854, p. 62. By subsequent reforms—chiefly during Mr. Gladstone's second Chancellorship of the Exchequer (1859-1866)—the 1,200 heads of the Tariff in 1826 (using round numbers) have been reduced to about 12, or even less if articles

One article demands special notice, namely, *Tea*, which contributes by far the largest amount to the revenue, after tobacco and strong drinks. As the special luxury or rather comfort of the poor, the weak, and women, and as an aid to temperance, a strong case has been urged for its exemption from duty. But—apart from the now much debated question, whether it is really so harmless an indulgence—it has some characters which seem to mark it as a chief object for indirect taxation. First, as a purely foreign product, its taxation involves no burden on home manufactures, such as in the case of spirits, on which a Customs' duty requires a corresponding Excise. Next, its production being limited,* the vast increase of consumption resulting from free importation would tend to counteract the relief from duty by rise of price, besides giving a stimulus to adulteration. Above all, tea forms, with strong drinks (to which, in this point of view, it may be regarded as the financial complement), a means of *universal* indirect taxation, a sort of Income Tax on the lower classes; and it also offers peculiar facilities for varying the duty according to the exigencies of the State.† On such grounds Mr. Gladstone advocated the retention of the Tea Duty as a permanent part of our indirect taxation, at the rate of one shilling on the pound; to which he proposed to bring it down by successive steps in three years.‡ The estimated result of all the proposed remissions was an annual relief from taxation to the amount ultimately of £5,315,000, beginning with £2,568,000 in the current year. But, allowing for the self-adjusting recovery always found to follow reductions of taxation, the loss to the revenue for the year would be only £1,656,000, of which £1,344,000 would be furnished by the new taxes, the remainder coming out of the estimated surplus of £807,000, still leaving the prospect

of a similar kind be grouped together (besides some articles contributing less than £1,000 in the year, and little more than £2,000 together). They may be classified under the following heads, with the amounts they contributed in the year ending March 31, 1878 (in round numbers and in order of magnitude):—I. (1) *Tobacco and Snuff*, above 8 millions. II. *Strong Drinks*—(2) *Spirits*, 5½ millions sterling; (3) *Wine*, £1,630,000; (4) *Spruce and other beers*, £4,000: total, above 7 millions. III. *Beverages*—(5) *Tea*, 4 millions; (6) *Cocoa*, (7) *Coffee* and (its nasty adjunct) (8) *Chicory*, £225,000: total, nearly 4½ millions. IV. *Dried fruits*—retained for the protection of the Spirit Duty, as they are capable of distillation—(9) *Currants* and (10) *Raisins*, £452,000; (11) *Figs, Plums, and Prunes*, £39,000: total, nearly half a million. V. (12) *Gold and Silver Plate*, £6,000. VI. Other articles, £2,000. The nett produce of the Revenue in this year of depressed trade was still above 20 millions sterling.

* That is, in the present state of things: but it is conceivable that there might be a practically unlimited production, taking not only China, but India, the tropical parts of Australia, and other countries, which might not only do away with the force of this argument, but might also raise a claim to its exemption as a chief article of exchange for our home manufactures with a large part of the population of the world.

† Whether similar arguments might not be urged for some other duties which recent finance has abolished, is a question not unlikely to be revived in a time of financial pressure.

‡ The duty was to be at once reduced from 2s. 2½d. to 1s. 10d. per pound; from April, 1854, to 1s. 6d.; from April, 1855, to 1s. 3d.; and from April, 1856, to the permanent rate of 1s. But, as in the case of the Income Tax, all this was disturbed by the Russian War, after which the duty was again gradually reduced to 6d. per pound.

of £495,000 as the balance of Income over Expenditure on the 5th of April, 1854.

It is almost superfluous to add, that the exigencies of revenue necessarily postponed the application of Mr. Gladstone's principles to some taxes which could not be defended in principle, as, for example, that on Insurance against Fire. Even such a Chancellor of the Exchequer could not reform our system of revenue by an ideally perfect Budget in one year. But his plan amply justified the claim he made for its spirit and intention:—"I may be permitted to add that, while we have sought to do justice, by the changes we propose in taxation, to industry and skill as compared with property; while we have sought to do justice to the great labouring community of England, by further extending their relief from indirect taxation;—we have not been guided by any desire to put one class against another. We have felt we should best maintain our own honour, that we should best meet the views of Parliament, and best promote the interests of the country, by declining to draw any invidious distinction between class and class, by adopting it to ourselves as a sacred aim, to diffuse and distribute—burdens if we must—benefits if we may—with an equal and impartial hand. And we have the consolation of believing that by proposals such as these we contribute, as far as in us lies, not only to develop the material resources of the country, but to knit the hearts of the various classes of this great nation yet more closely than heretofore to that throne and to those institutions under which it is their happiness to live."

This great financial scheme was carried in all its essential parts, after the Opposition had put forth all their strength in debate and divisions. The attack on the Income Tax was led by sir Edward Bulwer Lytton in the form of an amendment, that its continuance for seven years, without any mitigation of the inequalities of assessment, was unjust and impolitic (April 25th); on which an able debate for three nights ended in a majority of 323 to 252 for Government (May 2nd). On a motion by Mr. Lawless against the extension of the tax to Ireland, the representatives of that country were themselves so much divided, that the debate was broken off amidst a scene of confusion caused by Mr. Duffy's declaration that "in the worst days of Walpole and the Pelhams more scandalous corruptions did not exist than he had seen practised under his own eye in corrupting Irish members." On the next night, the charge was explained away in the usual Parliamentary (or "Pickwickian") fashion, and Mr. Lawless's amendment was rejected by 286 to 61 (May 6th). After the rejection of other amendments, chiefly as to the assessment on land and farmers, the bill was passed through both houses. The Succession Duties Bill passed both houses with only one important division, in the Lords, where lord Malmesbury earned a sarcastic compliment from lord Granville on "the introduction of a new style of debate" by likening future Chancellors of the Exchequer to "vultures soaring over society and looking for a harvest of dead meat." The commutation of the South Sea and other stocks was the only other part of the Budget that encountered serious opposition.

Reviewing it as a whole, it forms a lasting monument of Mr. Glad-

stone's financial genius, none the less admirable for the frustration of some of his grandest schemes—the commutation of the National Debt, and the abolition of the Income Tax—by the war that so soon followed.* In later discussions, it has been too often forgotten that Mr. Gladstone *did abolish the Income Tax by law*, so far as it could be done by a prospective Act of Parliament, and that the wonderful expansion of the Revenue after the Peace of 1856 justified the soundness of his calculations. He might well be consoled for his failure by remembering that Mr. Pitt had precisely the same fate, when his great Commercial Treaty with France was torn up by the war that followed the Revolution—the honour of renewing that Treaty, in spirit and substance, being reserved for Mr. Gladstone himself in 1860. Meanwhile, the Succession Duty and the Reform of the Tariff remained a permanent gain to our financial system, the value of which has been proved by each successive year.

The Lord Chancellor was less successful than his colleague at the Exchequer in carrying the schemes of Law Reform indicated in the Speech from the Throne; but in the Criminal Law a great change was accomplished in the whole system of secondary punishment. The old Colonies of Australia, which had owed their supply of labour, and not a little of their energy, to the unhappy class (often to grow happy *there*) of whom one of themselves said—“ We left our country for our country's good ” †—had now grown up to a social state in which the continued influx of a convict population had become no longer tolerable; and, in 1849, the Cape Colony had successfully resisted the first attempt to make it a penal settlement, by refusing to let a shipload of convicts land. Meanwhile the great problem of prison discipline at home had been so far advanced by the efforts of philanthropists and Governments, that the time seemed to have come for beginning to replace transportation by a well-ordered system of imprisonment and penal labour. In 1850, earl Grey, as Colonial Secretary, had introduced a “ Convict Prisons Bill ” in a speech ably reviewing the whole system of secondary punishment; but the Ministry had not strength to pass it. In the present session (February 17th) the duke of Newcastle announced the decision of Government that transportation should immediately cease, except to the free settlement of Western Australia, where the colonists themselves desired the introduction of convict labour.‡ Lord Cranworth brought in a Bill,

* It is quite another question, how far—in the face of the cloud gathering in the East, of which the Government had better knowledge than Parliament and the country could have—the Government were justified, first in proposing, and still more in pressing through Parliament as the danger grew more threatening, such sacrifices of revenue soon to be needed, and in exciting hopes doomed to such speedy disappointment, as those of the abolition of the Income Tax and the commutation of the National Debt to an Annuity of two and a-half per cent. On this question it is most instructive to compare the *dates* in the progress of the Eastern question with those of the passage of the Government measures of finance through Parliament. It can hardly be denied that their wish for peace led them to act resolutely as if it were secure, or even as if such action could help to secure it.

† Quoting from memory only, we believe that this was the second line of the Prologue to an entertainment at Sydney, composed by the famous pickpocket, Barrington.

‡ Convicts continued to be sent to this colony, under the Penal Servitude Act of 1857,

which passed through Parliament, abolishing Transportation* for all terms less than fourteen years, and substituting the punishment of *Penal Servitude*, under which convicts were "to be confined in any prison, or at any river, port, or harbour, in the United Kingdom, as the Secretary of State may direct, there to be kept to hard labour, and otherwise dealt with as persons previously were, who were sentenced to transportation." Discretion was also given to judges to pass sentences of penal servitude instead of transportation for fourteen years or for life.† The Secretary of State was empowered, in the name of her Majesty, to grant *licences* (afterwards commonly known as *tickets of leave*) allowing convicts under sentence of transportation or penal servitude to be at large in the United Kingdom; but these licences might be revoked by the Secretary of State's warrant, and the convict sent back to undergo the remainder of his sentence. Four years later,‡ transportation was entirely abolished; but convicts under sentence of penal servitude might be removed to places beyond seas, fitted for their reception, the Privy Council having the power to appoint such places. After a time, the numerous crimes committed by "ticket-of-leave" men brought the system into disrepute, and it was made more stringent by a new Act.§

The punishment of crime is but a necessary evil, in order to the protection of society; and the effort to prevent some, at least, of its causes by the enlightenment of the people and the training of children in sound knowledge and right principles, had long been recognized as a far higher duty. But the action of the State for this object was impeded by many hindrances; not the least being, as we have already seen, the difficulty of an agreement among rival parties on those religious elements of instruction which lie at the basis of morality, and therefore of any education which is to improve the character as well as to enlighten the mind. On this point lord John Russell, in moving the second reading of the Government Bill for the further extension of the education of the people (April 4th), made a declaration well worth preserving, though the time for carrying his proposed measure had not yet come:—"The people of this country act on a right instinct, when they openly declare that there

after the general abolition of transportation, till the vehement opposition of the other Australian colonies brought the Government to decide that, after three years from 1865, no more convicts should be sent to any part of Australia. A penal settlement for the very worst class of irreclaimable convicts had been kept up at Norfolk Island, in the South Pacific, till the awful state of what it is almost a perversion of language to call their society caused the establishment to be broken up, and the island was given to the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, whom Pitcairn Island was no longer capable of supporting (1856).

* 16 and 17 Vict. cap. 99.

† Definite proportions were established by the Act between the old and new sentences. By the Act of 1857, the shortest term of penal servitude was reduced to three years, but in 1864 it was raised again to five years, and for persons previously convicted of felony it was fixed at seven years.

‡ 20 and 21 Vict. c. 3: June 26, 1857.

§ 27 and 28 Vict. c. 47: July 25, 1864. A commission was appointed in 1878 to review the whole system of penal servitude; and its final settlement is proposed as a part of the digest of criminal law which awaits the sanction of Parliament.

shall be religious training, which shall comprise all the great doctrines of Christianity. Therefore neither I nor the present Government can be a party to any plan proposing a merely secular mode of teaching."

The same question was now keenly agitated in the sister kingdom. The Irish National Schools, established in 1831 with the hearty co-operation of the Protestant and Roman Catholic archbishops of Dublin, Drs. Whateley and Murray, were based on the principle of an education common to all religious bodies, with a religious element comprising, not the whole English Bible, on which agreement was impossible, but extracts from the Scriptures agreed upon by the Roman Catholic and Protestant members of the Board. This system had been assailed from the first by the advocates of a more definitely religious education on both sides; at first chiefly by the Protestants, but afterwards also by the Catholics, as that Ultramontane policy gained ground, which expressed itself in the condemnation of the Queen's Colleges. The hopes of the former party had been raised by the change of Government in 1852; but lord Eglinton, the Lord-lieutenant, in a letter to lord Derby,* pronounced the system to be "the best which under the peculiar circumstances of the country could be adopted," adding that he believed its overthrow would be a serious national calamity. "The secular teaching"—he continued—"is the best I ever saw; the religious books authorized by the Board are beautifully compiled; the establishments are generally well conducted; and the Bible may be read, though not expounded in the schoolroom, if the patron pleases; the children also have the option of retiring." While deprecating any change whatever, he nevertheless suggested that the Government should avert the present danger by assenting to a Parliamentary enquiry into the working of the system. To this "lame and impotent conclusion" from lord Eglinton's own premisses, Prince Albert objected † "as only tending to unsettle people's minds with regard to the stability of the system." He argued that the Schools attended by 424,717 Roman Catholic children, to 23,338 Church of England and 40,618 Presbyterian children—numbers about proportional to these three sections of the population ‡—could not be said to have failed *as a system of united education*. "But (he added) the great national boon the system has conferred is not that it has given *united* education, but that it has given a *liberal and secular* education to the Roman Catholic population, which is beginning to toll upon their moral and religious state. This could only in fairness be attained by an *united* system, treating all religious parties and churches alike." To these principles lord Aberdeen's Government adhered;

* October 21, 1852.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 476.

† Letter to lord Derby, October 26, 1852.—"Life," etc., *ibid.* p. 476.

‡ The continued success of the system, notwithstanding the growing indisposition of the Irish Roman Catholic Church to compromise, is attested by the progressive increase of the numbers attending the Irish National Schools. "Year by year these have risen, so that, from somewhat over 500,000 in 1852, they amounted in 1875 to close upon 1,012,000. Of the latter number, 798,024, or 79 per cent., were Roman Catholics, 111,132, or 11 per cent., were Presbyterians, and 89,907, or 9 per cent., were of the English Church. These figures are taken from the Forty-second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. Dublin, 1876."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 478.

and Mr. Hamilton's motion for a Select Committee of Enquiry into the system was rejected, after a long and exhaustive debate, by 179 to 109 (April 26th).

The Charter to the East India Company, which had been renewed in 1833, was about to expire in 1854. In prospect of this new epoch, lord Derby had raised the question of abolishing the Court of Directors, and transferring the government of India to a responsible department of the Ministry, under the Crown (April 2, 1852). While the Committee for which he moved were still enquiring into the desirableness of this great change, the Government proposed the renewal of the Company's Charter, and the continuance of the double Government by the Directors and the Board of Control, till Parliament should otherwise provide. Their Bill, however, which was moved by sir Charles Wood in a speech of five hours' duration (June 3, 1853), made large modifications in the Court of Directors, and abolished their patronage, throwing open to examination the admission to the Civil Service through Haileybury College, and to the military service through Addiscombe College.* The great change, of which this was the beginning, was warmly advocated by Mr. Macaulay, in the last great speech he delivered in the House (June 24th). Replying to the argument, that the qualities required in the Indian Service were not those which can be tested by scholastic examination, he maintained "that there never was a fact better proved by an immense mass of evidence, by an experience almost unvaried, than this: that men who distinguished themselves in youth above their contemporaries in academic competition, almost always keep to the end of their lives the start they have gained in the early part of their career." He appealed to Parliamentary history, from the days of Montague and Bolingbroke to those of Canning and Peel, of Derby and Gladstone; to the long array of judges, who had been eminent in youthful study; and to India, from Hastings and Wellesley to lord Ellenborough himself, the most strenuous opponent of the Bill. Besides the new talent the system would attract, he supported the measure as providing the best means for effecting the gradual admission of native Indians to a share in the higher offices of Government. This speech was made in a great debate on lord Stanley's amendment, calling for further information before legislating, which had the support of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, but was negatived by 322 votes against 140; and the Bill passed both houses with little alteration.†

Another signal triumph in debate was won by Mr. Macaulay in this session. That vital principle of public liberty and security—the impartial administration of the law—had long been tending more and more to a complete severance of the judges from all political activity—at least, in any

* These examinations were to be under regulations to be made by the Board of Control. The full system of admission into the Indian Civil Service by competitive examination was instituted by the Act of 1858, which transferred the government of India to the Crown (21 and 22 Vict. c. 106).

† "Act to provide for the Government of India," 16 and 17 Vict. cap. 95; August 20, 1853.

open form—except in the House of Peers, where the “law lords” are free from the influence of popular constituencies, and their actions as judges and senators are kept distinct.* But there was no legal obligation nor even any constitutional prescription in the matter; and it was not long since judges had sat in the House of Commons and been active political partisans. But for some time past the absorbing nature of judicial work had combined with a growing sense of the incompatibility of the two sets of functions, to establish a practice, which was hastily assumed to be a principle. The chiefs of the common law, even when not raised to the peerage, found their office at once too arduous and too dignified for the mighty work and conflicts of St. Stephen's; and the puisne † judges have either kept aloof from the arena, or gladly left it when it had been their stepping-stone to the bench. Of late years there had been one marked exception in the case of the Master of the Rolls. ‡ In 1851, lord Romilly accepted the Mastership of the Rolls, retaining his seat for Devenport; and, though he had not been re-elected in 1852, the Opposition now attempted to settle the question by an Act of Parliament. Lord Hotham's “Judges' Exclusion Bill,” though opposed by Government, was read a second time without a division (April 13th); and it seemed to be tacitly accepted (like many a change in the present age) from an assumption that “the time was come.” But at the last stage, Mr. Macaulay opposed it in a most powerful speech; arguing that there was no better reason for excluding judges from the Lower House than from the Upper, where every peer is in some measure a judge; and he urged that the bill, without affording any compensating benefit whatever, would lower the influence and lessen the dignity of the House. The speech is recorded as one of the very few which have not only influenced a vote, but completely turned the scale of a division; and the third reading was rejected by 224 votes against 123 (June 1st). It may be doubted whether the decision thus won was the best, and whether the difference between the position of judges in the two houses is not more marked than Macaulay argued; but the question could well be left to settle itself by public opinion and the demands of judicial work.

Some legislative fruits of this long session still remain to be noticed. Parliamentary elections in England and Wales were further regulated by limiting the polling to one day (16 and 17 Vict. c. 15). A very important Act was passed for appointing new Commissioners of Charities, and extending their powers. § The laws relating to Savings' Banks Annuities

* Any alleged exceptions (as in the case of O'Connell) are as doubtful as they are rare.

† We may observe in passing that this old French title (*puis-né*, literally “since born,” equivalent to the technical sense of *Junior*) is now extinct (1882).

‡ In the formation of the Reform Ministry, Brougham had wished to hold that office with the leadership of the House of Commons. Lord Grey is said to have replied—“If you are to be Master of the Rolls and leader of the House of Commons, I should like to know what any one else is to be?”

§ “An Act for the better administration of Charitable Trusts;” 16 and 17 Vict. c. 137, August 20th. This Act was further amended in 1855 (18 and 19 Vict. c. 124), 1860 (23 and 24 Vict. c. 136), 1869 (32 and 33 Vict. c. 110), and 1874, when the Endowed Schools Commission was absorbed in the Charity Commission (37 and 38 Vict. c. 87).

were consolidated, and new powers for granting them were given to the National Debt Commissioners (cap. 45).^{*} Sanitary legislation was advanced by an Act regulating burials beyond the metropolis, and abolishing (as the general rule) interments within churches (cap. 137) †; and by an Act giving further facilities for Vaccination and making it compulsory (cap. 100), the working of which has called forth lamentable examples of obstinate prejudice and ignorance, not confined to the lower classes. The new law for regulating the sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Scotland, commonly known as the Forbes-Mackenzie Act (cap. 67), is generally admitted to have worked well in the cause of temperance.

This year was marked by the news of a great triumph of British naval enterprize and endurance, in the solution of a geographical question which had called forth some of the noblest though most modest displays of those qualities, animated by a remarkable spirit of calm religious faith, for more than three hundred years. In the development of these moral qualities, and as a test and training of the disciplined courage of British seamen, as well as for those high scientific results which are most fruitful in permanent use, none the less for a seeming want of present utility, the story of Arctic and Antarctic exploration is ever memorable. The discovery of the long-sought North-west passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, made by M'Clure in 1850, though not known till late in 1853 (save to the successful navigators brought to death's door in their icy prison), was an incident in the despairing search for sir John Franklin, who may indeed be said to have already made the discovery himself. With much reluctance, not to say self-denial, we leave the fascinating details, as belonging rather to geography than history. But as a part of the story of the heroic services of England's sons in the path of duty, and of the extension of her power over the world, we sum up all in the simple record, that the brave and gentle Franklin died quietly on the 11th of June, 1847, where his comrades perished, having discovered the North-west passage by reaching a spot in the known water-way to Behring's Straits, four years before the other North-west passage was discovered by M'Clure.‡

^{*} The vast and beneficent system of the Post Office Savings Bank was not established till 1861.

[†] Further facilities for providing burial-grounds, and powers to Burial Boards, were given by an Act of the next Session (17 and 18 Vict. c. 87, August 10, 1854).

[‡] To guard against cavil, use the word *discovery* for that of the *continuous water-way*, though in fact it has hitherto been blocked by ice to actual navigation throughout.

CHAPTER XV.

State of the Eastern Question—Assurances of Ministers and in Message at the Prorogation.—The Crisis reached at that very time—Speeches of Palmerston and Russell in Scotland—Second Royal Visit to Ireland—Signs of the coming Storm—Ministerial Troubles; Lord John Russell's claim to the Premiership—Question of Reform—Temporary Resignation of Lord Palmerston—Lord John's idea of a Conservative Reform by lowering the Franchise—His Reform Bill of 1854—"Fancy Franchises"—Its withdrawal—Lord John and Mr. Disraeli—Reform of the Universities—Commissions of Enquiry—Oxford University Act (1854)—Act for Cambridge (1856)—Other Acts of 1854—Treaty of Washington on Fisheries and Free Trade between Canada and the United States—The Fugitive Slave Question in America—Proposed Statue to Prince Albert: His Letter—Attacks on the Prince for interference in Politics—Party Motives and Public Credulity—The Prince's explanation: anomalies and duties of his position—What he had really been doing—Vindication of the Prince in Parliament—Baron Stockmar's statement of the constitutional question—Relation of the Crown to Ministers—Influence of the Queen's moral purity on the whole working of the State—Self-adjusting power of the Constitution—Duty and policy of supporting the just influence of the Crown.

THE prorogation of Parliament on the 20th of August was accompanied by a Royal Message and a ministerial declaration, which now read in strange contrast with the events which had at that very moment reached their crisis.* All Parliamentary discussion of the Eastern question had been postponed as inopportune; and, even after the Russian armies had marched into the Danubian Principalities (July 2nd), Lord Aberdeen emphatically declared at the Mansion House:—"The policy—the essential policy—of her Majesty's Government is a policy of peace" (July 23rd). A few days before the prorogation, Lord John Russell concluded an explanation to the House concerning the negotiations in progress by expressing his belief that, from Russia's acceptance of the Note agreed on by the Conference of the Powers at Vienna, "there was now a fair prospect of securing the objects in view, without involving Europe in hostilities, or exposing the independence and integrity of Turkey" (August 16th). Four days later, Lord Palmerston assured the House of Commons of the belief of Government that Parliament might be prorogued without anxiety, and his confidence that "the Emperor of Russia would take the earliest opportunity of the settlement of the difference with Turkey, to evacuate the Principalities

* The events, which are here necessarily alluded to, are fully related in succeeding chapters.

of his own accord"—a strange inversion of the essential conditions of the problem. The Royal Speech, after declaring the "deep interest and concern" with which her Majesty had viewed the "misunderstanding" between Russia and the Porte, and her earnest endeavours, in unison with the Emperor of the French, to reconcile differences the continuance of which might involve Europe in war, held out this prospect of a solution:—"Acting in concert with her allies, and relying on the exertions of the Conference now assembled at Vienna, her Majesty has good reason to hope that an honourable arrangement will speedily be accomplished." For it was not yet known either to the Parliament dismissed with these cheering words, nor to the Ministers who dictated them, that *on the day before* the great question between peace and war had been virtually decided by the Porte's refusal, under the advice of our ambassador, to accept the Vienna Note in its last form, except with certain modifications, to which the Czar would not consent. The 19th of August marks the turning point, from which the descent to war was rapid and inevitable.

Within a month we find a remarkable change in the tone of ministerial utterances, at least as expressed by lord John Russell, whose ardent temperament (as on other occasions) outran the quieter though more strenuous resolve of lord Palmerston. The contrast at this crisis is remarkable. Both Ministers were visiting Scotland; but, while Palmerston made but distant allusions to the great question, lord John, speaking at Greenock of the duty incumbent on Great Britain to secure the just rights of nations *by peace if possible*, went on, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of his Scotch hearers—the more vehement, like himself, in the overflow of habitual reserve:—"But, while we endeavour to maintain peace, I certainly should be the last to forget that, if peace cannot be maintained with honour, it is no longer peace. It becomes then, as I have said, no longer peace, but a truce—a precarious truce—to be denounced by others whenever they may think fit—whenever they may think that an opportunity has occurred to enforce by arms their unjust demands either upon us or upon our allies. I trust that, so long as I can bear any part in the public councils of this kingdom, such will be my sentiments, and such my conduct" (September 19th).

To avoid an interruption in the narrative of the great and terrible events now impending it will be well to record first some matters of more domestic interest, belonging to this year and the next. We have had occasion to speak of the visitation of Cholera in the autumn,* and the return of the last expeditions sent in search of Franklin, bearing the news that the North-west Passage was discovered.† In August, the Exhibition of Industry at Dublin—the first of the many that resulted from that of 1851—gave the occasion for a second royal visit to Ireland, which, though not extending beyond Dublin, was in its measure as satisfactory as the first.‡

As the autumn advanced, the clouds which so many had refused to

* Chap. vi. p. 47.

† Chap. xiv. p. 153.

‡ See the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 503-5.

heed while rejoicing in the bright achievements of their strong Government, were closing in and uttering their warning through the most sensitive of all signs. The funds, which had stood steadily and above par in the early months of the year, had fallen about ten per cent. in September.* The gold in the Bank of England, which, in consequence of the importations from California and Australia, had reached the unprecedented sum of twenty-two millions sterling in July, 1852, fell to about fifteen millions in October, 1853.† The bank rate of interest, which stood at 2 per cent., when Mr. Gladstone announced his scheme for the conversion of the National Debt, had now gone up to 4 per cent.; and the prices of all the necessaries of life had risen.‡

As the time drew near for preparing the legislative measures for the coming session, the repulsive forces inherent in a coalition came into action. Lord John Russell's "great soul in a small body" § could not brook that the leader of the Whigs should be second to a Peelite premier; and his favourite question of Reform was threatening to bring on the trouble foretold by Palmerston. Immediately after the prorogation, Prince Albert wrote from Osborne to baron Stockmar ||:—"Aberdeen was here for three days . . . full of spirit and hopefulness. A cause of anxiety, however, has arisen in this, that lord John seems dissatisfied with his position, as we all foretold to him he would be, and *I believe* has proposed that his chief shall retire, and make over the Premiership once more to him, or that he will himself withdraw into private life.¶ . . . Now comes the Reform question! Lord John . . . said to lord Clarendon, '*I am for making it as Conservative as possible, and that by a large extension of the suffrage. The Radicals are £10 holders; the £5 holders will be Conservatives, as they are more easily acted upon.*'" It is a

* See the Table of Fluctuations of the Funds.

† On July 10, 1852, the gold coin and bullion in the Bank was £21,485,390; on October 1, 1853, it was £15,031,895.

‡ By the beginning of the year the advance in the price of the quartern loaf to 9d. caused serious riots at Exeter and other towns in the West (January, 1854); but, as the year went on the pressure of war was relieved by an abundant harvest, for which a public thanksgiving was offered to God (October 1st).

§ "Ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant."—Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 83.

|| August 24th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 502-3.

¶ Six weeks later, the Prince writes again (October 5th):—"Lord John, bent upon being Prime Minister, has changed his ground for setting up his claim that the Reform Bill ought to be brought forward by him as Premier, and is now causing Aberdeen trouble on the Eastern question. He has already wanted to resign twice. . . . Aberdeen is ready to go, but not to run away from the Eastern complication" ("Life," *ibid.* p. 520). And again (October 14th):—"Lord John's wish has been communicated to his colleagues, who, so far as I can learn, one and all deprecate the change, and would regard it as tantamount to a break-up of the Cabinet" (*ibid.* p. 522). For not only did the crisis of the Eastern question forbid lord Aberdeen to leave the helm, which age had made him willing to resign, but lord Palmerston adhered to his resolution never again to serve under lord John, whose Premiership would have been utterly distasteful to the Peelites, and was even deprecated by some of his old Whig supporters. So the last we hear is (October 19th):—"Lord John has declared to his chief, that he is satisfied the change *at this moment* would not be possible:—"—then follows another touch of personal politics, very significant of coming events:—

remarkable example of the revelations opened up to us, as the sources of contemporary history become accessible, to find the veteran Whig anticipating, only in a lesser degree, that discovery of a Conservative lower stratum, by means of which it was reserved for lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli to "dish the Whigs." Lord John's own Reform Act of 1832, which was to have secured a political centre of gravity in the intelligent and responsible and (above all) independent middle class, had in course of time, through the progress of opinion in that class, worked towards a more Radical constituency than he had intended or desired; and the balance was to be brought back towards Conservatism by admitting a class of voters "more easily acted upon"!

We may at once dispose of the brief story of the intended measure, in which lord John persevered, as if the basis of our constitution could be re-adjusted when men's minds were preoccupied with war; though ardent Reformers, led by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, supported him by public demonstrations. The Royal Speech at the opening of Parliament (January 31, 1854) recommended Bills "for checking bribery and corrupt practices at elections, and giving more complete effect to the principles of the Reform Act of the last reign." In the abortive Bill which lord John introduced, some points demand notice on account of the large share they occupied in later discussions. Thus he was the first to propose the kind of qualifications for electors, which were subsequently known as "fancy franchises," and a scheme for the representation of minorities; and he intended to give members to the University of London and one of the Scotch Universities.

"The *Palmerstonian stocks* have gone up immensely, people saying that, if he had been at the Foreign Office, he would by his energy have brought Russia to reason" (*ibid.* p. 524). It is now known (on the concurrent testimony of the "Lives" and "Letters" of the Prince and Palmerston) that the temporary resignation of lord Palmerston, in December, 1853, which was then and since (even by Mr. Kinglake) ascribed to the Eastern question, was caused by his disapproval of lord John's plan of reform. Lord Palmerston himself wrote that "it would have been silly to have gone out because he could not have his own way on the Eastern question"; but yet his return to office was mainly determined by the Cabinet's coming round to his views on that question; what these were will be seen in due course (see "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 534, 535; Ashley's "Life of Viscount Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 18-22). Earl Russell has frankly told us, in his volume of "Recollections and Suggestions," that his secession from lord Aberdeen's Government at the end of 1854 was one of the greatest errors of his public life; "but (he adds) I had, in fact, committed a much greater error in consenting to serve under lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister" (p. 270). He claims to have recommended a settlement of the Eastern question, which, had he been able to insist on it with a Premier's authority, would have averted the Crimean War; and in that case, "the Reform Bill of 1854, to which sir James Graham had most willingly, and lord Palmerston most reluctantly, assented, would in all probability have passed through Parliament recommended by lord Aberdeen and his Cabinet. . . . The gang who many years later skulked in the Cave of Adullam would never have existed, and the Reform Act would have been completed. Thus has the course of history been changed by my weakness:"—for, in fact, it is too strong to be turned even by the confidence of a Russell in the divine right of Whig principles. "Lord Aberdeen always told me that, after being Prime Minister for a short time, he meant to make way for me, and give up the post. But somehow the moment never came for executing his intentions":—and we have seen "the reason why."

The plan included a large redistribution of seats, at the expense of small boroughs. On the main point of lowering the borough franchise, lord John laid down the principle, that the Reform Act did not make sufficient provision for the admission of the working classes, to whose merits he paid a warm tribute; and he proposed a £6 municipal rating as the qualification; while in the counties he adopted the long-contested standard of a £10 household franchise, with a precaution against the manufacture of "faggot votes."

The second reading was appointed for the 3rd of March; and then, even though an ultimatum had been just despatched to Russia, lord John clung to hope by proposing only a postponement, which was not agreed to till after a very interesting debate.* Its final withdrawal on April 11th was accompanied by a touching scene, when lord John's deep emotion, in referring to some shade of "suspicion" which had been cast upon his motives, was responded to by Mr. Disraeli's assurance of the most heartfelt personal respect for the noble lord, whose character and career he described as "precious possessions of the House of Commons";—words which now form a true record of both the departed statesmen.

Lord John had the consolation of carrying another measure of Reform, in the "Act to make further provision for the good government and extension of the University of Oxford, of the Colleges therein, and of the College of St. Mary, Winchester"; † a measure founded on enquiries which he had set in motion during his late Premiership. We have seen how Cambridge, under the auspices of the Prince, her new Chancellor, had adopted of her own accord changes designed to adapt her course of study to modern requirements; and a similar movement had begun at Oxford, through the influence of professor Stanley (afterwards dean of Westminster) and others. But more extensive changes were demanded, and, in a debate on Mr. Heywood's motion for an enquiry into the state of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, lord John Russell announced the intended issue of a Royal Commission of Enquiry (April 23, 1850). In a letter to the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, the Prime Minister explained that the object of the Commission was to ascertain what new regulations had been promulgated, and "what obstacles are interposed by the will of the founders, the retention of customs, and the decision of competent authority, to the full development of the large and improved system of study which the Universities have sought to establish" (May 8th).

On the 31st of August a Royal Commission was issued, to enquire into the "state, study, discipline, and revenue of the University of Oxford"; and their elaborate Report (made on the 23rd of April, 1852) gave a complete review of the history and present condition of the University and its chief Colleges, and proposed a scheme of future government, with a view of giving a more weighty voice to the resident members of the University,

* As Prince Albert wrote, while praising the Bill on its own merits (February 14th), "It is true, *que personne n'en veut*, because people see, hear, and wish for war, and war only."—*"Life of the Prince Consort,"* vol. iii. p. 29.

† 17 and 18 Vict. c. 81; August 7, 1854.

releasing the Colleges from those restrictions imposed by the wills of the founders and the ancient statutes, which might seem to hamper their usefulness. They suggested other means of improving the teaching, the range of studies, and the condition of members of the University, which it is unnecessary to describe particularly, as so much more has been done since in remodelling both Universities. As to the requirement of subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, as the condition of matriculation and graduation, the Commissioners expressed their conviction "that the imposition of subscription, in the manner in which it is now imposed in the University of Oxford, habituates the mind to give a careless assent to truths which it has never considered, and naturally leads to sophistry in the interpretation of solemn obligations." The principal recommendations of the Commission were embodied in the Bill which Lord John introduced on the 17th of March, 1854, and which passed through both Houses with some amendments. It named a new Commission for carrying its provisions into effect. A similar course was pursued in the case of Cambridge, but with more co-operation from the University. The Commission appointed in 1850 reported in 1852, and an Act, on much the same lines as that for Oxford, was passed in 1856.*

There were other measures for which Parliament found time amidst the claims of war. One was an Act "to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Bribery, Treating, and undue Influence in Elections of Members of Parliament." † Among other means of checking the disgraceful practices and scenes of riot, of which Dickens's "Eatanswill" election gives a picture only too faithful, it forbade, under a pecuniary penalty, the giving of cockades, or other marks of distinction, and made illegal all payments for them, as well as for banners or bands of music. While the laws against bribery and treating were made more stringent, the legal expenses of candidates at any election were to be audited by, and paid solely through, an auditor appointed by the returning officer. Another important Act ‡

* 19 and 20 Vict. c. 88; July 29, 1856.—"An Act to make further provision for the good government and extension of the University of Cambridge, of the Colleges therein, and of the College of King Henry the Sixth at Eton." The new Statutes made by the Commissioners were confirmed by her Majesty in 1858. Among the provisions of the Act of 1856 was the restoration of the ancient hostels, which had been suppressed by the statutes of Elizabeth, requiring every student of the University to become a member of some College. The new Act restored the rights of members of the Senate (rights anciently common to all Universities), by which any *Master of Arts*—a degree which of old marked a *person qualified to teach literature and science, as Doctor of Divinity, of Laws, or Medicine*, marked one qualified to teach those special branches of learning—is free to open his house for the reception of students, who shall have all the same rights and privileges as the members of Colleges.

† 17 and 18 Vict. c. 102; August 10, 1854.

‡ The "Public Revenue and Consolidated Fund Charges" Act, 17 and 18 Vict. c. 91; August 10, 1854. The great change made by this Act has to be remembered in comparing the annual Accounts of Public Revenue and Expenditure. For all years before this Act the expenses of collection have to be added to both sides of the account, before making the comparison with subsequent years. The Act also changed the date to which the annual accounts were made up from the 5th of January to the 31st of March, to suit the customary time for the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget.

transferred the expenses of collecting the revenue to the Consolidated Fund, and required them to be voted annually, instead of being paid, as heretofore, out of the duties and taxes collected:—a great check on extravagance in the collection of the revenue.

An important measure in our colonial and foreign relations was the *Treaty of Washington*, with the United States, negotiated by the earl of Elgin, Governor-General of Canada, by which the coast fisheries of British North America were made free, the navigation of the great water-way of the St. Lawrence and the lakes was thrown open to the United States, and the products of the States and British America (with the exception of sugar and tobacco) were reciprocally admitted free of duty (June 7th). About the same time, a foretaste was given of the coming troubles between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union in the great riots caused by the seizure of a fugitive slave at Boston. The right of the master to his "property" having been allowed by the district judge, the victim of the equal laws of the free Republic had to be shipped for the South under the escort of more than a thousand armed men, a detachment of artillery with their gun, and the whole city police (May 24th-29th).

The meeting of Parliament in 1854 gave the opportunity of settling a constitutional question, which we have already had to notice, and silencing a malicious agitation against the Queen's Consort and herself. As often happens in the dispensation of mingled praise and blame, the climax of the detraction to which the Prince had long been subject followed upon the height of his popularity. An ill-advised proposal by the retiring Lord Mayor in 1853 to set up a statue of the Prince on the site of the Exhibition,* brought to a climax † the utterly unfounded jealousies, which burst out next month in a virulent attack from both the extreme parties in politics, and found too ready a response in the excited state of the public mind. The Eastern question had now reached that crisis, well known by many an example in English history, at which our peace-loving people had become possessed with the conviction that war was at length the only course of right and duty. In this temper they were impatient of all hesitating counsels, and still more prone to regard any sympathy with the enemy as faithlessness to patriotism. We have already seen the readiness to discover such sympathy in the foreign relationships of the Court and of Prince Albert in particular; while lord Palmerston was regarded as the one support of a truly English policy in a wavering half-hearted cabinet:—"Louis Napoleon and he"—as Prince Albert wrote—"are the idols of the public." ‡ When, therefore, in the midst of the fever of indignation roused by the "massacre of Sinope," § and while it was known that the Cabinet were hesitating

* The Prince's admirable letter, objecting to the scheme, contains one sadly prophetic passage:—"If (as is very likely) it became an architectural monstrosity, like most of our monuments," etc.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 536-7.

† This is the Prince's own statement in a letter to baron Stockmar, which we shall have presently to notice more particularly.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 558.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 540.

§ November 30, 1853.—See below, chap. xviii.

about decisive action in consequence thereof, lord Palmerston's resignation was suddenly announced—a resignation, as we have seen, caused solely by his objections to reform—the old accusations of the Court's dislike to the patriotic statesman, and its preference of what was absurdly called a “dynastic policy,” were revived with greater vehemence than in 1850 and 1851.

While the Queen and Prince, as we now know from his “Life,” were toiling with head and pen, and labouring to guide the councils of the Cabinet in full accord with the spirit of the people, public journalists were found to aver that “our foreign policy was mainly directed by the Prince Consort,” as the chief agent of the “Austro-Belgian-Coburg-Orleans clique, the avowed enemies of England, and the subservient tools of Russian ambition.”*

Setting aside the party motives of the attack, and the absurd details of the charges flung about, there remains a constitutional question of lasting interest, the settlement of which was the one good brought out of all this evil. The readiness of a large portion of the public to catch up and swell the cry arose from their ignorant misconception of Prince Albert's position, and even of that of the Queen herself. In his letter to baron Stockmar, explaining the various motives of the calumnies, the Prince writes †:—“A very considerable section of the nation had never given itself the trouble to consider what really is the position of the husband of a queen regnant. Now when the present journalistic controversies have brought to light the fact, that I have for years taken an active interest in all political matters, the public fancied itself betrayed, because it felt it had been self-deceived. It has also rushed all at once into a belief in secret correspondence with foreign courts, intrigues, etc. ; for all this is much more probable than that thirty millions of men in the course of fourteen years should not have discovered that an important personage had during all that time taken a part in their government. . . . Beyond this stage of knowledge, which was certain sooner or later to be reached, we shall however soon have passed ; and even now there is a swarm of letters, articles, and pamphlets, ‡ to prove that the husband of the Queen, as such, and as Privy Councillor, not only may be, but in the general interest must be, an active and responsible adviser of the Crown ; and I hope the debate in Parliament will confirm this view, and settle it at once and for ever.”

* See sir Theodore Martin's admirable exposure of the self-evident absurdity of these charges.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 538. We cannot afford the space, and indeed it now seems no longer needful or desirable, to discuss the various party motives for the attack, which were explained by Prince Albert (according to his opinion and belief) in a most interesting letter to baron Stockmar (“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. pp. 558-9). It will be enough to say that the ultra-Tory party, then in one of their many fits of rebellion against Mr. Disraeli, aimed once more at tempting lord Palmerston to accept their leadership and bring them the prestige of his popularity ; and the ultra-Radicals joined in the cry from hostility to the Crown.

† January 24, 1854.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. pp. 559-60.

‡ Among these, the Prince refers especially to a good pamphlet published anonymously by lord Brougham.

This hope was at once fulfilled when Parliament met a week later. The united testimony of lord Aberdeen and lord Derby, in the upper House, and of lord John Russell and Mr. Walpole in the lower, proved that the Prince had simply exercised, with perfect loyalty alike to his Sovereign and the country, the office of the Queen's private secretary and confidential adviser,—an office natural to his position as her husband and consistent with his duty as a Privy Councillor; and this course was justified legally and constitutionally, by lord Campbell, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (January 31st).*

The arguments of these statesmen were substantially the same which had been stated with consummate ability, though not then made public, in a letter from baron Stockmar to the Prince.† This “vigorous Constitutional essay” discussed the matter in connection with the question of those functions of the Crown, which, from one side at least, formed the real object of attack. He pointed out the prevalent misconceptions of the position of the Sovereign in the government of the country, tracing their causes in the history of recent reigns and the views of contending parties, which had tended to impress the majority of the people with “the belief, that the king, in the view of the law, is nothing but a mandarin figure, which has to nod its head in assent, or shake it in denial, as his Minister pleases.” It is therefore of extreme importance “that no opportunity should be let slip of vindicating the legitimate position of the Crown. And this is not hard to do, and can never embarrass a Minister, where such straightforward loyal personages as the Queen and the Prince are concerned.” He next shows that the required position cannot be occupied by the Prime Minister for the time being, who, according to our present system of government, “is and can be nothing else but the Chief of the Party then in power,” a character which subjects him to the temptation of using his brief and insecure tenure of office rather for the ascendancy of his party than the real interests of the country. After showing how futile is the protection against these dangers, which have often proved real and serious, furnished by the fiction of Ministerial responsibility, which now means nothing but loss of place, the baron asks:—“But who could have averted, whose duty was it to avert, the danger wholly or in part? Assuredly he, and he alone, who, being free from party passion, has listened to the voice of an independent judgment. To exercise this judgment is, both in a moral and constitutional point of view, a matter of right, nay, a positive duty. The judicious exercise of this right, which certainly requires a master mind, would not only be the best guarantee for Constitutional Monarchy, but would raise it

* Mr. Disraeli did not speak, probably because Mr. Walpole's testimony was sufficient as representing his party, but he had written on the subject to a friend a few days before:—“The opportunity which office has afforded me of becoming acquainted with the Prince filled me with a sentiment towards him which I may describe without exaggeration as one of affection.”

† January 5, 1854.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 543, *f*. We should place the whole of this important essay before the reader, were it not so easily accessible in the cheap edition of the “Life.”

to a height of power, stability, and symmetry, which has never been attained. At the same time, in face of the exercise of this merely moral right of the Crown, the responsible ministers may—so far as the substantial import, the excellence and fitness of their measures are concerned—act with entire freedom and independence. . . . Thus, then, do I vindicate for the Sovereign the position of a *permanent Premier*, who takes rank above the temporary head of the Cabinet, and *in matters of discipline exercises supreme authority*; and in this way I bring into harmony with the Constitution a well-known saying of lord Palmerston's in his reply to lord John in the debate on his dismissal,—‘I concede to the Minister not only the power to dismiss every member of the Cabinet, but also the right to dismiss them without any explanation of his reasons.’”

The standing objection made to this reasoning from the possible, and really not unfrequent, incapacity or moral unworthiness of the Sovereign—without reflecting that every Constitution, as it is to be worked by men, so must needs suffer from human imperfections, and that *this* is the *one* price we pay for all the advantages of a stable Monarchy—was and still remains a powerful aid to the argument in the case under discussion. The aged friend of Leopold and Charlotte, as well as of Victoria and Albert, draws from his experience of the last sixteen years, compared with what he had seen in the twenty-two preceding years under George IV. and William IV., the most emphatic testimony to the value of “*the moral purity of the Sovereign, as an example to the people, as moral oil for the driving-wheels of the Constitutional machine, as a controlling principle for the highest Government and Court officials*”; and those who have lived under the three reigns scarcely need that inner knowledge, to echo the asseveration with all their heart:—“I can testify before God, that the English machine works smoothly and well only when the Sovereign is upright and truthful, and that when he has been insincere, mendacious, and wicked, it has creaked and fouled and jolted to within an ace of coming to a dead-lock.”

Passing over some admirable remarks on the proofs given by recent history of the *self-adjusting power of the English Constitution*, we cite the weighty conclusion:—“That, as matters now stand, the necessary equilibrium of the Constitution can only be established and maintained by throwing a well-merited and deeply-seated popularity on the part of the Sovereign into the scale against the weight and pressure of that democratic element, which has become so powerful in the House of Commons. If the idea, that Constitutional Monarchy in Europe has great advantages over a Democratic Republic, is to be kept alive in the people, then Ministers must not shrink from fulfilling their duties towards the Crown; although in our times this will demand more manliness, honesty, and courage, than go to being popular with the House of Commons, which is easier, no doubt, and safer, but is also at the same time the surest way to lead our Monarchy imperceptibly, and this too under a Minister's own guidance, into a Republic.”

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EASTERN QUESTION : RETROSPECT (876-1850)—Its remote Sources—Origin of the RUSSIAN STATE—Attacks on Constantinople—A prophecy—Conversion of Russia—Its Greek inheritance—Enmity of Slavonians and Turks—The Tartar Conquest—Its effects—The OTTOMAN TURKS in Europe—The Balkan States—Fall of Constantinople—Russia's title to Constantinople—Peter the Great—Moscow and St. Petersburg—Alleged Will of Peter—Russian Policy—Map of Europe in 1700 and 1800—Treaty of Kainardji (1774)—The Crimea and Sebastopol—New position of Turkey in Europe—Peace of Bucharest (1812)—Peace of Adrianople (1829)—Wallachia and Moldavia—Roumans, Slavs, and Greeks—The Egyptian Question (1833-1841)—Convention about the Straits—Designs on Constantinople—Sir Stratford Canning—Nicholas in England: Count Nesselrode's Memorandum (1844)—Russian Aims and Disclaimers—Two forces swaying Nicholas—Russian and English Policies—Reforms urged on Turkey by England—Lord Palmerston—Russian and French influence—Hopes of Turkey's Reformation.

THE relations of the great powers of Europe, at the epoch marked by the meeting of the British Parliament on the 31st of January, 1854, might be described in the language of the great historian of the Peloponnesian War. The Powers had long carried on discussions, with growing mutual suspicion, but without a breach of peace, but now from this point begins the war of Russia with England and France and their allies. It is a work of special difficulty to trace the history of a conflict, not only so recent, but which has been revived but yesterday amidst a violent outburst of party animosity at home. It is not so much the fear of incurring those charges, which zealots of either party are sure to heap upon the writer who does his best to relate the facts impartially, and honestly to draw his own conclusions:—the historian moved by such a fear had better lay down his pen and confess himself a coward. The real difficulty is this: one of the great long-standing questions of our foreign policy has been dealt with twice within a single generation on principles almost opposite to one another; and resulting events have not yet pronounced that judgment between them, which it is the historian's duty to record. Our only course is to follow faithfully the progress of events.

The "Eastern Question," a phrase geographically vague, has long had only too definite a meaning for the Western Powers, namely—What is to be done with that portion of the East which forms the Turkish Empire? Strong powers work out their own destiny, and only occasionally fall into the humiliation of having their fate determined for a time at the pleasure of a conqueror or in the common interests of the civilized world. But the

fairest provinces of Eastern Europe and Western Asia, with the imperial capital which occupies a site surpassed by none on the earth's surface, had long been in the hands of a Government with which other States have been compelled to interfere, either from pressing motives of self-interest, or to avert a general conflagration, or in the interests of humanity; and no political foresight can yet say what will be its end, or what is to come after its destruction.

Fully to trace the first beginning of the Eastern Question, we should have to go back just a thousand years, to the time when the Russian principalities, newly founded at Novgorod* and Kiev, carried the enterprizes of mingled commerce and piracy from the Baltic down the course of the Dnieper to the Euxine, and began to attack the seat of Eastern empire at Constantinople. In the well-known words of Gibbon, "the memory of these Arctic fleets, that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank it was asserted and believed that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how *the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople.*"

The reception of Christianity (A.D. 985) from the eastern capital, and not from Rome, was one of the most efficient causes in determining the whole course of Russia's subsequent progress and her relations to the old and new powers of Europe. While it linked her to the civilization of the East instead of the West, it marked her as a sort of reversionary heir to the expiring Christian empire whose faith was enshrined at St. Sophia. Deeply as this sentiment was stirred by the changes which enthroned in the capital of the Byzantine Cæsars a savage race professing a religion which at the very first had sprung from hostility to the Greek Church, the feeling was intensified by a long-standing national hatred against the Turkish conquerors. For the Turks are of the same race as those "Scythians" of ancient, and "Tartars" of later history, who not only held their ground in the steppes north of the Euxine, but had laid the Slavonians under tribute before the Varangians founded their principalities. Thus this element of national hostility was present in the southern and eastern parts of Russia from the earlier times; but it was aggravated to tenfold animosity by the great event known as the "Tartar conquest" of the 13th century, from which modern Russia at last emerged near the end of the 15th (1480).

Shortly before the time when Ivan III. freed Russia from the Tartars, the other and kindred race of hereditary foes had established themselves at Constantinople (1453). Having first crossed over into Europe exactly a century before (1353), on a fatal invitation to aid in the civil wars of the Empire, they had meanwhile subdued the states of the Balkan—partly

* In 1862 the Russians held the millennial festival of the foundation of their state by Ruric at Novgorod. This leader of the conquering "Varangians" was a Norseman (like Rolf, who founded the Norman power in France nearly at the same time); but it must be remembered that the *people* whom he and his successors formed into the Russian state were *Slavonians*. This element of *race* lies at the very foundation of the whole thousand years' controversy.

Slavonian and partly Greek—the names of which have become familiar in the later history of the Eastern Question.*

From that hour to the present, the desire to re-place the cross on St. Sophia has been cherished by the Greek Church as ardently as was ever the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre by the Crusaders; and from the very first Russia maintained a claim to lead the enterprize of sanctified ambition. The same Grand Prince of Moscow, who delivered Russia from the Tartars, Ivan III., had a sort of hereditary title, by his marriage with the Byzantine princess, Sophia, to take up the fallen cause of the Greek Church and Empire.† But the point to be remembered above all is, that the long quarrel is not one only, or chiefly, of dynastic ambition, but a popular sentiment founded deep in the heart of the Russian nation. The Mohammedan conquerors of Constantinople and St. Sophia, the sacred seat from which Russia learnt the Greek-Christian faith, were doubly hated as being of the same race as the Tartar tyrants. All the animosity engendered by two centuries of servitude was combined with the indignation roused by the intrusion of the followers of the false prophet into the seat of the Greek empire and religion. Policy may waver, the counsels of ambition and of prudence may oscillate in the scales; but the undying feud of the Russian *people* against the Turk has no end that political wisdom can forecast. The repeated assertion, that Russia has no wish to possess Constantinople, has been made with perfect truth as a *point of present policy* at more than one crisis; but it is still more certain that religious zeal and political ambition combine to make this the ultimate goal of all, except a small minority, whether prince or peasant, and, above all, the stedfast object of national aspirations.

But a century and a-half elapsed before these desires began to be brought within the range of practical politics by the altered state of Europe and the new character which Peter the Great impressed on Russian policy. It would be long to trace the events by which the Turks extended their power East, and South, and West, till their repulse from Vienna by John Sobieski marked the turning-point of the tide (1683); but it is important to remember that among these conquests they obtained the land of the old Scythians, which cut off Russia from access to the Black Sea; and to gain this territory was one chief object of the aggressive policy set on foot by Peter the Great. That wonderful man, in his combination of native barbarism with his thirst for Western ideas, to be applied to his own

* The name of *Balkan Peninsula* describes that south-eastern part of Europe (almost corresponding to European Turkey) which lies between the Euxine and the Adriatic, having for its base a line drawn from above the mouths of the Danube, along the line of the southern Carpathians, the Danube, and the Save. It comprises, first, *Wallachia*, north of the Danube (the sister principality of Moldavia can hardly be regarded as within it); next *Bulgaria* proper, between the Danube and Mount Hæmus (the Great Balkans), but that name is now extended so as to include the Bulgarian population between the Great and Lesser Balkans (the ancient Mt. Rhodope), and thence *Roumelia* to the seas and straits. West of Wallachia and Bulgaria is *Servia*, then *Bosnia* and *Herzegovina*, separated from the Adriatic by Dalmatia; then *Montenegro*, *Albania*, and south of all the peninsula of Greece (in the widest sense).

† The position at this crisis is well described by Mr. Wallace.—“Russia,” vol. ii. pp. 413-4.

uses, may be taken as a type of modern Russia, allowing for the progress of civilization since his time. His new capital of St. Petersburg symbolizes the modern Russian government and policy, even in its German name and its position near the sea; and it has become the centre of a new order of ideas, as Moscow remains the centre of the old ideas now called Slavophil.* Both these elements must be kept in view, to understand the course of Russia from Peter's time. It is the first condition of each Czar's power, to be in sympathy with the feelings of the common people, who look up to him as their sacred Father upon earth, and whom the lifting up of his finger would raise as one man against the nobles and officials; but he is also involved in a net of traditional policy and official system, which may close in upon him and—even literally, as in the case of Paul—strangle him, the moment he becomes too weak or wayward to direct it. It was Peter who first engrafted on the spirit and passions of the Russian people that new system of statecraft and foreign policy, which transformed the barbaric and land-locked state of Muscovy into the mighty Empire of all the Russias. Borrowing from Germany its bureaucratic despotism and military organization, and devoting himself to the creation of a navy with the zeal which led him to work with his own hands in the Dutch and English dockyards, he resolved to reorganize the autocratic government at home, and to raise Russia to a place—we might safely add, the highest place—among the great Powers of Europe and the World; and his successors have followed in his steps with a persistence none the less steadfast, that they have known how to wait and even to recede in order to advance the better.

It was long believed that the whole spirit and system of Russia's future policy had been prescribed by Peter the Great to his successors in his Will. The authenticity of this famous document is now generally rejected; but its real authorship has never yet been proved.† But, if spurious, it has the character of those prophecies whose exact fulfilment has led critics to place their composition after the event; and the forger becomes the historian, tracing the course of policy which could hardly have been different, if Peter had left it as a solemn injunction which his successors had sacredly fulfilled. For this alleged will directs all future sovereigns of Russia never to relax in the extension of their territory northward on the Baltic and southward on the Black Sea shores. "To work out this"—it says—"raise wars continually—at one time against Turkey, at another against Persia; make

* All this is admirably brought out in Mr. Wallace's book.

† One of the latest theories of its origin is that it was composed by the Chevalier d'Eon under the auspices of Napoleon, when meditating his great attack on Russia; and assuredly no one was more likely to know the real drift of Russian policy, than he who had planned with Alexander, on the raft at Tilsit, the division of the empire of the world. The reference to India, so long before the peninsula came within the sphere of European policy, is one piece of strong *internal evidence* against the document, and may perhaps help to mark the time of its composition. The same criticism applies in some degree to the proposed attacks on Persia; and the mention of "dockyards on the Black Sea," which Russia had not yet reached, is also very suspicious.

dockyards on the Black Sea; by degrees make yourselves masters of that sea, as well as of the Baltic; hasten the decay of Persia, and penetrate to the Persian Gulf; establish, if possible, the ancient commerce of the East by way of Syria, and push on to the Indies, which are the entrepôt of the world. Once there, you need not fear the gold of England." The acquisition of the shores of the Baltic and the Black Seas was the special enterprize set on foot by Peter; and if the distant schemes in the East are an anachronism for his time, they faithfully describe the *acts* of Russian policy, as developed when the document was forged and stedfastly pursued down to our own days. In short, paradoxical as it may sound, the "will of Peter the Great" displays the course and tendency of Russian policy more clearly than it could ever have been conceived by Peter himself.

The result of that policy, as pursued during the eighteenth century, especially by that unsexed woman with more than manly energy and talent, Catherine II., have been for the most part related in the preceding volumes, so far as they are connected with English history. Besides the gain of Finland and the Baltic seaboard, the chief fruit of Catherine's victories had been the long-desired extension of Russian power to the northern shores of the Black Sea, by a treaty which contained some of the chief germs of the Eastern question of our day. This treaty, dictated to Turkey at Kutchuk-Kainardji in Bulgaria (July 10, 1774), not only proclaimed the independence of Crim-Tartary, but contained clauses on which Russia founded her famous claim to a protectorate over all the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. The merits and results of this claim will occupy us presently; meanwhile, after several invasions by Russia, the territory held since the beginning of recorded history by Cimmerians, Scythians, and Tartars, and which had once formed a part of the Greek kingdom of the Bosphorus and the dominions of the great Mithridates, finally lost its independence on the abdication of the last Khan in 1783; and the possession of the *Taurida*, that is, the Crimean peninsula and the land on both sides of the Sea of Azov, was confirmed to Russia, after the great victories of Suvarov on the Danube, by the treaty of Jassy (1792). It was to secure the great object of this acquisition, a maritime arsenal commanding the Black Sea, that Catherine began, in 1784, the famous fortress and "imperial city" of SEBASTOPOL,* on a splendid natural harbour.

It was evident that this naval station, protected from every power but Turkey by the policy, already long established, of keeping the Straits closed against foreign ships of war, would tend to become a "standing menace" to Constantinople, and to make the Black Sea a Russian lake, whence her navies might issue forth to claim her share of power in the Mediterranean. This new position, combined with the partition of Poland and the growing ascendancy of Russia over Turkey in the Danubian region, naturally inspired jealousy in the European powers; and Turkey, from being the

* We follow the customary orthography, though *Sevastopol* represents the Russian pronunciation. Though Greek in form the name is modern Russian, *Sebastos* being equivalent to the title *Imperator*, first adopted by Peter, so that *Sebastopol* means the "City of the Czar."

common enemy of Christendom, began to be regarded as an object of protection in her rapid decline, as a barrier against the inordinate aggrandizement of Russia, with all the political dangers it involved. The "Holy Roman Empire," which still existed in name under the House of Austria, was threatened by a rival whose claims were openly avowed in the very title of "Imperator" assumed by Peter; but a more immediate interest, of vital importance to Austria's very existence, was involved in the command of the Danube. The States of Germany, and especially the rising power of Prussia, were in danger (as was afterwards too surely proved) of being overshadowed by a new arbiter in the affairs of Europe. The rise of a new naval power in the Black Sea touched all the states on the Mediterranean, and above all the pride and interests of France, and less directly those of England. But this last power, though furthest of all from direct contact with Russia, had acquired a new interest in the Eastern Question, even above all the rest, by the establishment of her Empire in India. Henceforth her concern in the safe communication with the East and in the preservation of her Empire, was that of an *Asiatic* as well as European power, and in that character she had many complicated relations with the *Asiatic* as well as European powers of Turkey and Russia. We must not stay to relate how the question was complicated by the great French Revolution, the vast imperial schemes of Napoleon, and the insurrection of Greece; but only mark the two epochs formed by the peace of Bucharest, by which the Russian frontier was advanced to the Pruth and the northern mouth of the Danube (1812), and the campaign of 1829, when Russia dictated at the old Turkish capital of Adrianople, the treaty which, besides acknowledging the independence of Greece, gave the Czar Nicholas the protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia. These principalities obtained administrative independence under Hospodars appointed for life by the Porte, their connection with Turkey being preserved only by the acknowledgment of the Sultan's sovereignty and the payment of a tribute. No Turks were to be allowed to reside in the Principalities (September 14, 1829).

It will be well to bear in mind the position and character of these territories, which play so important a part in what follows. Wallachia lies along the left bank of the Danube, which bounds it on the south and east as far as the mouth of the Pruth at the frontier of Bessarabia; on the north-west and north it is enclosed by the Southern Carpathians, to the point at which they bend northward. From the opening between this point and the Danube, Moldavia extends northward between the Eastern Carpathians and the Pruth, which divides it from Russia on the east and north. From this description it will be seen that, except through the Principalities, the only direct contact between Russia and Turkey is along the lower course of the Danube below the junction of the Pruth; while the passes of the Carpathians give Austria an easy entrance to the Principalities from Hungary and Transylvania along an extended frontier, commanding the flank of any force occupying them. It must be added that the inhabitants differ in race and language from the other Christian populations of European Turkey.

Claiming descent from the Roman veterans whom Trajan settled in Dacia,* they speak a Romance dialect (that is, one founded on the Latin language), and are proud to call themselves by the Roman name, under which the Principalities are now united as the independent kingdom of ROUMANIA. Their profession of the Greek faith † is a bond of union with the other Christians of the Balkan peninsula, but the difference of race, language, and national spirit, tends far more powerfully to sever them from the purely Slavonic states. Nor must it be forgotten that the *Panslavism* preached by Russia and her sympathizers, as if it were identical with the cause of the Christians in European Turkey, leaves out of account, or at least would tend altogether to depress, the Greek population, who were till lately regarded as the chief objects of sympathy and the destined heirs of Constantinople.

Soon after peace was made with Russia, the Egyptian element, which had had great influence on the Eastern Question in the time of Napoleon, again came to the front, threatening to revolutionize the Turkish Empire, and to involve Europe in another war. The intervention of Russia (whose fixed policy is to suffer *no other* power to forestal her at Constantinople) to avert the destruction menaced by the victorious army of Ibrahim Pasha, was rewarded by a treaty of mutual alliance, engaging the Porte to close the Dardanelles, in case of need, to the ships of all foreign powers:—in other words, Constantinople was to lie at the mercy of the Russian Black Sea fleet, while all help from the West was to be shnt out on the demand of Russia. Such was the famous treaty of *Unkiar Skelessi* (July 8, 1833), which was afterwards modified at the instance of the Western Powers. After the second attack from Egypt, which was frustrated by the four Powers (England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia) united by the energy of lord Palmerston, the last-named treaty was superseded by the important Convention of London between Turkey and the five Powers, ‡ by which the Straits of the Dardanelles were to be closed against the ships of war of all nations so long as Turkey is at peace (July 6, 1841).

At this epoch various causes combined to keep the Eastern Question at rest for a time, but not without hidden tendencies towards future disturbance even from over anxiety to avoid it. By sir Robert Peel's accession to power in September, 1841, England as well as France had a government bent on maintaining peace. At the Foreign Office lord Palmerstou was succeeded by lord Aberdeen, a man by nature cautious and even slow in forming needful resolves, whose love of peace was intensified by his experience of the late war, and whom diplomatic intercourse and political sympathies had

* The best ethnologists now reject this tradition, and regard them as a mixed people, who migrated from the old Roman provinces south of the Danube.

† Among a population of about 5,110,000, about four millions are Greek Christians, and 406,000 Jews, whose treatment proves how slowly those persecuted for their own faith learn to tolerate others. The remainder are about 115,000 Roman Catholics and 14,000 Protestants.

‡ France, at first opposed to the other powers, joined in the Treaty (see vol. viii. pp. 429, *f.*).

brought into most friendly relations with the Czar Nicholas. At Constantinople, where the contest of rival diplomatic influence was always going on, a new epoch was marked by the advent of SIR STRATFORD CANNING as the Ambassador of England to the Porte. This distinguished man had long since become well acquainted with the Turkish court, having taken part in negotiating the peace of Bucharest (1812), and having been envoy under the ministry of his great cousin, George Canning, in 1827. His eminent abilities, graceful accomplishments, and commanding presence, his powerful will, combined with tact and knowledge of mankind, gave him almost unbounded ascendancy over the youthful Sultan Abdul Medjid and his counsellors, and influence with the successive governments he served.

The reign of Queen Victoria has been remarkable for the cultivation of friendly relations with foreign sovereigns by personal visits, and her Majesty has well said (quoting the remark from Prince Albert) that, "by living in the same house quietly and unrestrainedly, I not only *see* these great people, but *know* them."* The arrival of the Czar Nicholas in England on the 1st of June, 1844, formed an epoch in the Eastern Question, though its importance was not then known. By the people he was regarded, according to their different political sympathies, in a twofold light, as the representative of our alliance with Russia in quelling the ambition of Napoleon and of resistance to democratic anarchy, and, on the other hand, as the greatest despot among European sovereigns and the cruel oppressor of Poland; but his noble person and graceful courtesy won general admiration.† But those who saw him closer detected darker shades of character, and signs of that anxiety which is the Nemesis of despotic power, a weight too heavy for any man, especially if he has a conscience.

Though the Czar talked little of politics to the Queen, he did not lose the opportunity for stating his views to her Majesty's ministers with a frankness which is described as almost excessive. He came with the avowed purpose of conciliating English opinion by his personal intercourse, and removing the prejudice against the despotic oppressor of Poland. His visit derived its special significance from the recent interference of France in the East and the "*entente cordiale*" which had been established between the two Governments under M. Guizot and sir Robert Peel. The result of the conversations, of which we have a record on the highest authority, is thus summed up:—"If the Emperor came over with the hope of securing the concurrence of the English Government in some scheme of preconcerted action to meet the event of any catastrophe occurring in Turkey, he signally failed. It is not improbable, however, that he deceived himself upon this subject, and was led by this self-deception into adopting the policy which some years after brought him into disastrous collision with the Western Powers."‡

* Letter to King Leopold in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. i. p. 222. This and other Letters contain most interesting sketches of the Emperor's bearing, character, and conversation.

† See the testimony to his personal popularity, and the somewhat cynical remarks of baron Stockmar to account for it, in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. i. p. 224.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. i. pp. 216-218.

When it is sought to make the English Government responsible, in part at least, for the Emperor's self-deception because they did not more effectually undeceive him (though our information is not full enough to justify this assumption), it should be remembered, first, that the conversations related less to the general scope of the Eastern Question than to its relation to our policy towards France, about which sir Robert Peel's language was perfectly explicit. Next, as to the general question, it was surely enough for our Government to make plain their agreement in the two principles on which alone Nicholas spoke plainly, and it was not their fault if he chose to interpret the reserved language of the Queen's ministers as that very assent to a special understanding between England and Russia, which was what he wished to secure, and what he evidently attempted to fix upon our Government by the Memorandum which count Nesselrode drew up after his return home.*

"Russia and England," it said, "are mutually penetrated with the conviction that *it is for their common interest that the Ottoman Empire should maintain itself in the state of independence and of territorial possession which at present constitutes that Empire.*† Being agreed on this principle, Russia and England have an equal interest in uniting their efforts in order to keep up the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and to avert all the dangers which can place in jeopardy its safety. With this object, the essential point is *to suffer the Porte to live in repose, without needlessly disturbing it by diplomatic bickerings, and without interfering, without absolute necessity, in its internal affairs.* In order to carry out skilfully this system of forbearance, with a view to the well understood interest of the Porte, two things must not be lost sight of. They are these :—In the first place, the Porte has a constant tendency to extricate itself from the engagements imposed upon it by the treaties which it has concluded with other Powers. It hopes to do so with impunity, because it reckons on the mutual jealousy of the Cabinets. It thinks that if it fails in its engagements towards one of them, the rest will espouse its quarrel, and will screen it from all responsibility. It is essential not to confirm the Porte in this delusion. Every time that it fails in its obligations towards one of the Great Powers, *it is the interest of all the rest to make it sensible of its error,* and seriously to exhort it to act rightly towards the Cabinet which demands just reparation. If all the Great Powers frankly adopt this line of conduct, they will have a well-founded expectation of preserving the existence of Turkey. However, they must not conceal from themselves how many elements of dissolution that Empire contains within itself. Unfore-

* This document is of the very first importance in the whole history of the Eastern Question; for, to those who can "*read between the lines,*" it reveals the whole spirit of Russian policy towards Turkey.

† This full and voluntary declaration *by Russia* of the principle of the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey, and the importance of united efforts to keep it up, is a fact to be specially noted; nor was it made on this occasion only. How different is this language, in the mouth of the great champion of the Eastern Christians, from the assumption that the first principles of justice to them and their liberties require the extinction of the Turkish Empire at all hazards.

seen circumstances may hasten its fall. . . . In the uncertainty which hovers over the future, *a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application*: that is, that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurring, *Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common*. That understanding will be the more beneficial, inasmuch as *it will have the full assent of Austria*. *Between her and Russia there exists already an accord."*

Can any one consider all the various points in this document, propounded on the part of Russia, and suggested as regards England, ending with the assumption to speak on behalf of Austria, without seeing that to attempt to answer it, even by the most careful disclaimer, would have been to open up the whole Eastern Question in all its most critical relations and seeds of strife, at the very moment when both parties were agreeing on the one sole point, to keep it quiet? This will appear the more plainly, when the real meaning of the document is seen. The maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire, not only as an admitted principle but as an object for which both Powers are to labour, sounds strange as coming from Russia, till it is seen from the latter clauses that the *status quo* is to be upheld *till* the spoil can be divided with those who will not stand by to see it seized by one power only. The repose desired for the Porte sounds a strange request from the Power which, from the days of Peter to those of Ignatiev, has never ceased to harass it by diplomatic even more than military pressure, through crafty agents who

"could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels";—

till we remember that there was then at Constantinople an English ambassador, whose well-earned ascendancy over the young Sultan's mind and fearless advice for his Empire's welfare raised the hope that Turkey might even yet put on the new strength of an honest reformation. Nor is it less instructive to hear the first proposal of that "European concert," acting by coercion, which was to take up the quarrels of each of its members with the Porte, instead of supporting it against the injustice and ambition of any one among them. Doubtless Turkey (not alone among the powers of Europe) had acts of bad faith to answer for; but it is impossible to read the charge now made in the light of what soon followed, without seeing that the "treaties" meant were those on which Russia founded a most unrighteous claim. In a word, the whole scheme of giving Turkey "repose" from sir Stratford Canning's efforts for her reform, while subjecting her to the united pressure of Europe, was a part of the policy, afterwards fully developed by Ignatiev, to weaken her by inward corruption and outward intrigue till her dissolution should be inevitable. *Then*—the Czar might have borrowed the saying of Louis XV. in a converse form—"after the Deluge, Me." The great obstacle was the opposition prescribed to England by her imperative

interests and her consistent policy ; and there seems reason to believe that the Czar really deluded himself by the hope that he could persuade her—at least with lord Aberdeen as Foreign Secretary and afterwards as Premier—to become a partner in the policy and a sharer in the spoil. One reason why a recent historian disapproves the silence of our Government is, that the mention of Austria at the close of the document suggested a most suspicious likeness to the partition of Poland.*

All the discussions on the Eastern Question, from that time to the present day, have been complicated by the apparent inconsistency between the supposed objects of Russian policy and the emphatic disclaimers of a wish to obtain Turkish territory (while taking it in large slices), nay, the real reluctance more than once proved to seize the prize of Constantinople. This point has been put in a very clear light by Mr. Kinglake as regards the policy of Nicholas from 1829 to 1853 †:—"He was always ready to come forward as an eager and almost ferocious defender of his Church, and he deemed this motive to be one of such cogency, that views resting on mere policy and prudence were always in danger of being overborne by it ; but, in the absence of events tending to bring this fiery principle into action, he was really unwilling to face the troubles which would arise from the dismemberment of Turkey, unless he could know beforehand that England would act with him. If he could have obtained any anterior assurance to that effect, he would have tried perhaps to accelerate the disruption of the Sultan's Empire ; but, as England always declined to found any engagements upon the hypothesis of a catastrophe which she wished to prevent, the Emperor had probably accustomed himself to believe that Providence did not design to allot to him the momentous labour of governing the fall of the Ottoman Empire. He therefore chose the other alternative, and not only spoke but really did much for the preservation of an empire which he was not ready to destroy. Still, whenever any subject of irritation occurred, the attractive force of the opposite policy was more or less felt ; for it is not every man who, having to choose between two lines of action, can resolve to hold to the one and frankly discard the other. In general, the principle governing such a conflict is found to be analogous to the law which determines the composition of mechanic forces, and the mental struggle does not result in a clear adoption of either of the alternatives, but in a mean betwixt the two. It was thus with the Emperor Nicholas whenever it happened that he was irritated by questions connected with the action of the Turkish Government. At such times his conduct, swayed in one direction by the notion of dismembering the Empire, and in the other direction by the policy of maintaining it, resulted in the endeavour to establish what the English ambassador called '*a predominant influence over the counsels of the Porte, tending,*

* McCarthy, vol. ii. pp. 233-4. It appears to us that Mr. McCarthy has been hasty in applying to diplomacy, where reserve is so eminently needful, the fallacious maxim that "silence gives consent." Besides, even if we were to grant (a great concession) that Nicholas was the "fanatic or man of one idea," who at once supposes you agree with him if you "listen and say nothing," this would assuredly not apply to a statesman like Nesselrode.

† Vol. i. pp. 72-4.

in the interest of absolute power, to exclude all other influences, and to secure the means, if not of hastening the downfall of the Empire, at least of obstructing its improvement, and settling its future destinies to the profit of Russia, whenever a propitious juncture should arrive.'"

It has been said—perhaps with more of imaginative sentiment than historic truth—that Russia's generous devotion to the cause of the Eastern Question gave her an advantage, in European and even British opinion, over our policy of self-interest. The truth seems to be that the sympathy with the oppressed Christians of the Greek Church, which has been so strong a force in the latest phase of the question, was at that time awakened in but few English hearts; and the feeling against the great despotism which had crushed Poland was far too strong to permit Russia to be regarded as a champion of Christendom, whose "good deeds" we might be called to "emulate." But it is well worth while to test the ground on which such a contrast might have existed. We have heard much, and with too much truth, of our failure in the obligations which we assumed by the part we took in the war with Russia; but it seems almost forgotten that we had long before been discharging those duties with a quiet perseverance that may well contrast with the demoralizing policy pursued by Russia in the name of Christianity. We cannot dwell at length on the efforts of sir Stratford Canning, which may probably be better known when his life is published; but we have evidence which tends to the honour of a much misrepresented statesman. It seems to be the fashion, even with some of lord Palmerston's admirers, to represent him as bent on the one object of resisting Russia's policy in the East, at whatever sacrifice of justice to the oppressed subjects of Turkey, though his custom was to press the claims of oppressed subjects, even beyond the limits of diplomatic propriety, and we shall presently see how he urged the cause of the Turkish Christians after the Crimean War. Now just two years after the Czar's visit, lord Palmerston returned to the Foreign Office under lord John Russell; and at the very time when he was supporting the Porte in protecting the Hungarian refugees, at the risk of an attack from Austria and Russia, we find him urging arguments "to show the Turks how important it is that they should lose no time in removing all civil and political distinctions between Mussulmen and Rayahs. I pressed this yesterday on the Turkish ambassador, and represented that at present the Sultan not only deprives himself of the use of his left arm, but runs constantly the risk of being himself belaboured by it." † A few days later, on occasion of the opposition of the Turkish authorities in Syria to conversions from the Greek Church to the Protestant religion, he points the real interest of the Church to encourage such conversions, and adds, what was so soon to be verified:—"The Greek and the Catholic Church are merely other names for Russian and French

* "Eastern Papers," part i. p. 237.—The words of sir Stratford Canning, which we have marked in italics, clearly show what was the kind of "diplomatic interference" with Turkey that Russia deprecated, and what sort of "repose" she claimed for the state perishing in her corrupt lethargy.

† Letter to sir S. Canning, October, 1849.—"Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. pp. 235-9.

influence, and Russian and French influence are dissolving agents for the Turkish Empire." Next year, when Turkey was proposing to raise the first of those loans, which have proved another instrument of her ruin, and from which lord Palmerston hoped no good for her, he writes again:—"I am sorry to hear so indifferent an account of 'progress' in Turkey as that which your letter of the 19th July contains. I will exhort through the ambassador here." And very plain and weighty was the exhortation given to the Turkish ambassador to carry with him on his journey to Constantinople. The reforms pressed on the *practical* attention of the Government are: a juster and more orderly system of collecting the revenue, and economy in the expenditure, "choosing first necessary expenses and postponing those which are not so," a significant hint, followed by examples of the former class. Above all, the great grievances which have brought just odium on Turkey are exposed by lord Palmerston as plainly as by any who have since used them as political capital:—"The administration of justice ought to be above reproach: it is alleged that this state of things does not now exist, and the proofs of this are numerous. Every distinction, political and civil, between the different classes of the Sultan's subjects on the ground of difference of religion ought to be abolished, in order that the Sultan may become equally the Sovereign of all the populations which inhabit his Empire." And that these were no mere protests of course, offered in the spirit "*animam meam liberavi*," is proved by the hopes expressed in the simultaneous letter to sir S. Canning, which is a proof of what his energetic counsels had already effected, and a sign of what might have been done in later years, had Great Britain been represented in the same manner at Constantinople:—"But much has already been accomplished, *perhaps more than ever yet was done in the same space of time in any country in which there was so much room for improvement*; and I am not discouraged, therefore, by the apparent slowness of progress, but only encouraged to *urge them on to further advance*."

On his final departure from the Foreign Office, lord Palmerston left on record a most emphatic statement of his views, in answer to a letter of the Turkish ambassador, expressing regret at his retirement from the Ministry:—"I beg you to accept my most sincere thanks for your kind letter, and be persuaded that, in whatever political position I may find myself, I shall always be faithful to the principles which make me see, not only an English, but an European interest in the independence and welfare of the Ottoman Empire, and you well know my deep conviction that *the prosperity of that Empire will never rest on a really solid base until the Christian subjects of the Sultan are placed on a footing of equality before the law with his subjects of the Mussulman religion*."

We are the more careful to place these sentiments on record because English history is scarcely so much concerned with the outward events which belong to the general history of Europe as with those views and actions of our statesmen, which illustrate the working of our political system; and in the ensuing crisis of the Eastern Question Palmerston was the main-spring of English policy.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN WAR (1850-1853)—France the first disturber—Question of the Holy Places—Treaty with Francis I.—Capitulations of 1740—Firmans in favour of the Greeks—French and Russian interference—Demands of M. Lavalette (1850)—Concessions to France : indignation of Russia—Russian advance towards the Principalities—Lord Aberdeen's Ministry—England's Dream of Peace—Elements of Reaction—Sympathy with Christians in Turkey—Views on Turkish Integrity and Independence—Nicholas and England—Conversations with Sir H. Seymour—The "Sick Man"—Constantinople, Russian Protectorate in the Balkan States, Egypt, and Crete—The Czar's overtures rejected ; but the Ministry deceived by his professions—Russia, Austria, and Turkey—Affair of Montenegro, and Mission of Count Leiningen—Colonel Rose and the British Fleet—Russian demand of a Secret Treaty—Her Claim of a Protectorate of the Greek Christians—Meaning of Treaty of Kainardji—The consequences involved : virtual Russian sovereignty—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Prince Menchikov—Question of the Holy Places settled—The Czar resolved on the Protectorate—Menchikov's Ultimatum and Departure—English and French Fleets ordered to Besika Bay—Warnings to Turkey about Reform—Russian Occupation of the Principalities—The Czar proclaims a War of Religion—Protest of the Porte—The Vienna Conference—Policy and interests of Prussia—of Austria—of the French Emperor—of England—Turkey and India—The Vienna Note—Turkish Amendments ; refused by Russia—The Queen's Speech—Her Majesty's judgment of Russia—Orders to the English and French Fleets—War between Russia and Turkey—The Czar's Manifesto—Excitement in England.

FROM the clear view of the British statesman's regard for the cause of justice and liberty in the Turkish Empire, we turn to the acts of the two powers which claimed the honour of protecting the Christians of the Greek and Latin Churches. At the very time when lord Palmerston was urging the principles just cited, the signal for strife had been given (as early as 1850), in the name of religion, but in fact as a part of that same restless search after influence and *prestige* for the government of the President Louis Bonaparte, which carried the French arms to Rome. Lord John Russell has placed it emphatically on record, that "The Ambassador of France (at Constantinople) was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested."* And he also recorded, in language characteristic of his love of right in the true Christian spirit, what will surely be the verdict of history :—"We should deeply regret any dispute that might lead to conflict between two of the great powers of Europe ; but when we reflect that the quarrel is for exclusive privileges in a spot near which the heavenly

* Despatch of January 28, 1853.—"Eastern Papers," part i. pp. 67, 68 ; Kinglake, vol. i. p. 47.

host proclaimed peace on earth and good will towards men—when we see rival Churches contending for mastery in the very place where Christ died for mankind—the thought of such a spectacle is melancholy indeed. . . . Both parties ought to refrain from putting armies and fleets in motion for the purpose of making the tomb of Christ a cause of quarrel among Christians.”

This remonstrance with both France and Russia referred to a long-standing quarrel between the Greek and Latin Churches in the Holy Land, especially in relation to the “Holy Places,” the Chapel of our Lord’s Nativity at Bethlehem, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. It should be remembered that, among the Greek Christians of ancient Palestine there were also Latin communities, notably the convent founded by St. Jerome at Bethlehem; and the Crusades added greatly to the Latin element. The convents of both persuasions received the pilgrims of their own faith, and contended for the custody of the shrines; while the Turkish Government, as owners of the land, levied tolls on the pilgrims and decided the disputed claims, doubtless generally according to the influences of intrigue or gold. But the sovereigns of Christendom claimed a voice on behalf of their respective faiths, which became more potent as the Turkish power declined. The Latin cause was espoused by the most Christian King, and early in the 16th century a Treaty between Francis I. and the Sultan placed the shrines and the Latin monks who took care of them under the protection of the crown of France. In 1740, the privileges of the Latin Church were confirmed by the articles (called “Capitulations”) granted anew to France. But, during the rapid growth of Russia and its constant pressure on Turkey in the 18th century, firmans were obtained, transferring these privileges to the Greek Church, which kept up the practice of pilgrimage that had died out among the Latins. As Mr. Kinglake truly says:—“When the Emperor of Russia sought to gain or to keep for his Church the Holy Shrines of Palestine, he spoke on behalf of fifty millions of brave, pious, and devoted subjects, of whom thousands for the sake of the cause would joyfully risk their lives.”* It is easy to see reasons in the state of France for her acquiescence, broken only by occasional despatches, for about a century. Once, indeed, in 1819, the dispute in Palestine grew to such a height, that France and Russia interfered, Louis XVIII. claiming to act as “the hereditary protector of the Catholics in the East,” and Alexander as “the Sovereign of the greater number of the followers of the Greek Church:”—claims remarkable alike for their wide scope and their indefinite application. Attention was soon diverted from the ensuing negotiations by the revolt of Greece in 1821, and the question slept till the Prince President embarked in the attempt to obtain, at Jerusalem as at Rome, the prestige of champion of the Latin faith, and to establish French influence at Constantinople.

In the spring of 1850, M. Lavalette, as envoy of the French Republic, demanded of the Porte the strict execution of the Capitulations of 1740, in a tone (probably exceeding his instructions) justly characterized by lord John

* “History of the War in the Crimea,” vol. i. p. 43, Cabinet ed.

Russell:—"The French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet." The Russian ambassador claimed the continuance of the firmans under which, though technically of no force against a treaty, the privileges of the Greeks had been undisturbed for the last century. Between the right on one side, the possession on the other, and the force on both, the Porte was terribly embarrassed by the dispute in which it had no real interest; and, on the first demand of France, sir Stratford Canning wrote to lord Palmerston:—"It is difficult to separate any such question from political considerations; and a struggle of general influence will probably grow out of the impending discussion." *

After nearly two years of negotiation, M. Lavalette obtained from the Porte a note acknowledging the validity of the Latin claims (February 9, 1852); but a few days later the remonstrances of the Russian ambassador extorted a firman, ratifying the privileges of the Greeks; and the Bey sent to Jerusalem to announce these decisions had instructions to evade both. At length the pressure of France prevailed; whereupon the Russian Foreign Minister, count Nesselrode, announced that the mischief was done, and all that now remained was to call for an act of reparation for the Sultan's broken promise to Russia.† In fact, as soon as the Porte had decided in favour of the Latins (early in December, 1852), a Russian army was set in motion to the frontier of the Danubian Principalities, while a second was ordered to be in readiness, making an invading force of 144,000 men hanging over Turkey.‡ Thus, if France was the first to disturb the *status quo* and threaten force, Russia was the first to take those *practical* "measures of *precaution*" which were another name for war.

It is most important to observe that this particular crisis of the Eastern Question lay between France and Russia, at the very moment when Nicholas was exasperated by Louis Napoleon's elevation to the Empire. In the dispute about the Holy Places Protestant England had no direct concern. Our ambassador had come home on leave, and was created viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (1852). At the same moment the Ministry of lord Derby gave place to the government in which not only was lord Aberdeen premier, but, what might have seemed to the Czar even more significant, lord Palmerston was not Foreign Secretary. The great free trade success of 1846 had given prestige to the "Manchester School," who held war in abhorrence, and looked for that progress of the nations banded together by commerce and the arts of peace, of which the Great Exhibition of 1851 seemed the pledge. A generation rejoicing in what was somewhat prematurely called the "Forty Years' Peace" might seem to have come to view war as,—though a sad necessity in Afghanistan and India, New Zealand and the Caffre Land,—though the natural consequence and curse of military despotisms,—an

* For the petty issue to which the difference was reduced, after some concessions on both sides, see Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 48-9.

† Despatch to baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador in London, January 14, 1853.

‡ Despatch of sir Hamilton Seymour.—"Eastern Papers," part i. p. 56; Kinglake, i. 55.

arbitrament out of date for us :—"War is a game which, were their subjects wise, Kings would not play at"—and *we*, the *wise* subjects of an enlightened constitutional Sovereign, need no longer fear being dragged to war to please a "selfish aristocracy" or an "ambitious minister."

One more element of English feeling is not to be overlooked, the hatred of Turkey for the oppression of her Christian subjects. Hitherto, indeed, especially as in the case of Greece, this had been a sympathy more with the cause of freedom than of religion, and it was now in no small degree neutralized by the equally deep and more present hatred of Russian despotism, which made men distrust the Panslavonic cause of which she seemed beginning to take the lead. The sacrifice of our old policy of upholding the integrity of the Turkish Empire to the sacred cause of liberating her Christian subjects, or even to the conviction that her corruption was beyond cure and her weakness was past remedy by any help, was a principle then held only by a small minority, but put forward with much energy and growing influence. Thus, to give but one example, an article appeared in the "Times" (by a remarkable coincidence) on the same day on which prince Menchikov opened his decisive mission at Constantinople (March 2, 1853):—"We have already intimated that the time is fast approaching, when the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire in its present form will be found to be impracticable, acknowledged to be undesirable; but, whatever political vicissitudes the Christian and Slavonic provinces of Turkey may witness, they can pass under no form of government more barbarous and oppressive than that which has so long overwhelmed them. We profess, therefore, to feel no anxiety for the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, which bears the stamp of a tyrannical past, a worthless present, and an extinct future." While such language proved that England's old policy was now openly called in question, it might well be understood by Russia as promising contentment with her dominion over the oppressed provinces, as at least a gain after that of Turkey.

Whatever weight Nicholas may have given to these various elements of English politics and public opinion, he thought the time had come to renew the overtures he had made in 1844; and England was fortunate in having an envoy at his court, who could quickly discern the Emperor's ideas and elicit their full development. The crisis we have just described, when France had gained its momentary success at Constantinople, and the Russian armies were set in motion, was the time chosen by Nicholas for the frank personal expression of his views in some of the most remarkable conversations ever held by a sovereign with the organ of a foreign government.* On the 9th of January, 1853, at a party in the palace of the Grand Duchess Helen, the Czar gave to sir H. Seymour the most earnest assurances of his

* These despatches were carefully kept at the Foreign Office as a secret entrusted to the Minister, and only published in the next year, after the war was begun (March 13, 1854). But this is their proper place, not only in chronological sequence, but (what is vastly more important in English history) for the light they throw on the responsibility of the Ministry, who had this knowledge of the designs of Nicholas during the whole of 1853. Their vast importance requires a full record of them in such a work as this.

desire to be on the best terms with the English Government, in which case he had no anxiety what others might think or do as to the *West of Europe*; but as to Turkey, he no longer spoke, as in 1844, of despising and "spitting upon" France. When sir Hamilton adroitly seized the opportunity to ask for some assurance that might calm the anxiety excited in his Government by the events passing in the East, the Czar replied without hesitation:—"The affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganized condition; the country itself seems to be falling to pieces: *the fall will be a great misfortune*, and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprized." He ended with the phrase which has become so famous: "*We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man*; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, *especially before all necessary arrangements were made.*"

Of these arrangements the Czar soon took occasion to speak with equal frankness (January 22nd). Beginning, as he said, from a remote period, he spoke of "the dreams and plans of Catherine," not as an imagination of "Russophobists," but as "*intentions handed down to our time.*" But he repudiated the inheritance and all desire to seek for more power or territory, acknowledging the "danger that would arise from an extension given to an Empire already too large." * As to Turkey, nothing could be better for Russia's *present* interests: all fear from Turkish fanaticism and military enterprize was gone by; and yet the country was "strong enough to preserve its independence and to ensure respectful treatment from other countries"—a somewhat remarkable contrast to his description of "the very sick man," and to the views we have quoted from the "Times."

He then went boldly to the very heart of the question:—"Well, in that Empire there are several millions of Christians whose interests I am called upon to watch over, *while the right of doing so is secured to me by treaty*;" †—an inconvenient obligation, but a distinct *duty*, arising out of the Eastern origin of the religion established in Russia, and he might well have spoken in the name of the Russian people when he added, "there are *feelings* as well as obligations which never must be lost sight of." Recurring to the state of the sick man, and *the certainty of a European war*, if the contingency of his death was not provided for, he went on to speak to sir Hamilton, "as a friend and as a *gentleman*"—his favourite mode of appealing to the English sense of honour, as the standard of his own—of the vital question of CONSTANTINOPLE. Repeating what he had said in 1844, "if England and I arrive at an understanding in this matter, it is indifferent what others do or think," he went on:—"Frankly, then, I tell you plainly, that, if England thinks of establishing herself at Constantinople, I will not allow it. I do not attribute this intention to you, but it is better on these occasions to speak plainly. For my part, I am equally disposed

* Compare the maps of Europe and Asia, from the Danube to Japan, in 1850 and 1880.

† The vast import of this *assumption* will appear presently.

to take the engagement *not to establish myself there*—as *proprietor*, that is to say, for as *occupier* (or perhaps, rather *trustee, dépositaire*) I do not say: it might happen that circumstances, if no previous provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, *might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople.*” Under what circumstances, or on what conditions, Russia would *retire* from Constantinople, he did not say, much less did he throw the least light on the real problem, *in whose hands Constantinople was to be placed for good, and what kind of state was to be established there.* But one thing he always made quite clear,—his determined opposition to any attempt to restore a Greek Byzantine Empire.

After repeating, in a third conversation (February 20th), that our Government was deceived if it thought that “Turkey retained any elements of existence,” that “*the sick man was dying*” and “we must come to some understanding”—from all which “Sir H. Seymour felt himself able to infer that *the Czar had settled in his own mind that the hour for bringing about the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire must be at hand*”—Nicholas proceeded, on the following day, to dispose of the whole question of Turkey in Europe (except Constantinople and its immediate territory), and to make bids for the mutual understanding which was his great present object:—“He thought (he said) that, in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed,” and then he proceeded—“¶The *Principalities* are, in fact, an independent state under my protection: * this might so continue. *Servia* might receive the same form of government. So again with *Bulgaria*: there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state”—the Czar’s protectorate, as in the other cases, being of course understood. Nothing was said of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Albania, for it was inconvenient for the champion of the Slavs to touch the Greek question at that time; and Bosnia and the Herzegovina may have been reserved to cement the complete accord which he boasted with Austria.† With these exceptions, the scheme divided the whole Balkan peninsula into a group of states, nominally independent, but subject to the influence of Russia under the name of a Protectorate; while Constantinople, with whatever territory might be left to it in Roumelia, was left (like Ulysses) to be the “last devoured,” with the contingency meanwhile of a Russian occupation. In order that all this might be done with the consent of England, the Czar would graciously raise no objection to her taking possession of *Egypt* and even of *Crete*; but he did

* The Russian protectorate of the Principalities was an assumption, which, with its proposed extension to Servia (and by tacit implication to Bulgaria) should be noted as significant of the Czar’s designs. Servia was at this time in the same state of semi-independence as the Principalities, its prince Milosch I. having been recognized by the Porte as hereditary sovereign in 1829, but still as a tributary vassal of the Sultan. As to Bulgaria, it does not appear whether the question was yet raised of that extension of the province to the South, which formed one chief element of the revived Eastern Question in 1876.

† We shall see presently how Nicholas was, at this very moment, attempting to use Austria as his “cat’s-paw” at Constantinople.

not say how much more agreeable this would be to him for the blow it would inflict on France, and the certainty of her quarrelling with England.*

Whatever may have been the case in 1844, Nicholas could not now have been deceived by any tacit acquiescence. On his first proposals for an understanding, sir Hamilton Seymour had warned him of the settled objection of English Governments to take engagements upon possible eventualities, and the probable feeling in England against seeming to dispose by anticipation of the succession of an old friend and ally; and he met the proposal about Egypt still more plainly. To use his own words, which read with special significance thirty years later (in 1882):—"As I did not wish that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered that I had always understood that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country." The Czar then asked him to induce his Government to write fully upon these subjects, ending, as he had begun, "I have confidence in the English Government. It is not an engagement, a convention, which I ask of them; it is a free interchange of ideas, and, in case of need, the word of a *gentleman*; that is enough between us."

The answer was promptly given; † the spirit of the despatch was vigorously summed up by its author lord Clarendon, when he appealed to these documents in the debate on the Address in reply to the Queen's message on the declaration of war (March 31, 1854):—"We fully discussed his arguments; we gave our reasons for thinking that the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was not at hand; we declared that we would not be a party to any underhand dealings, and that we would have no secrets from our allies; we dismissed with something like silent contempt the offer of a territorial bribe, and we pointed out to the Emperor the course that he ought to pursue." Assuredly lord Clarendon was justified in saying that the Ministry had been "honest to the Sultan, honest to our allies, honest to the Emperor himself"; but their position towards the English people was hardly so satisfactory. Had these transactions been known at the time, they would have evoked a feeling before which the Czar might probably have given way; and the obligation of secrecy can only be admitted with deep regret that those who had the knowledge should still have gone on trusting the professions which were continued up to the moment when the

* We have seen that Russia was believed to have rejected overtures from France for an understanding; and it is certain that, on feeling quite sure of her repulse by England, she addressed overtures to France in terms of bitter contempt towards England. This revelation was one of the consequences of the disgust felt by the European powers at their treatment by Russia, when the conversations with sir H. Seymour were made known, and among the documents published by the French Government was a despatch from prince Gortchakov (November, 1853), declaring that he knew England would throw over the Eastern Question as soon as she had got France committed to a false and difficult position. "We have all (he added) to complain of this power. What a fine turn we should play her by arranging our course without her! Believe me. *Distrust perfidious Albion!*"

† For its terms, see Kinglake, vol. i. p. 96.

Russian demands on Turkey had reached their climax. The correspondence was closed by a memorandum, confidentially communicated by the Czar to sir H. Seymour *as late as April 15th*, in which Nicholas once more professed his concurrence in the opinion of our Ministry "that the best means of upholding the duration of the Turkish Government was not to harass it by overbearing demands, supported in a manner humiliating to its independence and dignity." The words sound almost like an ironical echo of his own in 1844; but, whereas he then only hinted his dislike of sir S. Canuing's exhortations to reform, his present language justly described the threats with which prince Menchikov was pressing on the Porte a treaty, which had for its object "to reinstate Russian influence in Turkey on an exclusive basis, and in a commanding and stringent form." *

The repulse of the Emperor's overtures to England coincided with the failure of his attempt for joint action with Austria at Constantinople. We have seen his offhand statement, in 1844, of the perfect agreement between Austria and himself, and this was often reiterated afterwards with more assurance than truth. If he relied on the aid given to Austria in 1848, it was one of those burdensome obligations which proverbially excite resentment rather than gratitude, a virtue for which Austria was never remarkable. The two empires had been banded together in the partition of Poland, in the wars against the French Republic and Napoleon, in the Holy Alliance, and in resistance to European revolution; but they had many old-standing jealousies, and in the Eastern Question their future interests were hard to be reconciled. It would be fatal to Austria for any other great power, but most of all for Russia, to predominate in the Balkan peninsula and to command the course of the Danube; and so great, on this ground, is her concern in the maintenance of Turkey, that acute Russian politicians have declared the overthrow of Austria to be a necessary step to the possession of Constantinople. As the sovereign over subjects of whom the majority are Slavonian, Austria has a deep interest against the absorption of the Southern Slavs into a Panslavic league under the supremacy of Russia, and every movement of the Christians in the western provinces of Turkey affects her tranquillity. It was for this reason that, in the late settlement of Eastern affairs at Berlin (in 1878) she undertook the troublesome occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Slavonian highlanders of Montenegro (the Black Mountain), between Austrian Dalmatia and Turkish Albania, conquered by Soliman II. in 1526, had become a semi-independent principality early in the 17th century, and had always been a thorn in the side of Turkey. In 1851, a new prince, Daniel I., proclaimed a war of independence, and the Turkish fleet blockaded their own adjacent coast, to intercept the supplies which were carried in, not without the connivance of Austrian authorities, while Omar Pasha, who was soon to win fame on the Danube, attacked Montenegro by land (1852). The Austrian Government, alarmed at this movement on its frontier, and perhaps anticipating Russian interference on behalf of this branch of the

* Despatch of lord Stratford de Redcliffe to lord Clarendon, April 6th.

Slavonian Christians, sent count Leiningen with a peremptory summons to the Porte to withdraw its forces. Nicholas seized on this new ground of quarrel with Turkey, and proposed to send an ambassador who, while demanding redress in the matter of the Holy Places, was also to declare that a refusal to withdraw from Montenegro would be taken as a cause for war by Russia, as the protector of all the Christians in the dominions of the Sultan. Informed probably of his intention, the Porte avoided the double danger, by suddenly acceding to prince Leiningen's demand (February, 1853); and the Czar, thus baffled of his hopes from Austria as well as England, suspended his preparations for war. But he had still to press the claims of his Church to the Holy Places, and he seems to have indulged the expectation—so often asserted only to be baffled—that Turkey would easily yield to menace, especially now that the Porte was unprepared for war, and the English ambassador was not on the spot to give sage advice and to inspire courage. The plan of a special embassy was therefore carried out; but with the ulterior purpose of demanding nothing less than a secret treaty confirming the Czar's claim to supremacy, under the name of a protectorate, over all the Sultan's Christian subjects.

For this mission, in preference to the wise moderation and practised diplomacy of count Orlov, the Czar chose prince Menchikov, who afterwards commanded in the Crimea with equal ill success. He was of the violent Russian party, despising the Turks, and disliking the English, and his overbearing demeanour even spurned the forms of courtesy which are especially prized by Orientals (March, 1853). There was a panic in the Divan, and the only escape from humiliating concessions seemed to lie in a demonstration of English aid. At the request of the Grand Vizier, colonel Rese requested the British admiral at Malta to advance to the Bay of Vourla, near the mouth of the Dardanelles (March 6th); but the admiral declined to take the responsibility, and the Government at home withheld their sanction to a move which might have offended Russia past reconciliation.

But lord Stratford de Redcliffe was already on the way to encounter Menchikov, who at length, before the end of March, communicated to the Grand Vizier the Czar's desire to make a secret treaty with Turkey, by which Russia would place at her disposal a fleet and an army of 400,000 men, if she ever needed aid against any Western Power. "As the equivalent for this proffered aid," said the Grand Vizier, "Russia further secretly demanded an addition to the Treaty of Kainardji, whereby the Greek Church should be placed entirely under Russian protection without reference to Turkey." This was, in effect, to claim an indefinite right of appeal from their own Sovereign to a single foreign power for those whom our ambassador described as "the most important and numerous class of the Sultan's tributary subjects." The demand was based on certain clauses of that famous Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, by which Catherine II. wrung from the Porte the nominal independence of the Crimea (1774).* But the

* See above, p. 163.

present demand for "an *addition* to the treaty" would seem to imply a confession that it did not really give the protectorate claimed; and, with one remarkable exception, there have scarcely been two opinions on its meaning out of Russia. It has been argued that the promise of the Sultan "to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches" is a *binding engagement* made with the Emperor of Russia, who has therefore as constantly a special right to enforce it if it is not done. Now whatever there is of truth (not to say truism) in this argument stops very far short of the sort of protectorate claimed by Russia; and that such a right of interference could never have been intended is evident from a consideration of what it involves. The state of the case is put by Mr. Kinglake with equal force and clearness:—"It was plain that for the Sultan to yield thus much would be to make the Czar a partaker of his sovereignty. This was clear to men of all nations except the Russians themselves; but especially it seemed clear to those who happened to know something of the structure of the Ottoman Empire. The indolence or the wise instinct of the Mussulman rulers had given to the Christian 'nations' living within the Sultan's dominions many of the blessings which we cherish under the name of 'self-government'; and, since the Greek Christians had exercised these privileges by deputing their bishops and their priests to administer the authority conceded to the 'nation,' it followed that the spiritual dominion of the priesthood had become blended with a great share of temporal power. So many of the duties of prefects, of magistrates, of assessors, of collectors, and of police, were discharged by bishops, priests, and deacons, that a protectorate of these ecclesiastics might be so used by a powerful foreign prince, as to carry with it a virtual sovereignty over ten or fourteen millions of laymen." All this was clearly seen by the Turkish ministers. "The treaty," said Rifaat Pasha, "would be giving to Russia an exclusive protectorate over *the whole Greek population*, their clergy, and their churches."

On becoming aware of prince Menchikov's intended mission, the British Government ordered lord Stratford de Redcliffe to return to his post (February 25th), with instructions which not only recognized the gravity of the danger, but again urged on the Porte the only escape by a new discharge of its duties in its own administration, by redressing "the accumulated grievances of foreign nations," and by doing justice to its Christian subjects; adding, "Nor will you disguise from the Sultan and his ministers that perseverance in his present course must end in alienating the sympathies of the British nation, and making it impossible for her Majesty's Government to shelter them from the impending danger, or to overlook the exigencies of Christendom, exposed to the natural consequences of their unwise policy and reckless maladministration."

The weight of these rebukes, conveyed through such an envoy, will be better seen when it is remembered that the Sultan and his court, while leaning on lord Stratford for advice and aid, were wont to tremble at his strong will and imperious counsels. The effect of his arrival on the

5th of April, 1853, was instantaneous. "The event inspired a sense of safety, but also a sense of awe."* Though the Turks feared to tell him all that had passed between them and Menchikov, he at once saw that the question of the Holy Places must be kept distinct from the ulterior demands of Russia, and that the speedy settlement of the former would leave the Czar no ground for just complaint or further steps. Upon this began the unequal conflict between the veteran diplomatist and the Russian envoy, whose first impression was surprise at lord Stratford's courteous and moderate tone, and readiness to grant what was just in the case of the Greeks. The larger question was touched with caution on both sides: lord Stratford endeavoured to avoid any irritating discussion, but prince Menchikov committed himself to the assurance, that "there was no danger of any hostile aggression as the result of its failure." †

Lord Stratford's skilful dealings with the ambassadors of Russia and France (M. de la Cour) soon settled the question of the Holy Places, on terms which harmonized the precedence of the Greeks with the rights of the Latin and Armenian Christians. ‡ But in spite of count Nesselrode's almost simultaneous assurance to sir Hamilton Seymour that "the adjustment of the difficulties respecting the Holy Places *would settle all matters in dispute between Russia and the Porte,*" the decision had already been taken at St. Petersburg that this settlement of all the questions in dispute should go for nothing, and that the ulterior demands should be forthwith pressed to an immediate issue. On the 5th of May, prince Menchikov forwarded his *ultimatum* in the form of a Note (with a peremptory demand for an instant answer) enclosing the convention to be made between the Emperor and the Sultan, one clause of which was that "The Orthodox Eastern religion, its clergy, and its ministers, shall enjoy for the future, without any prejudice, under the protection of his Majesty the Sultan, *the privileges and immunities which are assured to them ab antiquo,*"—words which were well understood as covering the whole Russian claim of a protectorate. On hearing of this demand, lord Clarendon wrote, in the name of the British Government, that "no sovereign having a proper regard for his own dignity and independence could admit proposals, which conferred upon another and more powerful sovereign a right of protection over his own subjects. If such a concession were made, the result would be that fourteen millions of Greeks would henceforward regard the Emperor as their supreme protector, and their

* Kinglake, vol. i. p. 128. To show that this is no mere flourish of the brilliant writer's rhetoric, he cites captain Tatham's spontaneous confirmation of the description as "most accurate." "The captain was present at the first audience, and he assures me that the spectacle afforded by the manner and bearing of the great ambassador and the evident awe of the Sultan is one he will 'never forget.'" (Note to the 4th edition.)

† As to the allegation, that lord Stratford misled both the Turks and prince Menchikov by a tacit consent to the draft of the proposed convention, except on one point, see Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 135-7.

‡ For the full terms of this agreement, which was completed on the 22nd of April, and promulgated in two firmans early in May, see Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 145-147.

allegiance to the Sultan would be little more than nominal, while his own independence would dwindle into vassalage." *

But before this despatch was written, the die was cast at Constantinople. Lord Stratford advised the Porte to meet the vague generality of the Note with equal moderation, and to grant all that it appeared to ask by the promulgation of a firman, securing both the spiritual and temporal privileges of all the Porte's tributary subjects. At the same time he addressed an earnest but vain remonstrance to prince Menchikov. He now deemed it time to seek an audience, in which, after fully laying before the Sultan the probable consequences of resistance, he announced that his instructions gave him authority to request the admiral at Malta to hold his fleet in readiness (May 9th). After a few days of angry insistence by the Ambassador towards the Sultan in person as well as his Ministers, and offers from them which virtually included all that Russia asked, *except the Protectorate*, † prince Menchikov declared his mission at an end (May 15th), and, after a vain representation made to him by the ambassadors of the four Powers, at the instance of lord Stratford, he took his departure; despatching to the Porte the final threat, that any declaration in favour of the Greek Christians, short of the demand he had made, "would be considered by the imperial cabinet as an act of hostility to Russia and her religion" (May 21st).

This momentous event was known publicly in England on the 30th; on the 27th lord John Russell had assured the House of Commons that the policy of the Government was "that of maintaining inviolate the faith of treaties, and the independence of Turkey." On the 31st lord Clarendon wrote to lord Stratford that "it was indispensable to take measures for the protection of the Sultan, and to aid his Highness in repelling any attack that might be made on his territory; and that the use of force was to be resorted to as a last and unavoidable resource for the protection of Turkey against an unprovoked attack, and in defence of her independence, which England was bound to maintain." On the same day he addressed a despatch to the Russian Government, plainly contrasting the Czar's acts with his assurances, and demanding to be informed "what object Russia had in view, and in what manner, and to what extent, the dominions of the Sultan and the tranquillity of Europe were threatened." On the 1st and 2nd of June despatches were sent to Constantinople and Malta, giving lord Stratford authority, on certain contingencies, to order the fleet to the Dardanelles, and directing admiral Dundas to put himself in communication with the Ambassador.

Even amidst this rapid current of events rushing on to the vortex, it must not be forgotten how emphatically our government and ambassador insisted on the great cause of which Russia professed to be the champion,

* Despatch to lord Stratford de Redcliffe, May 31, 1853.

† Lord Stratford was further instructed not to call up the fleet towards the Dardanelles without orders from home.

‡ For the details, see Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 169-173. The Hatti-Shereef, confirming the privileges of the Christians, was issued on the 6th of June.

warning the Porte that it "must decide between the maintenance of an erroneous religious principle and the loss of the sympathy and support of its allies; and that, without the hearty assistance of its Christian dependents and the powerful sympathy and support of its Christian allies, the Turkish Empire must soon cease to exist."* Only, these considerations did not prevent our Government, as in 1828 and 1877, from interfering to save the Turkish Empire.

Nicholas was now forewarned of the opposition to be encountered, for France was committed almost equally with England to the support of Turkey. It does not appear that he had wished for war or counted its risks. He had hoped that the Porte would yield to threats, and he felt, with unconcealed anger, that he had been baffled by what count Nesselrode denounced as the "incurable mistrust," the "vehement activity," which "had characterized lord Stratford's conduct during the latter part of the negociation." † He now tried whether a threat in action would gain his purpose without war, his preparations for which had been suspended since March, but his troops were still massed on the frontier of Moldavia. On the 31st of May, count Nesselrode once more pressed prince Menchikov's ultimatum on the Porte, with the alternative that the Russian army would cross the frontier, in order to extort consent "by force, without war." This announcement, as we have seen, was simultaneous with the firm declarations of British policy by lord John Russell and lord Clarendon, and was followed by the movement of the English and French fleets to Besika Bay, on the coast of the Troad, in readiness to enter the Dardanelles (June 13th). But the Czar relied on lord Aberdeen's vehement protestations of his desire for peace. ‡ It is the misfortune of an absolute monarch to be able to set the most momentous events in action by a single impulse of his will; and no sovereign did this more readily than Nicholas. To use the graphic language of Mr. Kinglake §:—"The Emperor Nicholas was alone in his accustomed writing-room in the palace of Czarskoe Selo, when he came to the resolve which followed upon the discomfiture of prince Menchikov. He took no counsel. He rang a bell. Presently an officer of his staff stood before him. To him he gave his orders for the occupation of the Principalities. Afterwards he told count Orlov what he had done. Count Orlov became grave,

* Letter of lord Stratford to M. Pisani (the chief interpreter), June 22, 1853.

† We have the witness also of lord Clarendon, that the Czar "addressed to the different Courts of Europe unmeasured complaints of lord Stratford. To him, and to him alone, he attributed the failure of prince Menchikov's mission."—"Eastern Papers," part i. pp. 243, 268; Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 191-2.

‡ For the details, see Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 202-4, and lord Aberdeen's speech of July 3rd, already quoted, p. 154. Mr. Kinglake states on the authority of baron Brunnow himself, that the ambassador transmitted the pacific conversations of lord Aberdeen, *with a warning to the Czar against taking them for the feeling and policy of England.*

§ Vol. i. pp. 64-5. "What he chose to do, he actually did. He might be sitting alone and reading a despatch, and if it happened that its contents made him angry, he could touch a bell and kindle a war without hearing counsel from any living man. In the room where he laboured he could hear overhead the clicking of machinery, and he liked the sound of the restless magnets, for they were giving instant effect to his will in regions far away."

and said, THIS IS WAR. The Czar was surprised to hear that the count took so gloomy a view."*

On the 2nd of July two divisions of the Russian army crossed the Pruth and occupied the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which, as we have seen, formed a part of the Turkish territory. On the following day an Imperial manifesto was read in all the churches throughout Russia, the high-flown terms of which were virtually the proclamation of a war of religion, and as such it was accepted by the people of both empires, alike by the pious Russian and the devout Moslem.

But the Czar's precipitancy had given the Turks an advantage, of which their Oriental habits of self-control enabled them to make good use. The invasion of the tributary provinces of the Sultan's Empire, accompanied by the profession that they were only occupied as a material guarantee, gave him the right, but did not impose on him the obligation, to regard it as an act of war. Such was the advice urged at once by lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and confirmed by the Western Powers, and the Sultan contented himself with a protest (July 14th), while the Great Powers availed themselves of the pause to try the strength of diplomacy to preserve peace.

The interests of the Powers in the Eastern Question were very different; and the recent political changes had placed them in peculiar relations towards each other and towards Russia. King Frederick William IV. of *Prussia*, irresolute and fantastic, with high religious ideas of his prerogative, had fallen under the ascendancy of his brother-in-law Nicholas. Having recoiled from the offered opportunity of becoming the head of a united German nation, he in no way represented the deep-seated mutual jealousy between Germany and Russia; and the German States looked rather to Austria than to him for the protection of their interests in the free navigation of the Danube. But, on the other hand, Prussia had much to fear from the aggrandizement of her already too powerful friend, while to take part with him would bring on certain war with Austria and France.

As for *Austria*, we have seen that her interests in the Balkan peninsula and the Danube placed her in a position which might be antagonistic at one time to Turkey (as in the recent affair of Montenegro), at another to Russia, whom she could never allow to possess the lower Danube, nor to unite the southern Slavonic states in a Panslavic league under Russian supremacy. But she had little share in the wider Eastern Question, as it was viewed by France and England; and her general European policy led her to preserve the triple alliance with Prussia and Russia.

France was in a peculiar position. Inheriting the feud of the Revolution and the Empire with the great monarchies of Europe, she had, since the new Revolution of 1830, laid aside the oldest of her enmities to unite with England in the cause of freedom against the despotisms of central and northern Europe, and she was the special champion of the Poles. These principles, and her maritime interests in the Mediterranean, marked her as England's natural

* *Ibid.*, p. 204.

ally in maintaining the *status quo* in Turkey and resisting the aggressions of Russia. But old jealousies, easily kept alive in the generation which had been wont to talk of *une revanche de Waterloo*, had several times embittered the differences which had arisen on various grounds, and in the Eastern Question itself Egypt was a standing cause of suspicion. But the great element of novelty and doubt had been just brought in by the usurpation of Louis Napoleon and the revival of the Empire. The new sovereign was generally regarded as a man who had long meditated inscrutable designs, and few doubted that he would make some bold attempt to revive the *prestige* of the Empire, but whether as the friend or enemy of England was a matter on which opinions were divided. We now know that he was in search of a policy of adventure, and, having been rebuffed by the Czar, he saw the hope of political strength and military glory in an alliance with England to save the Ottoman Empire from Russia. But in this alliance his interests were in France rather than in the settlement of the Eastern Question. He afterwards avowed plainly his little sympathy with the English policy of maintaining the independence and integrity of Turkey; and a peaceful settlement of the question would have frustrated his immediate object.

The policy of *England* alone was simple and well defined.* Besides that her fixed desire for peace, both on high principles and in the interests of her commerce, made her object to any disturbance of the *status quo*, she had a deeper and wider stake than any other power in the Eastern question. The safety of her Indian Empire was affected over the whole line upon which Turkey lay across the routes between the East and West, in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, and the Euphrates, and, above all, at Constantinople and the Straits. From the time when Constantine fixed his capital at Byzantium, historians have expatiated on the commanding character of that site, at the crossing of the highways between Europe and Asia by sea and land, and, if in the hands of a first-rate Power, dominating the Euxine and the shores of the Levant. What then would be the result to the welfare of the world, as well as to the interests of Britain, if a great military and despotic Power were planted at the ancient capital of the East, extending her right hand over Asia Minor and Syria to Egypt, while her left already held in its iron grasp the whole North of the two continents, whence it was pushing on over Central Asia; keeping the Dardanelles and Bosphorus closed against other powers, but ever open to send forth the fleets built and trained in the Black Sea to threaten our route through Egypt, while her steady progress in Armenia commanded the equally desirable road to India by the Euphrates? This is the true lesson of "maps"; and those who ask us to look at "big" ones and see the space that divides Russia from India, fail to see that the question is not of so many marches in a direct attack, but chiefly of the command of our com-

* It may be well to explain, once for all, that we are speaking *historically*, not controversially, of the policy in which England was *then* agreed, with the exception of a small minority. The subsequent change of opinion belongs, as an historic fact, to a much later period.

munications, and next of a steady progress from an ever advancing base, with power growing as it proceeds. It was not by our choice that Turkey held the post; but, till some better custodian could be found, its maintenance in the hands of a power formidable to none seemed the only means of keeping out the most dangerous of all possible possessors. Prince Albert uttered the voice of the nation, when, insisting that justice to the oppressed Christians should be a condition of our help to Turkey, he declared that, in preventing Constantinople and the Turkish territory from falling into the hands of Russia, we should be battling "*not for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but merely for the interests of the European Powers and of civilization.*"

The representatives of the four Powers, assembled in conference at Vienna, agreed on July 31st to a Note, in the form of a declaration by the Sultan, expressing his views and intentions as to the questions at issue, in terms to be approved by Russia. This Note,* originally drawn up in Paris and adopted by the British Government without consulting their Ambassador, was at once accepted by Russia, as well it might be, for it was couched in language as well suited to her views on the great point at issue, as the famous Note of Prince Menchikov. Lord Stratford dutifully obeyed his instructions by recommending the Note to the immediate acceptance of the Porte as, in the words of lord Clarendon's despatch, "a project which the allies of the Sultan unanimously concurred in recommending for his adoption." † "But," says Mr. Kinglake, "it is not to be believed that, even if he strove to do so, lord Stratford could hide his real thoughts from the Turkish Ministers." Perhaps they read his view in the fact, stated by himself, that he "*scrupulously abstained from expressing any private opinion of his on the Note, while it was under consideration at the Porte.*" The Ministry, supported by a Great Council, refused to accept the Note without certain alterations (August 19th); and these were rejected by the Russian Government, on grounds which clearly showed their intention to interpret it in the sense foreseen by lord Stratford and the Turks, ‡ and proved that "what Russia still required, and what the Porte refused to grant, was the Protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey." §

If the electric telegraph has its inconveniences, it at least precludes some of the contradictions which belong to the irony of history. On the very day after the decision of the Porte was taken, her Majesty dismissed Parliament with these words of promise:—"Acting in concert with the allies, and relying on the exertions of the conference now assembled at Vienna, her Majesty has good reason to hope that an honourable arrangement will speedily be accomplished" (August 20th). Within a month later it was known that Russia's refusal of the amended Note had convinced even lord

* For the Text of the Note, and the exact alterations proposed by the Porte, see Kinglake, vol. i. Appendix, pp. 390-1.

† See lord Stratford's Despatch in Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 374-5.

‡ Count Nesselrode's Despatch, September 7th.

§ Kinglake, vol. i. p. 377.

Aberdeen that it would be "an act scarcely honest upon the part of England and France to ask the Porte to sign a Note upon the strength of their interpretation, while they knew perfectly well that this interpretation was entirely different from that put upon it by the Power to whom the Note was to be addressed." In recognizing the truth of this decision, her Majesty put on record this weighty judgment on the course pursued by Russia:—"It is evident that Russia has hitherto attempted to deceive us in pretending that she did not aim at the acquisition of any *new* right, but required only a satisfaction of honour and a reacknowledgment of the rights she already possessed by treaty, and that she does intend, and for the first time lays bare that intention, to acquire new rights of interference, which the Porte does not wish to concede, and cannot concede, and which the European powers have repeatedly declared she *ought* not to concede," and which, it is added, "would simply make foreigners of ten millions of the subjects of the Porte, or depose the Sultan as their sovereign, putting the Emperor of Russia in their place."

These words were written in reply to a letter from lord Aberdeen, informing her Majesty that the "war frenzy and fanaticism of the Turks" at Constantinople had reached such a height, that authority had been given to call up the English and French fleets for their protection, and that two steamers of each nation had already been summoned by the ambassadors for that purpose (September 23rd).

All hope of peace being now at an end, and the martial enthusiasm of the Moslems ready to burst all bounds, the Porte, with the advice of a great council, decided on the issue of a *conditional* declaration of war (October 4th). Omar Pasha, their general commanding on the Danube, was instructed to summon the Russian commander, prince Michael Gortchakov,* to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days from the receipt of his letter, adding "that the prince's refusal would be considered as tantamount to a *declaration of war on the part of Russia*; and that hostilities would thereupon be declared by the Porte." The prince replied that he had no authority either to retire

* In the history of this war, it is necessary to distinguish between three brothers of a family long famous in the military and diplomatic service of Russia. (1) Prince MICHAEL (born 1795), the commander on the Danube, had served in the Turkish war of 1848-9, against the Poles in 1831, and in Hungary in 1849. In 1855 he led the army of the Danube to the Crimea, and held the command within Sebastopol till its fall. After the war he was appointed governor of Poland, and died at Warsaw in 1861. By his express desire he was buried in the fortress which he had so bravely defended to the last.—(2) His elder brother, prince PETER (born 1789 or 1790), had served against Turkey in the wars of 1810-12, and 1828-9, as well as against France (1813-14). He now served in the Crimea under Menchikov, and commanded the centre and right at the battle of the Alma, soon after which he retired from the army, was made a member of the Imperial Council, and died at Moscow in 1868.—(3) The veteran statesman, prince ALEXANDER (born 1798), whose tenure of the Chancellorship of Russia coincided practically with the reign of Alexander II., was now, after a long training in the diplomatic service, engaged in the negotiations at Vienna. Having become Chancellor on the retirement of count Nesselrode (1855) he was relieved of the active duties of that office in January, 1881, though still retaining the title and dignity.

from the Principalities, or to begin war ; and consequently, at the expiration of the fifteen days, the Turkish and Russian empires passed into a state of war by sea and land, both on their European and Asiatic frontiers (October 23, 1853).* The determined attitude of the Turks is described by lord Stratford in words prophetic of the result :—“ A spirit of self-devotion, *unaccompanied with fanatical demonstrations*, and showing itself among the highest functionaries of the State, bids fair to give an extraordinary impulse to any military enterprize which may be undertaken against Russia by the Turkish Government. . . . If hostilities commence, they will be prosecuted in a manner to leave, on one side or on the other, deep and durable traces of a truly national struggle.” †

The Czar, on his part, appealed to the religious zeal of his people and the sanctity of his cause :—“ Russia is challenged to the fight ; nothing, therefore, further remains for her but, in confident reliance upon God, to have recourse to arms, in order to compel the Ottoman Government to respect treaties, and obtain from it reparation for the offences by which it has responded to our most moderate demands and to our legitimate solicitude for the defence of the Orthodox faith in the East, which is equally professed by the Russian people. We are firmly convinced that our faithful subjects will join the fervent prayers which we address to the Most High, that His hand may be pleased to bless our arms in the holy and just cause which has ever found ardent defenders in our pious ancestors. ‘In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me not be confounded for ever !’”

In England the public voice was raised in growing demands on the reluctant ministry for energetic action ; and it was only a question of time when Great Britain and France should be drawn in the vortex. The events which determined their course are inseparable from the narrative of the war, though their part in it was delayed till the spring of the ensuing year.

* Respecting the precision of this date, see Kinglake, vol. i. Appendix v. pp. 411-412.—Mr. Kinglake informs us that the *conditional* declaration of war was lord Stratford's suggestion.

† “ Eastern Papers,” part ii. p. 167 ; Kinglake, vol. i. p. 379.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE DRAWN INTO THE WAR (1853-4)—England off her guard—Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Palmerston—"Si vis pacem, para bellum"—Palmerston on Russia's mode of advance and the way to check it—His proposal to send the Fleets to Constantinople, rejected—Proposed Convention—Russia misled by Lord Aberdeen—Views of the Cabinet—Policy of Louis Napoleon—Concord of the Four Powers—Separate Concert of England and France—Queen's Speech at the Prorogation (August, 1853)—Divergence of two Roads—Palmerston's Assurances—Aberdeen's Complacency—Russia rejects the amended Vienna Note—The Fleets sent up to Constantinople—Palmerston and Aberdeen—The Fleets ordered to Constantinople—Question of Conditions with Turkey—BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES ON THE DANUBE—The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea—The Turkish squadron destroyed at Sinope—Indignation in England and France—Lord Palmerston's Proposal and Resignation—Louis Napoleon's proposal adopted by the Cabinet—Palmerston's Resignation withdrawn—The Fleets enter the Black Sea: final retreat of the Russian Fleet to Sebastopol—New proposals of the Conference, accepted by Turkey—Hopes destroyed by the last resolve of England and France—Indignation in Russia—Diplomatic relations broken off—Opening of Parliament (January 31, 1854)—Queen's Speech—Lords Derby and Clarendon—The Czar's terms rejected at Vienna—Great Debates in Parliament—"Drifting nearer to War"—"May God defend the Right!"—Speech of Mr. Disraeli—Lord Palmerston's defence: its effect—Mr. Cobden's Speech—Unpopularity of the "Peace Party"—Quaker Deputation to the Czar—His mind made up—His War Manifesto—Action of Austria—Summons of England and France to evacuate the Principalities—Supported by Austria and Prussia—Rejected by Russia—England and France placed in a state of war with Russia (March 19, 1854).

As the rising of the little cloud was seen only by the prophet and the servant who watched with him on Carmel, so in England there were scarcely any who marked the first beginnings of trouble in the East; and the few, who turned their thoughts abroad from 1850 to 1852, might feel a reasonable assurance that a dispute such as that about the Holy Places could not lead to war. When the question entered its more dangerous phase, few knew the meaning of prince Menchikov's demands; and the people were watching with admiration the measures by which their great prosperity was being used and improved by a powerful ministry, whose very composition, as well as its principles, seemed a guarantee for peace. We have seen the passionate desire for peace cherished by the Prime Minister, and with him was a band of younger and abler men, who inherited the principles of sir Robert Peel. Of these the ablest and most earnest was the minister whose office, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, made him doubly desirous of the main-

tenance of the peace and prosperity needful for the success of his great financial schemes, and whose strong Christian and progressive principles imbued him with a horror of war as a wicked anachronism at the present stage of advancement. And the assurance given by the position of lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone in the Government seemed made doubly sure by that of lord Palmerston, linked in harness with his less adventurous colleagues, and *not* at the Foreign Office. We now know from his own letters how much better lord Palmerston understood his new position, and how little he intended his influence on foreign politics to be neutralized. He at first declined to take office at all, on the ground (he says) "that lord Aberdeen and I had differed so widely for twenty-five years on all questions of foreign policy, that my joining an administration of which he was to be the head would be liable to misconstruction both abroad and at home."* By accepting the Home Office, he held himself the more free to maintain his own views of foreign policy at the Council board. This peculiar position of lord Palmerston is the key to much that followed.

He has been made the victim, by friends as well as foes, of that common misrepresentation, by which those who advise a firm display of resolution and even of force, *in order to prevent war*, are accused of being bent on the very hostilities they labour to avert. The old maxim, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, has shared in the general perversion of proverbs, as if it meant "Keep up a warlike establishment during peace," which is one way to provoke war and to exhaust the power of waging it effectually. The true application of the lesson is, when a crisis comes and you have to choose between a weak conciliation which of itself "drifts into war," and a firm stand on the principle at stake; when peace is really in danger and you wish to keep it; then show that you are ready to resist the aggressor, not by empty menace, but by *preparing for war, in order to demand peace*. This is what lord Aberdeen was so slow to do, and the fruit of his hesitation was *war*. Looking calmly back over a space of seven years, and discussing quite a different subject, lord Palmerston wrote to sir G. C. Lewis:—"If lord Aberdeen's Government had shown less timidity when the Russians prepared to invade the Danubian Principalities, it is pretty certain that we should not have had the Russian War." †

As early as the 22nd of May, 1853, lord Palmerston advocated the *principle* on which he proposed that the Government should act, as the only plan suited to the tactics of our adversary:—"The policy and practice of the Russian Government has always been to push forward its encroach-

* Letter to his brother.—"Life," vol. ii. p. 2.

† Letter on "Prevention better than Cure" (Nov. 22, 1860), in "Life," vol. ii. p. 332. The following testimony from the highest quarter becomes still more weighty when the relations between the Crown and lord Palmerston are remembered. The Queen wrote to lord Clarendon, when the result had become almost certain (December 20, 1853):—"Lord Palmerston's mode of proceeding always had that advantage, that it threatened steps which it was hoped would not become necessary, whilst those hitherto taken started on the principle of not needlessly offending Russia by threats, obliging us at the same time to take the very steps which we refused to threaten."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 25.

ments as fast and as far as the apathy or want of firmness of other Governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it was met with decided resistance, and then to wait for the next favourable opportunity to make another spring on its intended victim. In furtherance of this policy, the Russian Government has always had two strings to its bow—moderate language and disinterested professions at Petersburg and London; active aggression by its agents on the scene of operations” *—in short, what lord Derby well called the process “by sap and mine.” †

As soon, therefore, as it was certain that Russia intended to invade the Principalities, lord Palmerston urged on lord Aberdeen, ‡ that, the moment that act was consummated, the English and French fleets should be sent up to the Bosphorus, with orders to enter the Black Sea, if necessary for the protection of Turkish territory. Two days later he repeated his proposal to the Cabinet, replying to the objection from the treaty of 1841, that Turkey could not properly be said to be at peace, § and he described our position as “*unwise with a view to a peaceful settlement.*” In short, the difference between lords Aberdeen and Palmerston was this, not that the one desired peace and the other war, but that, while the former held back from a decisive course in order to keep the door open for negotiation, the latter believed that the negotiation would be speedily and satisfactorily closed by firmness; unless indeed the earlier irresolution of our Government had already lost the opportunity. || Nor did he conceal his sense of how greatly peace was endangered by the fact, “that private and verbal communications, given in all honesty, but tinctured by the personal bias of the Prime Minister, were doing irreparable mischief, and that the Russian minister was determined not to take them at their true value, but persisted in giving them the interpretation which he desired for them, namely, an insuperable dislike on the part of the English Government to any active measures against his country.” The majority of the Cabinet adhered to what seemed the “safer” course,

* Letter to lord Clarendon (“Life,” vol. ii. p. 25). To his illustrations from recent history we may now add the manner in which Russian conquest in Central Asia has been effected, as well as the “unofficial war” in Servia in 1876. Lord Derby, too, in the House of Lords, gave a striking picture of the progress of Russia.

† Speech in the House of Lords, January 31, 1854.

‡ “Life,” vol. ii. p. 26. The letter was, in fact, written two days after the invasion had taken place, though it was not yet known in England (July 4th). The reasons given in the letter deserve careful study.

§ *Ibid.*—It is worth notice that, both in 1853 and 1878, our Government had to set aside the technical objection, that Turkey was at peace, when she was virtually at war. In the former case, our fleet passed through the Dardanelles before war was actually declared; in the latter case, after it was technically ended by the Peace of San Stefano.

|| See other evidence in his “Life,” which we have not space to quote, and especially his “Memorandum” (July 12th) on the answer which ought to be returned to count Nesselrode’s circular, in which he applies to the crisis the true principle that “It is in the nature of men whose influence over events and whose power over others are founded on intimidation, and kept up by arrogant assumptions and pretensions, to mistake forbearance for irresolution, and to look upon inaction and hesitation as symptoms of fear, and forerunners of submission.” —“Life,” vol. ii. p. 32.

as if they had adopted the saying ascribed to Canning, when told that war must come sooner or later—"I prefer to have it later"—forgetting that mere waiting for an evil to come later is mostly the way to make its coming surer.

But another aspect of the question must not be overlooked, especially considering the importance attached to it by the special historian of the war: the relation of England to her allies, who were labouring at Vienna to find terms of accommodation, and who might ultimately unite, if necessary, in coercing the wrong-doer. The bolder policy proposed by Palmerston almost necessarily involved separate action with France alone; and there is no doubt that he distrusted Austria and Prussia. That separate action, with a view not to peace but to a successful war, was the course on which Louis Napoleon was bent, for the sake of winning prestige for his new empire, and strengthening himself by an English alliance.* He showed this to be his policy early in the year; and, while the conference was sitting at Vienna, he urged on the British Government the same action with the fleets, which lord Palmerston advised from other motives. Nothing could be more calculated than the advance of Russia to the Danube to provoke Austria to action, and Mr. Kinglake assures us that "the determination on the part of Austria to rid the Principalities of their Russian invaders was growing in intensity. Prussia also was firm." † Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon said in the House of Lords that the four Powers were all acting cordially together in order to check the designs of Russia (August). "Yet"—says Mr. Kinglake—"it cannot be doubted that, in the midst of this perfect concord of the four Powers, the English Government was induced to enter into a separate understanding with the Emperor of the French. This was the fatal transaction which substituted a cruel war for the peaceful but irresistible pressure which was exerted by the four Powers. The purport of this arrangement still lurks in private notes, and in recollections of private interviews; but it can be seen that (for reasons never yet explained) France and England were engaged to move in advance of the other Powers." ‡

Even before the Vienna Conference had drawn up its Note, lord Palmerston informed the House of Commons that "*England and France were agreed*; that they continued to follow the same policy, and that they had the most perfect confidence in each other" (July 12th). Still more significant and surprising was the following passage in the Queen's message to Parliament at its prorogation (August 20th):—"The Emperor of the French has united with her Majesty in earnest endeavours to reconcile differences, the continuance of which might involve Europe in war;"—after which, the assurance of concert with the allies and reliance on the efforts of the Conference assembled at Vienna, seemed something approaching to a contradiction. Mr. Kinglake regards this message from the throne "as marking the point where the roads of policy branched off; that of the concert of the four Powers, to ensure a peaceful repression of the outrage which

* See Kinglake, vol. i. pp. 313, *fol.* † *Ibid.* p. 317. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 348.

was disturbing Europe, and that of war in league with the Emperor of the French." It is impossible to feel sure, especially with our later experience of a somewhat similar position, that the Czar would have drawn back before any concert short of a united threat of war; but thus much is certain, that, whereas Austria had the chief and foremost interest in resisting the invasion of the Principalities, the separate action of England and France gave her an excuse for inaction, and Prussia, always less than half-hearted in the cause, was only too ready to follow in Austria's wake.

Meanwhile, it is strange to look back upon the reliance which was felt on the success of the Vienna Note. Even lord Palmerston assured Parliament that the prospect justified the prorogation, and a letter from Prince Albert to baron Stockmar (August 10th) reports, in a contrast now painfully ludicrous, lord Aberdeen's testimony to the public feeling for war, and his complacency at its having been averted:—"If the affair had not been settled by the Emperor's acceptance of our Note, I don't think that even I should have been allowed to keep the peace."* The splendid naval review by the Queen at Spithead, on the following day, was enjoyed the more from the belief that it was only the demonstration of a force, which unhappily blinded the people to the complete unreadiness for war which was afterwards confessed;† and the royal visit to Ireland was carried out notwithstanding the ominous announcement in another letter to baron Stockmar (August 24th):—"In the East we are still menaced with danger. Lord Stratford seems anxious that the Porte should refuse to accept the Note of the four Powers. . . . In Petersburg the Notes have been eagerly caught at, and they seem glad that a bridge had been found over which their retreat can be effected; still they would prefer that commotions in Turkey led to an intervention for purposes of protection on the part of the Emperor, and continue to believe in the rapid dissolution of *l'homme mourant*. We naturally do not desire this, and see no safety but in a rapid solution of the imbroglio."‡

The news of Russia's refusal of the amended Note arrived on Sept. 12th, and on the 23rd Government yielded to the urgency of the French Ambassador to send up the fleets to Constantinople.§ This step was opposed by lord Stratford as needless at the time. It so happened that the fleets only passed the Dardanelles just before the time when Turkey, being at war with Russia, had a right under the treaty to allow their entrance. But the order had already inflamed the Czar's exasperation to the highest pitch; and even count Nesselrode, whose counsels had hitherto been pacific, saw in it "a settled purpose to humiliate Russia."|| The compromises, at which lord Stratford and the Vienna Conference were still labouring, were now deprived of the last faint hope of success.

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 498.

† See lord Aberdeen's evidence before the Crimean Committee.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 503. The accounts of the situation in succeeding letters are most interesting.

§ See the details in Kinglake, vol. i. p. 366.

|| See sir Hamilton Seymour's report of Nesselrode's expressions of sorrow at the prospect of war between England and Russia.—Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 12.

As soon as it was known that the Porte was about to make a conditional declaration of war, lord Palmerston advised the entrance of the fleets into the Black Sea to prevent the Russians from sailing out of Sebastopol, an engagement on the part of England and France to give the Sultan such naval aid as might be needed for the defence of his Empire, and a permission to their subjects to enlist in his service.* Lord Aberdeen replied, "I cannot say that I think the present state of the Russo-Turkish question would authorize such a proceeding on our part"; but lord Palmerston, supported by lord John Russell,† so far prevailed in the Cabinet Council next day, that authority was sent to lord Stratford, in concert with his colleague and the admirals, "to employ the combined fleets in whatever manner, or in whatever place, he might think necessary for defending the Turkish territory against direct aggression. If the Russian fleet were to come out of Sebastopol, the fleets would then, as a matter of course, pass through the Bosphorus."‡

And now arose the question, whether we ought to commit ourselves to the defence of Turkey, without making conditions for those measures of internal improvement and justice to the Christian subjects, for which we had so long been labouring; and we now possess the ablest and most authoritative opinions that were urged on both sides.§ That such reforms ought to be the great ultimate end of the Eastern Question was felt by Christendom, and above all by free Christian England; but the difficulty was how to make this the practical object of our policy in a crisis which demanded instant action. Lord Palmerston expressed the view then held throughout the country, and which prevailed in the policy of the Government. "No doubt when we put forth our whole strength in defence of Turkey, we shall be entitled to direct in a great measure the course and character of the war, and to exercise a deciding influence on the negotiations which may afterwards lead to peace. . . . But the only ground on which we can claim influence in these matters is our determination to give hearty and effectual support. *We support Turkey for our own sake and for our own interests*, and to withdraw our support, or to cripple it, so as to render it ineffectual, merely because the Turkish Government did not show as much deference to our advice as our advice deserved, would be *to place our national interests at the mercy of other persons*. If lord Liverpool's Government had so acted in regard to the Provisional Government of Spain, we never should have driven the French out of the Peninsula."||

* Letter to lord Aberdeen, October 7th.—"Life," vol. ii. pp. 41-2.

† See "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 532.

‡ "Eastern Papers," pt. ii. p. 143; Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 16; "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 521.

§ See the full discussion of this question in the Queen's letter to lord Clarendon, the Prince Consort's Memorandum, the criticisms on it in lord Palmerston's letter to lord Aberdeen, and the Prime Minister's reply.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 521, *f.*; Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 43, *f.*

|| Lord Palmerston's remarks on the state of the Christians in European Turkey, the impracticability of setting up a Christian power free from Russian domination, and the

Immediately after the expiration of the time fixed for the declaration of war to become absolute, the Turks commenced hostilities by crossing the Danube at Widdin (October 28th). But the meaning of this adventurous step, and the cause of the campaign that ensued, must be postponed to follow the greater events in the Black Sea, which were doubly momentous for their effect on opinion in England. The Russians had a strong fleet in the splendid harbour behind the fortifications of Sebastopol, ready for a sudden swoop down on Constantinople or an attack on other points of the Turkish coast, and especially on a squadron which happened to be lying in the roadstead of Sinope,* on the coast of Asia Minor, opposite the Crimea. Both dangers had been provided against in the instructions to lord Stratford, to defend "Constantinople, or any other part of the Turkish territory, whether in Europe or in Asia," that might be in danger of attack. But the thoughts of the ambassadors and admirals seem to have fixed on the defence of Constantinople, and on the duty of avoiding any act of war as long as possible. Thus, four days after the catastrophe now to be related, we find lord Stratford writing †:—"Rumours of Russian ships of the line being at sea have occasionally prevailed for some time. Uncertainty of information, a wish to avoid as long as possible the chances of a collision, the arrival of a new French Ambassador, and the state of the weather, were natural causes of demur in coming to a decision as to sending the squadrons into the Black Sea at this time of the year."

The word *rumours* bears a strange relation to the facts. It was as early as the middle of November,‡ and while the allied fleets were anchored in the Bosphorus, that the Russian fleet came out of Sebastopol, spreading across the middle of the Black Sea from north to south. On the 20th they made their first capture of a Turkish steamer, and on the 22nd the Turkish commander at Sinope sent word overland to Constantinople that a powerful Russian squadron was constantly hovering over the port—"May God preserve us from them!"—and, unless reinforcements were quickly sent, "it may well happen that the Imperial fleet may incur disasters." §

And so it was. About noon on the 30th of November, Admiral Nachimov's fleet of six ships of the line, two frigates, and three steamers, bore down on the Turkish squadron of seven frigates, a sloop, a steamer, and some transports, lying in the bay of Sinope. || The Russian admiral had

great question—Who should have Constantinople?—have rather gained than lost interest since that time. For the Czar's letter to the Queen, and her Majesty's reply (November), see the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 529-531.

* Modern history has preserved the ancient name (commonly used in the slightly altered form of Sinoub) of this famous Greek city, the birthplace of the philosopher Diogenes.

† On December 4th.—"Eastern Papers," pt. ii. p. 311; Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 17.

‡ See Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 13.

§ According to Mr. Kinglake (vol. ii. p. 14), this piteous appeal must have reached lord Stratford on the 25th or 26th, four days before the disaster, and eight before his despatch about "rumours."

|| The reader will remember that this was before the days of ironclads, turret-ships, Armstrong guns, and so forth; and the great majority of large vessels were still sailing ships.

lowered a boat, probably to demand the surrender of so inferior a force, when one of the Turkish frigates opened fire, and drew the whole Russian broadsides upon the devoted squadron. A spectator described the effect as if the upper works of the Turkish ships were *sliced off*. All were destroyed except the steamer; more than 4,000 Turks were slain; the survivors were less than 400, all wounded; and the town itself was much shattered. The whole took place so quickly, that it is not known whether any of the Turkish vessels struck; they probably met their destiny fighting to the last. The Russian fleet stayed at Sinope till the next day, and then sailed back to Sebastopol.*

While the Czar was thanking "his brave seamen, on behalf of the honour and glory of Russia, for the success of the Russian flag," the victory let loose the indignation of the English and French people, and swept away the indecision of our Government, after a faint resistance. When the tidings reached Paris and London (December 11th), M. Drouyn de Lhuys expressed the grief of his Government at a disaster "endured as it were under the guns of the French and English fleets." The English people, ignorant of the faults which had kept those fleets inactive, rose up in one of those fits of wrath which they are wont to pour on the wrong heads for causes called by the wrong names. The act of war, openly prepared weeks after the Turks had begun hostilities, † was stigmatized as a treacherous massacre; and, even had its real character been known, the English love of "fair play" would have been none the less revolted by the ruthless butchery of the weak by the strong. And though the act was strictly within Russia's right as a belligerent, it was peculiarly offensive for having been done (as the French Emperor wrote to the Czar) "in spite of the assurance that there was no wish to commence an aggressive war, and in spite of the vicinity of our squadrons." ‡ The people knew that they had a hearty and powerful organ in the Cabinet; and it happened that, the day before the news reached England, lord Palmerston had renewed his proposal, that the Russian fleet should be warned to keep in Sebastopol so long as the Russian army remained in the Principalities; a form of pressure which lord Aberdeen regarded as even more objectionable than a declaration of war.§

But at this very moment the four Powers had drawn closer together, and had framed a new form of agreement which an English steamer was carrying to Constantinople. The Government assumed that, under their instructions to lord Stratford, the fleets would have entered the Black Sea to prevent any further disaster, and that in this security they would have waited the result of the new overture.|| But they had other forces to reckon

* Mr. Kinglake regards this "massacre of Sinope" as the Czar's deliberate rejoinder to the passage of the allied fleets up to Constantinople; his reasons being, the known rage of Nicholas at that measure, and the comparison of dates (vol. ii. pp. 12, 13).

† The Turks had assumed the offensive in Armenia as well as on the Danube, and had seized a Russian fort on the east coast of the Black Sea.

‡ Letter of Louis Napoleon to Nicholas, January 29, 1854.

§ Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 53-4.

|| Mr. Kinglake shows (vol. ii. p. 36, note to 4th edition) that the Cabinet at first

with. On the 15th of December, lord Palmerston resigned, on the ground of his dissent from lord John Russell's proposed Reform Bill.* On the following day the Emperor of the French proposed to the English Government to give notice to Russia "that France and England were resolved to prevent the repetition of the affair of Sinopo, and that every Russian ship thenceforward met in the Euxine would be requested, and, if necessary, constrained, to return to Sebastopol; and that every act of aggression afterwards attempted against the Ottoman territory or flag would be repelled by force." † "This proposal"—as Mr. Kinglake truly says—"involved, without expressing it, a defensive alliance with Turkey against Russia; and, if it were adopted, the Emperor of Russia would have to see his flag driven from the waters which bounded his own dominions." It was so framed, that lord Palmerston would know it meant war, whilst lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone might be led to imagine that it was a measure rather gentle than otherwise, which perhaps would keep peace in the Euxine." ‡

The Government felt unable to face the strong public feeling, with lord Palmerston to lead it, and backed by the known urgency of our ally.§ In communicating to her Majesty this decision of the Cabinet, which was taken on Thursday, December 22nd, lord Clarendon plainly avowed the motive that, "*they are prepared to adopt the specific mode of action now proposed by the Government of the Emperor.*" || But he added that the Government "do not disguise from themselves *that it may at no distant period involve England and France in war with Russia.*" ¶ These words were written on

decided that no special instructions to the admirals were necessitated by the disaster at Sinope ("Eastern Papers," part ii. p. 304), and that, even while Louis Napoleon was urging his new proposals, lord Clarendon (December 20th) informed lord Stratford of his Government's "unabated desire for peace," and assured him that the course he (lord S.) was "taking *with a view to the adoption by the Porte of pacific counsels* is in accordance with the wishes of her Majesty's Government, as being calculated *to prepare the Porte to give a favourable reception to the proposals which have been forwarded from Vienna.*"—"Eastern Papers," pt. ii. p. 320.

* See chap. xv. p. 157, n.

+ "Eastern Papers," pt. ii. p. 307.

‡ Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 24.

§ Mr. Kinglake describes the position thus (vol. ii. p. 28):—"At all events it is certain that, if only for his power of controlling the French Emperor, and maintaining with him that kind of concert which English statesmen might approve, lord Palmerston had been a great source of strength to the Government. On the other hand, it seemed plain that, if lord Palmerston were to be undergoing political banishment at a time when his late colleagues could be accused of flinching from the task of avenging Sinope, the support of an indignant people, connecting every symptom of Ministerial tameness with his exclusion from office, would make him more powerful than the Queen's Government."—"The fact is," says Mr. Evelyn Ashley, "that he was gifted with the instinct which enables a man to read the heart of a nation, and he felt that the English public would never forgive the Ministry if nothing decisive was done after the disaster at Sinope."—"Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 55.

|| "Eastern Papers," pt. ii. p. 321; Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 26.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 36. With still greater truth and plainness, her Majesty wrote to lord Clarendon, in returning the draft of his despatch to lord Cowley:—"The concluding sentence the

Christmas Eve, and on the same day lord Palmerston consented to withdraw his resignation, which had not been formally completed.*

The most significant comment on the whole affair was supplied by the French ambassador's letter of congratulation to lord Palmerston:—"At the opening of the campaign which we are about to make together, it is a great comfort for me, and a great assurance (*garantie*) for the Emperor, to know that you are the soul of the councils of our ally."

At the moment when one of the allied governments could not conceal from itself that the decision now taken might lead to a new war, which the other talked of as already beginning, these same two Powers, with their less forward allies, had despatched proposals to Constantinople for putting an end to the existing war; and the mighty influence of the English ambassador brought about their acceptance by a Great Council of State on the last day of the year 1853. The military pride of Russia had been gratified by some successes in Armenia added to the victory at Sinope, and the prospect of her being prevented from repeating such a feat was borne with contentment as the winter season gave an adequate reason for keeping the fleet at Sebastopol.† The new proposals came before the Czar with all the weight due to the diplomatic concert of the four Powers, which was still unbroken, notwithstanding the separate action of England and France. Austria and Prussia had fully concurred in the scheme of action devised by lord Clarendon (November 16th), with the consent of France, to the effect that the Porte should not be asked to accept any condition it had already rejected, and affirming the determination of the four Powers to intervene in any settlement of the dispute between Russia and Turkey.‡ They had also joined with the Western Powers in declaring, by the protocol of December 5th, "that the existence of Turkey in the limits assigned to it by existing treaties was one of the necessary conditions of European equilibrium." And now, by a protocol, on the 13th of January, the four Powers finally approved the terms in the form assented to by Turkey, and joined in submitting them to the Czar.

But on the day before this last decision the resolution of the Western Powers had reached St. Petersburg, and had roused a resentment which made it impossible for the Czar to accept the proposed terms, even if his own indignation had allowed him to entertain them.§ The formal representation

Queen must consider as *tantamount to a Declaration of War*, which, however, under the guarded conditions attached to it, she feels she cannot refuse to sanction."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 26.

* The whole story of his retirement and return has not yet been made public. The different views of the transaction, so far as it is known, will be found in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii. pp. 533, *f.*; Kinglake, vol. ii. pp. 23, *f.*; and Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston."

† This was expressly stated by count Nesselrode to sir H. Seymour.—"Eastern Papers," part ii. p. 359; Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ "Eastern Papers," part ii. pp. 238, 258; Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 80.

§ See sir Hamilton Seymour's report of the state of feeling.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 9. The fleets entered the Black Sea on January 4th, and the Czar's fleet retired to Sebastopol, to lie there till it was sunk by the Russians during the siege.

of our ambassador, that the fleets were only sent for the protection of the Turkish territory and flag, was of course treated as an evasion, and count Nesselrode denounced the step as "an act of flagrant hostility," adding, "as for ourselves, it is impossible for us to look upon such a resolution in any other light than as a violation offered to our belligerent rights."* Acting upon this view, the Czar recalled his ambassadors from London and Paris, as soon as the resolution was communicated to him officially.†

At this crisis, the new session of Parliament was opened (January 31st);‡ and the first public account of the state of the Eastern Question was given by her Majesty. The opening sentence was an exact echo of the key-note struck in the speech at the prorogation, in which the close union with the Emperor of the French predominated over the European concert. "I have continued to act *in cordial co-operation with the Emperor of the French*; and my endeavours, *in conjunction with my allies*, to preserve and to restore peace between the contending parties, although hitherto unsuccessful, have been unremitting. I will not fail to persevere in these endeavours; but, *as the continuance of the war may deeply affect the interests of this country and of Europe*, I think it requisite to make a further augmentation of my naval and military forces, with the view of *supporting my representations, and of more effectually contributing to the restoration of peace.*"

The hearer of this reserved and almost ambiguous declaration might have been tempted to say, "The voice is the voice of Aberdeen, but the hand is the hand of Palmerston"; and lord Derby might well ask,—"It is intimated to us that a state of warfare has ensued from the failure of all our negotiations. *A state of warfare with whom? Are we belligerents? Are we partizans?*" In a powerful description of Russia's course of aggression, "never proceeding by storm, but by sap and mine," he maintained that, "though she has pursued this steady course for 150 years, she has from time to time desisted from her schemes where she has found they met with opposition, and has never carried any of those schemes into effect where she has been certain to meet the opposition of this country." To his indictment of the ministerial policy for not acting on this principle by opposing Russia's first aggression, lord Clarendon replied that the Government was warranted in protracting negotiations rather than commit the country to the terrible alternative of war. This defence was much more effective when it was urged, as we shall see, shortly afterwards, by lord Palmerston, in a chivalrous spirit of fidelity to the colleagues from whom he had differed so widely on this very point.

* Despatch to baron Brunnow, January 16, 1854.

† Their actual departure took place on the 7th of February, and at the same time the English and French ambassadors were recalled from St. Petersburg. We cannot stay to relate the curious episodes of the French Emperor's private letter to the Czar, and his defiant answer recalling 1812, calling on the allies to stop the armies of *Turkey*, and ending, "My conditions are known at Vienna," where count Orlov was labouring to gain over Austria, while baron Budberg was sent to Berlin to secure the alliance of Prussia, but both in vain. See Kinglake, and the "Life of the Prince Consort."

‡ The domestic measures of this session have been related in chapter xiv.

By this time the Czar's terms were "known at Vienna"; and his defiant spirit was shown by their going much beyond those demands of Menchikov which had given the first offence. Rejecting the scheme proposed by the Powers and accepted by the Turks, he made these his last conditions:—the confirmation of all existing treaties and conventions between Russia and the Porte, with a specific recognition of his protectorate of the Greek Christians, *and an engagement by Turkey not to furnish an asylum for political refugees.** On the 2nd of February the Conference declared these proposals to be inadmissible, and such as ought not to be submitted to the Porte. Thus the efforts of diplomacy at Vienna were exhausted, and the diplomatic relations of Russia with England and France were broken off, when the whole question was made the subject of high debate in the British Parliament. On the 14th of February the marquess of Clanricarde brought the present position of affairs before the House of Lords; when lord Aberdeen gave assurances that every possible preparation was being made for war, which *he believed to be still not inevitable!* and lord Clarendon said, in terms which passed into a byword, that, though war was not yet declared, it could scarcely be said we were at peace: he thought we were in an intermediate state, but *every hour drifting nearer and nearer to a state of war.*

Three days later (February 17th) Mr. Layard in the Commons made a motion tantamount to a censure on the Government for want of energy in their past policy, and designed to elicit their intentions for the future; when lord John Russell spoke out in a tone very different from the Premier and the Foreign Secretary. Declaring first how he, and all, would rejoice if *most unexpectedly* the Emperor of Russia should recede before all Europe disapproving his conduct, lord John continued:—"But, if that is not to be, and if peace is no longer consistent with our duty to Europe and our duty to the world;—if the ambition of this enormous Power has got to such a pitch, that even its *moderation* is more ambitious than the ambition of other states;—if Russia cannot be contented with anything less than the subjugation of the whole Empire of Turkey, and the possession of Constantinople itself;—if such are her feelings and such are her objects:—then we can only endeavour to enter into this contest with a stout heart. *May God defend the right!*" And the old formula of onset in a judicial combat rung through the land. In the adjourned debate on the following Monday (February 20th), Mr. Disraeli responded for the Opposition in a like spirit, but not without sarcastic references to the conduct of lord John's friends in the last great war, and to the feeble policy of the present Ministers. Declaring the readiness of his party to agree to the proposed vote for an addition to the army, he said: "I can answer for myself and for my friends, that no

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 10. If this last allusion to the Hungarian refugees was meant as a sop to Austria, which could hardly have wished the subject revived, it was still more certain to give new offence to England and France. The air of tutelage adopted by count Orlov, and the rejection of his overtures by Francis Joseph, whom Nicholas was accustomed to speak of as a son, roused a bitter feeling between the two Emperors.

future Wellesley on the banks of the Danube will have to make a bitter record of the exertions of an English Opposition, that depreciated his efforts and ridiculed his talents. We shall remember what we believe to be our duty to this country; and however protracted may be the war, however unfortunate your counsels, at least we shall never despair of the Republic."

It was in reply to Mr. Disraeli's charge of credulity in accepting the promises of Russia, and even, on the part of lord Aberdeen, some appearance of complicity in her designs, that lord Palmerston made his memorable defence of the Ministry. While acting on the basis of mutual good faith, it was no reproach to have been deceived by a Power, which he charged with exhausting every modification of untruth, concealment, and evasion, ending with positive falsehood. His assertion—that our Government never had any intimation that Menchikov's demands, and the military preparations to enforce them, applied to any other matters beyond the Holy Places—might have been disputed as a question of *dates*; but his main point was in the question, whether anything had been lost by the policy of forbearance.* The assertion (which was in fact his own) that Russia would have given way before our determined attitude in the beginning, he characterized as "a plausible opinion, but, after all, only an opinion," † and he pointed out that, "had Russia, instead of submission, urged us on to the point at which we now stood, we should have been justly chargeable with a grave political mistake. And to this he added a consideration most weighty in the existing state of our relations to the two Powers which were still acting with us, though we seemed to have forgotten them. Austria and Prussia would not have been willing rashly to join us in a war which, in case of the success of Russia, would involve "such an appropriation of geographical power on her part, as must have been fatal to the independent action of these two countries. . . . Now they will feel it due to themselves to take some part in the contest; for, if they do not, Austria must indeed have forgotten all her established policy and must be ignorant of all her own interests; and the same is the case with Prussia. I therefore say that, with England and France acting as the supporters of Turkey, with the opinion of the whole of Europe opposed to the Emperor of Russia, who will not have a single ally to support him in his career of injustice, I have no doubt as to what must be the result." The effect of this speech is best described in the words of Prince Albert to baron

* Of course this argument, urged in a great party debate, must be weighed in the balance with the views already urged by lord Palmerston in the Cabinet, and the deliberate opinion which he expressed afterwards.

† The student of the Eastern Question, then and now, cannot fail to observe how much it has turned, not on simple considerations of right and wrong, of international policy and an enlightened sense of our real interests, but on speculations as to the pliability of either side to a show of force made in the hope that it need not be used,—as to whether, on the one hand, Russia always recedes before firm resistance, and, on the other, Turkey never withstands the mandate of united Europe;—and how often the hopes based on such speculations have been disappointed.

Stockmar :—"The debates on the Eastern Question have all turned out well for the Ministry, and now that even Palmerston has spoken out in the Commons, the public is satisfied.*

One speech in this great debate remains to be noticed, as the utterance of a small but high-principled minority, whose ardent zeal for peace turned out, in the temper of the Russian Czar and of the English public, to be one of the causes that made war certain. The adjourned debate (February 20th) was opened by Mr. Cobden in a speech exposing the hopeless weakness and barbarism of Turkey and its tyranny towards its Christian populations; condemning the interference of England in a vain attempt to support a decaying state; and dwelling, on the other hand, on the importance of our Russian trade. Outside the walls of Parliament, these and kindred arguments had been pressed to a point at which they were certain to alienate the sympathies of the English people. It was not that, on grounds whether right or wrong, their temper had been gradually rising to a white heat against the aggression of Russia on our weak ally; but the argument of the "peace party" † seemed to fly in the face of our most vital interest in the whole question. In the more recent crisis it was said by one who was no friend of the Turks and still less of war, the present lord Derby, "the Eastern Question is Constantinople," and a policy almost hostile to Turkey was reversed the moment that city seemed about to fall into the hands of Russia. But the *feeling* thus roused in 1878 was also a *principle* generally accepted a quarter of a century before, and both seemed outraged by the language held (for example) by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright at a meeting at Manchester in January. "If Russia," said Mr. Cobden, "obtained Constantinople, she must cease to be barbarous before she could become formidable;" and in that progress, he argued, she would grow into that prosperous state which binds a nation to be peaceful.‡ In the same spirit Mr. Bright declared Russia to be advancing from a despotism to a better state, and regretted that the question had not been settled by the concessions of Turkey, as it would have been long ago but for our interference. These extreme views went far to destroy the well-earned influence which might have been exerted in discussion based on ground more common with their countrymen; and besides, in the case of Mr. Bright and the most estimable denomination whom he worthily represented, their being committed to the condemnation of all war, as a sacred religious doctrine, went far to put them out of court when they argued against the justice of any particular war. Precisely at the moment when diplomatic relations were broken off, the severed link was taken up by a deputation of the Society of Friends, whom Nicholas received most cordially, and introduced to "his

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 29.

† This is used simply as a sort of *technical term*, the meaning of which is well understood, and in no invidious sense.

‡ A full statement of Mr. Cobden's views on the whole question of Russia, Turkey, and Europe, will be found in a paper, written (we believe) as early as 1833, and republished during the crisis of 1877. (Mr. John Morley's "Life of Cobden" has appeared since this chapter was written.)

wife" with homely familiarity. This unofficial diplomacy would only have excited mild amusement, but for the belief that it was one of many signs from which Nicholas misjudged the resolution of the English people. After all, it would perhaps require the knowledge which alone can read the human heart and its mixed motives, to decide whether his course was taken because of our forbearance and love of peace, or in spite of his better knowledge of their meaning. Thus much only is certain, that he had now come to the state of feeling which impressed sir Hamilton Seymour with the conviction, that he "must have settled in his own mind that the hour, if not of Turkey's dissolution, at all events *for* its dissolution, must be at hand." * The same close and acute observer afterwards declared † that "he was satisfied that, if any friend of the Emperor Nicholas had been courageous enough to explain to him the real feelings of other nations as to his interference in Turkish affairs, his Majesty would never have followed his present unfortunate course." But it is the curse of despotism to be raised above profiting by the wise man's sayings:—"Open rebuke is better than secret love. Faithful are the wounds of a friend." ‡

On the same day on which sir H. Seymour's letter was written, the day after the great debate in the Commons, the Czar issued a war manifesto to his faithful and fanatic people:—"England and France have ranged themselves by the side of the enemies of Christianity against Russia fighting for the orthodox faith. But Russia will not alter her divine mission; and, if enemies fall upon her frontiers, we are ready to meet them with the firmness which our ancestors have bequeathed to us. Are we not the same Russian nation, of whose deeds of valour the memorable events of 1812 bear witness? May the Almighty assist us to prove this by deeds. And in this trust, taking up arms for our persecuted brethren professing the Christian faith, we will exclaim, with the whole of Russia, with one heart, 'O Lord, our Saviour, whom have we to fear?'" This was a virtual declaration of war with England and France, and it only remained to be seen whether Austria and Prussia were to be associated with the Western Powers. By adding 50,000 men to her army on the Wallachian frontier, Austria had the Russian army of occupation at her mercy; § and now (February 22nd) count Buol declared to the Prussian ambassador, baron de Bourqueney, that "if England and France will fix a day for the evacuation of the Principalities, the expiration of which shall be the signal for hostilities, the Cabinet of Vienna will support the summons." || These words were telegraphed to

* Letter to lord John Russell (February 21, 1854).—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 23.—We remember to have read somewhere that the Czar was influenced by some prophecy, or presentiment, that the epoch of Turkey's fall was marked by the completion of four centuries from the taking of Constantinople in 1453; but we know of no authority for the statement.

† Speech at the Lord Mayor's Easter banquet (April 17th).

‡ Proverbs xxvii. 5, 6.

§ This movement was effected on the 6th and 22nd of February.—Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 83.

|| The concurrence of Prussia was given only in the form of an expression of her Government's satisfaction that Austria was about to adopt a more decided policy, and that "the interests of Germany on the Danube were likely to be so warmly espoused." (Baron

London the same day; but, in answer to lord Clarendon's request for a pledge that Austria would declare war, her ambassador only repeated that she would "support" the summons. As Mr. Kinglake observes, "it seems hardly possible to believe that the Emperor of Austria deliberately intended to ask France and England to fix a day for going to war, without meaning to go to war himself at the same time; and it would seem that this point should have been made certain before taking the last decisive step.* But the French ambassador declared his opinion that the sending of the summons was a business which "should be done immediately"; and the English people, as they cheered the troops already setting forth, were impatient to hear of their achievements. On the 27th of February, the English summons was addressed by lord Clarendon to count Nesselrode, declaring to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg that, unless by the return of the messenger, who was instructed not to wait more than six days for the answer, Russia announced her intention to evacuate the Principalities by the 30th of April next, her refusal or silence would be considered by the British Government as equivalent to a declaration of war.† The messenger, captain Blackwood, was to stay for a few hours at Vienna, where our ambassador, lord Westmoreland, was instructed merely to express a hope that the summons "would meet with the approval" of the Austrian Cabinet, and that count Buol would make their opinion of it known at St. Petersburg. As it happened that the messenger reached Vienna simultaneously with the arrival of counter-proposals from Russia, count Buol assembled the Conference, which at once "unanimously agreed that it was impossible to proceed with those propositions." The English messenger carried this decision of the four Powers to St. Petersburg, together with a despatch from the Austrian Government, instructing their ambassador, count Esterhazy, to support the summons, and throwing on Russia the responsibility of the war. A pressing representation to the same effect was forwarded by Prussia to St. Petersburg. The French summons to Russia was in the same terms as the English, and was forwarded at the same time. The two were delivered to the Emperor on the 14th of March, and on the fifth day of the six assigned for captain Blackwood's stay, count Nesselrode informed the English and French consuls that the Emperor did not think it fitting (*convenable*) that he should make any reply. This refusal was uttered on the 19th of March, 1854, on which day, by the terms of the summons, England and France were placed in a state of war with Russia. Austria, whose interest in the stake should have placed her in the forefront of the conflict, was left to choose her own course in concert with Prussia.

Manteuffel to count Arnim at Vienna, February 25th.) As to Prussia's hesitating policy, and the interests of Germany in resisting Russia, see Prince Albert's Memorandum of March 8th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 12, *fol.*

* On such points as this, the want is sorely felt of the more private sources of information which remain to be revealed to coming generations.

† For the text of the summons, see Kinglake, Appendix to vol. ii. p. 401.

CHAPTER XIX.

WAR DECLARED—THE CAMPAIGN ON THE DANUBE (1854)—Departure of the Guards for Malta—Inadequate Preparations—England's Reserve of Military Force—Slowness of setting it in action—Financial Resources—Mr. Gladstone's Budget—Paying for War out of Income—The Income Tax doubled—Supplementary Budget—Banquet to Sir C. Napier—Sailing of the Baltic Fleet—Extravagant expectations disappointed—Publication of the Czar's Conversations with Sir H. Seymour—Feeling excited at home and abroad—Treaty of England and France with Turkey—The Czar's Answer received—The Queen's Message to Parliament—Declaration of the Causes of War—Ceremony of Declaring War (March 31st)—Addresses of the two Houses—Lord Aberdeen echoing Falkland's cry for *Peace!*—Orders in Council—Treaty of France and England—Protocol of the Four Powers (April 9th)—Treaty of Austria and Prussia for obtaining the evacuation of the Principalities—Austria the first to act—Preparations of England and France—First object of the War: safety of Constantinople and the Straits—The Allied Armies at Gallipoli—The Commanders-in-Chief: Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud—Council at the Tuileries—Cordiality of the Armies—Their advance to Varna—Retrospect of the Campaign on the Danube (1853)—The Czar's strategic error in invading the Principalities—Omar Pasha crosses the Danube to Kalafat—Turkish Victory at Oltenitza—Prince Paskievich's Plan of Campaign—(1854) Siege of Silistria—Butler and Nasmyth; Cannon and Ballard—Assaults repulsed—The Siege raised—Battle of Giurgevo—Gortchakov's Retreat to Bucharest—Austrian Summons to Russia—Note of Austria and Prussia adopted by the German Diet—Convention with the Porte—The Principalities evacuated by Russia, and occupied by Austria—The first Object of the War attained.

By all but a few "hoping against hope," the issue had been long foreseen, and the Queen's Speech had asked Parliament to provide for it. The practical result of the great debate of February 17th and 20th had been votes of considerable sums of money, and for an increased number of seamen and marines. Large bodies of troops embarked for Malta during February, amidst the enthusiastic farewells of Queen and people. There are many who still remember the scene described by her Majesty in a letter to King Leopold (February 28th):—"The last battalion of the Guards (Scottish Fusiliers) embarked to-day. They passed through the courtyard here * at seven o'clock this morning. We stood on the balcony to see them. The morning fine, the sun shining over the towers of Westminster Abbey, and an immense crowd collected to see the fine men, and cheering them immensely as with difficulty they marched along. They

* Buckingham Palace, the front court of which was then only divided from the Park by railings; the present façade having been added since.

formed line, presented arms, and then cheered us very heartily, and went off cheering. It was a touching and beautiful sight. *Many sorrowing friends were there*, and one saw the shake of many a hand. My best wishes and prayers will be with them all." *

Each of the three regiments of Guards—the Grenadiers, the Coldstream, and the Scots Fusiliers—sent out one battalion. The historian of the war tells the fate reserved for them in the Crimea:—"They were destined to encounter the hardest trials of soldiers, and to go on fighting and enduring, until the glory of past achievements, the strange ascendancy which these achievements had won, and *a few score of wan men with hardly the garb of soldiers*, should be all that remained of 'the Guards.'" †

Amidst the enthusiasm which attended the departure of these gallant Guards, but few enquired whether the forces we were putting in motion, and especially the *immediate* resources to back them up, had been carefully calculated for the work that lay before them. It has always been the policy of England to rely, not on vast armies kept always on foot,—daily exhausting the power to maintain them,—but on the great reserve of wealth and strength accumulating during peace to be drawn upon for war. As George Canning said, in one of his splendid bursts of eloquence‡:—"The resources created by peace are means of war. In cherishing these resources we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof that they are devoid of strength and incapable of being fitted out for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness,—how soon, upon any call of patriotism or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion,—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage,—how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might; such is England herself, while, apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion." A truth ever to be remembered by our statesmen; but not without forgetting how slowly great dormant forces are put in motion, and how often the very confidence they inspire has led to rash unready action. Soon came the bitter lesson of the preparation needed to set the mighty machine in action after nearly forty years' repose.

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 34. Shortly afterwards, on the departure of the Baltic Fleet, the Queen wrote to baron Stockmar (*ibid.* p. 36):—"I am very enthusiastic about my dear army and navy, and wish I had two sons in both *now*." (The princes Alfred and Arthur were then in their 10th and 4th years.) "I know I shall suffer much when I hear of losses among them." We revise these lines for press at the moment when the duke of Connaught has returned with well-earned honour from the campaign in Egypt (1882).

† Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 130.

‡ Speech at Plymouth, 1823.

The principle so brilliantly illustrated is especially true of those pecuniary resources, which are proverbially the sinews of war; and modern finance had been directed to the object of using surplus revenue for the remission of taxation, that it might "fructify in the pockets of the people," and foster a prosperity able to bear the sudden and even continued demands of "an adequate occasion." But here also is a twofold danger, either of extravagant demands, sure to be wastefully expended, or "starving the war" by a parsimony arising from timidity or economical principles. Now it was a trying task for the author of the great financial scheme of 1853, to have, in his second year, to propose a War Budget, dissipating the brilliant hopes of conversion of the 3 per cents. and abolition of the Income Tax. But this was not all. Financial reformers had long dwelt on the profligate course adopted by former statesmen, of throwing the burden of war upon posterity, and bequeathing the huge National Debt to a long series of generations; and Mr. Gladstone, as a passionate friend of peace, shared their belief that it was more likely to be preserved by a people who had themselves to pay for the war of their own waging. To say, as has been said, that he deliberately chose this means of disgusting the people with a war of which he disapproved—(well knowing that, in their present temper, he would only disgust them with himself)—is an insult to a British statesman, as gross as that which imputes the converse profligacy to men like the two Pitts. What he did avow was, that, *as far as possible*, and subject to the prospect of demands that would make the principle absurd, it was a point of duty and policy to try the great experiment of paying the cost of war out of current income raised by taxation, not by loans;* and the experiment seemed the more practicable from the hope to which he clung, that the war would be short, if it might not even yet be averted at the twelfth hour.†

This hope helped to determine the very peculiar form of new taxation proposed by the Budget which he opened on the 6th of March. The prosperity of the country, and the success of the great measures of the last year, were shown by an excess of more than a million over the revenue then estimated, while a million of the estimated expenditure had been saved; ‡ the actual surplus being about 3 millions. The Budget of 1853 had

* A letter of Prince Albert's states the limit thus:—"Gladstone wants to pay for the war out of current revenue, so long as he does not require more than ten millions sterling above the ordinary expenditure."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 57.

† The *ultimatum* had not yet arrived at St. Petersburg. (See above, p. 210.)

‡ The figures were:—

For 1853—Revenue, estimated,	£52,990,000	; actual,	£54,025,000
„ Expenditure, estimated,	£52,183,000	; actual,	51,171,000
For 1854—Revenue, estimated on the basis of 1853,	53,349,000		
„ Estimated Expenditure	56,189,000		

As to the prosperity of the country, Mr. Gladstone said: "Such is the vigour and such the elasticity of our trade, that even under the disadvantage of a bad harvest and under the pressure of war, the imports from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, are increasing, and the very last papers laid on the table show that within the last three months of the year there were £250,000 increase in your exports."

provided for further remissions of taxation in 1854; but, had the peace of Europe remained undisturbed, Mr. Gladstone would have calculated on a surplus of £1,660,000, which his very moderate demands, in prospect of war, converted into a deficiency of £2,840,000. After a long argument against making this up by indirect taxation or by borrowing, Mr. Gladstone proposed to double the existing rate of Income Tax (making it 14*d.* in the pound), but only for the first half of the year, as *he might not want more*, and, if he did, the double tax might be easily continued (as it soon was). This would make the total produce of the Income Tax above 9½ millions, and leave a small surplus of nearly half a million.* The leading principle of the Budget did not pass uncontested, and a remarkable commentary was soon supplied by facts. The estimates framed in the last forlorn hope of peace were far from sufficient when the war had actually begun; and on May 8th Mr. Gladstone brought forward a supplementary Budget, to provide for an additional war expenditure of £6,850,000. The doubled Income Tax, continued for the whole year, taking its produce at £12,832,000, would bear about two-thirds of the estimated cost of the war for the year, and the other third was to be laid upon consumers by indirect taxation, chiefly on luxuries. The duties on Scotch and Irish whisky were raised by 1*s.* and 8*d.* a gallon respectively; the malt-tax increased from 2*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* a bushel; and the sugar duties were equalized for all sugars, irrespective of their origin, whether colonial or foreign, slave-grown or by free labour. Adding to the new taxes of the two Budgets the sum of £1,474,000 which would have been remitted by the Budget of 1853, this increase of the public burdens at the beginning of the war already amounted to £8,683,000. But, as not more than £2,840,000 could be reckoned upon in the actual receipts for the year, a temporary loan of 6 millions was issued in Exchequer Bills and Bonds. While thus inserting "the thin end of the wedge" into his high-minded fabric of financial principle, Mr. Gladstone concluded a grand speech of three hours and a-half with an eloquent condemnation of the miserable policy of the old loan system which flourished during the great war with France;—a system, it ought never to be forgotten, entirely supplementary to an enormous increase of current taxation imposed on that generation.†

On the day after the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's first Budget (March 7th) there was a grand banquet at the Reform Club in honour of vice-admiral sir Charles Napier, who had been appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet.‡ This veteran sailor, who had first served in the Mediterranean

* The prospective reductions of the tax, provided for by the Budget of 1853, were of course set aside.

† The full force of this remark will be seen by reference to the Tables of Revenue and Expenditure, remembering also the enormous increase of national wealth since the beginning of the century. Besides the immense variety of taxes, assessed and indirect, the Income Tax alone produced 16½ millions in 1808 (its *maximum*), and nearly 15 millions in 1815.

‡ Charles John Napier was born 6th of March, 1786, and was therefore 67 at this time. He entered the navy in 1792, and died in 1860. He was first cousin to the two great soldiers, sir Charles James Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, and sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular War.

while Nelson was still alive (1800), and afterwards in the war with America (1813-14), had proved the daring gallantry of his distinguished house by his capture of Dom Miguel's squadron as commander for Donna Maria in the Portuguese civil war (1833), and afterwards as second in command in the operations against Mehemet Ali on the coast of Syria (1840). With such laurels already won, he was esteemed a worthy scion of the school of Nelson; and his past deeds and expected achievements were on this occasion glorified by sir James Graham and lord Palmerston in a tone of ill-omened vaunting and, as some thought, of unseemly levity.* Sir Charles endeavoured, in his parting speech to the Corporation of Portsmouth, to moderate the expectations which might well be excited by the splendid fleet of twenty great ships, armed with 2,000 guns, and carrying 21,000 men, which the Queen herself led out from Spithead on the 11th of March. Our navy was then in the transition state from the age of wood to that of iron, when the screw propeller had been added, as an auxiliary power to most of "the oak leviathans" of that splendid armament.

The disappointing issue of this enthusiastic beginning lies in so narrow a compass, that it may be told at once. No opportunity was given for the practice of Nelson's famous maxim, "The captain cannot do wrong who lays his ship alongside of an enemy"; and it was in vain that Napier issued the order (April 6th):—"Lads! war is declared. We are to meet a bold and numerous enemy. Should they offer us battle, you know how to dispose of them. Should they remain in port, we must try to get at them. Success depends upon the quickness and precision of your fire. Lads, sharpen your cutlasses, and the day is your own." The Russian Baltic fleet, lying behind the fortified island of Kronstadt, like the Black Sea fleet in the harbour of Sebastopol, went far to verify Napoleon's saying, that a war between England and Russia is the fight of a crocodile with an elephant. No gunboats had been provided, and without them Kronstadt was declared impregnable; the same opinion was formed of Sweaborg, Russia's second great fortress on the Gulf of Finland; and sir James Graham's instructions especially warned the admiral against attacking either of those fortresses. There remained the unfinished fortress of Bomarsund, the erection of which on one of the Aland islands, off the coast of Sweden, was regarded as a standing menace by Russia to that Power. The capture and destruction of that place, with the aid of a French military force (August 15th), with some successes of lesser consequence, left sir Charles Napier little to boast of, save that he had braved the dangers of the Baltic as late as November and brought his fleet safe home, amidst mutual recriminations between him and sir James Graham.

* Mr. Bright's rebuke and lord Palmerston's scornful answer in the House (March 13th) may be allowed by this time to pass into oblivion; and we would rather inscribe on our page a word of honour for a great man who died on the same day. MR. JUSTICE TALFOURD, who had won fame in literature as well as law, and deserves grateful remembrance as the author of the Copyright Act of 1842, was on the bench at Stafford, charging the Grand Jury, and urging the pressing need of more kindly sympathy between the different classes of society, when he suddenly fell forward with his face upon his book, and died within five minutes.

Between the sailing of the Baltic fleet and the return of the expected messenger from St. Petersburg, an event occurred tending to exasperate the feeling which would have received a peaceful answer as a disappointment. On the 13th of March lord Derby in the Lords drew attention to an article in the "Journal de St. Petersburg" (copied in the "Times") replying to the speech of lord John Russell, and alleging that our Government had a full knowledge of the Emperor's intentions from the frank statements he had made in 1844 and 1853. As their only answer to this challenge, the Government felt bound to publish the secret despatches containing the conversations of the Emperor with sir Hamilton Seymour. The effect was as if a flood of light were suddenly poured upon the designs which the few were constantly blaming the many for suspecting; and indignation was inflamed by a sense of shame at England's having been even tempted, though vainly, by the bribe of Egypt, to become a party to Russia's acquisition of Constantinople and supremacy over all European Turkey. And further, as sir Theodore Martin truly says:—"The deep impression produced by the publication of these papers was not confined to England, but was felt throughout the continent. They showed to Austria, to Prussia, and to France, how loyally we had refused to separate their interests from our own, and they could better appreciate this loyalty, knowing as they did how vigorously Russia had been intriguing at their various courts for many months to detach them from the English alliance."*

While awaiting the answer of Russia to their *ultimatum*, England and France entered into a treaty with the Porte, by which they engaged to defend Turkey by arms until the conclusion of a peace guaranteeing the independence of the Ottoman Empire, and to withdraw their forces at the end of the war. The Sultan undertook, on his part, to make no separate peace or armistice with Russia (March 10, 1854).

Four days after the signature of this treaty, as we have seen, the Russian Chancellor declared the Czar's refusal to give any answer to the English and French summons, and captain Blackwood arrived with the news on Saturday, the 25th of March. On the following Monday, a Royal Message announced to both Houses of Parliament that the negotiations with the Emperor of Russia were at an end, and that "Her Majesty felt bound to afford active assistance to her ally, the Sultan, against unprovoked aggression"; and on the same day, a message from the Emperor of the French informed his Senate and Legislative Assembly that the last determination of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had placed France and Russia in a state of war.† On the following day, the official "Declaration of the

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 51. It is unnecessary to dwell on the Russian intrigues to tempt Greece with that vision of a revived Byzantine Empire, which the Czar was resolved never to permit,—so far successful as to stir up a bloody "unofficial war" on the frontier (like in Servia in 1876), in which the Slavs refused to join, and which was stopped by the diplomatic intervention of the four Powers and the active pressure put by England and France on the Greek Government. The affair led to an admirable statement by the Prince of the reasons *why England did not let Turkey fall?* (*ibid.* p. 55, f.)

† On the 7th of March the Assembly authorized a loan of 250 millions of francs, or £10,000,000 sterling.

Causes of War" was published in the "London Gazette."* It laid the responsibility on the Emperor of Russia's "unprovoked aggression against the Sublime Porte," and his rejection of the "just and equitable terms proposed by the four Powers." The appeal to arms was justified by a statement of the transactions which we have related, and, after declaring that, even when the Sultan had declared war in self-defence, her Majesty, with her allies, had not ceased her endeavours to restore peace, it concluded thus:—"The time has, however, now arrived, when the advice and remonstrances of the four Powers have proved wholly ineffectual, and, the military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended, it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered on a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. In this conjuncture her Majesty feels called upon, by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose Empire have been recognized as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong, by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a Power which has violated the faith of treaties and defies the opinion of the civilized world, to take up arms in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, for the defence of the Sultan. Her Majesty is persuaded that in so acting she will have the cordial support of her people; and that the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts and of its true and beneficent spirit. Her Majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that by the blessing of Providence peace may be re-established on safe and solid foundations."

On Friday the 31st the people of London beheld a ceremony which had not been witnessed since the rupture of the peace of Amiens half a century before, the solemn proclamation of war by the Sergeant-at-arms, accompanied by the dignitaries of the City, from the steps of the Royal Exchange †; and on the same evening both Houses of Parliament agreed to addresses in answer to the Queen's message. The debates are described as having been "worthy of so great and solemn an occasion. Whatever differences existed as to the previous action of the Ministry were buried in the general determination to support them in carrying the struggle to a successful close. In the House of Commons the eloquence of Mr. Bright,

* Mr. Kinglake (vol. ii. p. 120) affirms that "it was found less easy than might be supposed to assign reasons for the war. The necessity of having to state the cause of the rupture in a solemn and precise form disclosed the vice of the policy which the Government was following; for it could not be concealed that the grievance which was inducing France and England to take up arms was one of a European kind, which called for redress at the hands of the four Powers rather than for the armed championship of the two. The Queen's Advocate conceived that upon the Papers as first supplied to him he could not frame a proper Declaration of War, and required further instructions from the Government."

† To many of the citizens the transition from peace to war was marked still more strikingly by the fact that Consols, which had been above *par* in the year before, fluctuated between 91½ and 85½ during this critical month.

proclaiming that his friends and himself regarded the war as neither just nor necessary, was listened to with unusual coldness, while the reply of lord Palmerston, clear in its statement of the interests, national and European, which were at stake, and vibrating with the ring of patriotic feeling in which he was never wanting, was received with vehement cheers and welcomed throughout the country as a true echo of the national sentiment.*

In these debates a note, perhaps even more discordant with the general feeling than Mr. Bright's consistent protest, was struck by the Prime Minister himself, declaring that, "like the purest patriot of the Civil War, who, when buckling on his armour, murmured *Peace! Peace!* a prayer for the return of peace would ever be uppermost in his mind." Lord Aberdeen's comparison of himself with the enthusiastic Falkland might have provoked a smile, but the hearers and readers of his speech were irritated by its ill-timed sentimentalism and the strange parallel between the two conflicts.†

Just after the declaration of war, England and France made a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, both engaging to use all the land and sea forces required for setting free the Sultan's dominions, and the re-establishment of a peace which should secure Europe against the return of the existing troubles, and to enter into no agreement with Russia without having deliberated in common; renouncing all aim at separate advantages; and declaring their readiness to receive other Powers of Europe into their alliance (April 10th). On the preceding day a protocol had been signed by the representatives of the four Powers at Vienna, not only recording the fact, that the hostile step taken by France and England "was supported by Austria and Prussia as being founded in right," but solemnly declaring the continued union of the four Governments in maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and insisting on the evacuation of the Principalities, as essential conditions of peace, and binding themselves to make no separate arrangement with Russia at variance with these principles (April 9th).‡ While all the four Powers joined in this engagement, and England and France in their closer alliance as belligerents, Austria and Prussia also made their separate treaty of offensive and defensive alliance,

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 58. It was at the presentation of the Address of the two Houses that the Prince of Wales (then in his 14th year) first took his place in state beside the Queen. We must be content with a mere reference to the interesting letters of her Majesty to lord Aberdeen (*ibid.* pp. 59, 60) respecting the Day of General Humiliation and Prayer to God for His Blessing and Assistance on our Arms, and for the Restoration of Peace, which was kept on the 26th of April.

† This point is illustrated by a letter written by Prince Albert about a week earlier:—"Even yet Aberdeen cannot soar to the proper height. The war is in his eyes '*like a Civil War*, like a war between England and Scotland!'" and the feeling is ascribed to the remembrance that "he was serving in 1813 and 1814 in the head-quarters of the Allies."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 47.

‡ It was owing to the backwardness of Prussia that this protocol was adopted instead of the more decisive Quadruple Alliance proposed by Austria.—The difficulties of Austria at this time are set forth in a very interesting correspondence between lord Clarendon and Prince Albert.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 52.

guaranteeing their respective possessions, and engaging to defend the rights and interests of Germany against all injury and attack (April 20th). But, beyond this general engagement, an additional article declared that the continued occupation of the Principalities "would endanger the political, moral, and material interests of the whole German Confederation, as well as of their own states"; and it was therefore stipulated that Austria should summon the Czar to stop the further advance of his armies, and to give guarantees for the prompt evacuation of the Principalities. To this summons Prussia engaged to give the most energetic support; and, in case of a refusal, an attack on either of the contracting parties was to be repelled with all the military forces of the other. The meaning and practical object of this treaty are clearly explained by Mr. Kinglake*:—"Failing the peremptory summons, which was to be addressed to Russia, the forces of Austria alone were to execute the easy task of expelling the troops of the Czar from the Principalities; and, in order to withstand the vengeance which this step might provoke, Austria and Prussia stood leagued." That this was no empty menace, was proved by the despatch of the Archduke Albert to command the Austrian army on the Wallachian frontier, and by a new levy of 95,000 men.

The several agreements thus made were finally, so to speak, welded together by another protocol of the four Powers, which declared that both the Anglo-French treaty and the Austro-Prussian treaty bound the parties, in the relative situation to which they applied, to secure the same common object, namely, the evacuation of the Principalities and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire (May 23rd). Ten days only elapsed before Austria took the decisive and, as it soon proved, the effectual step, of summoning Russia to evacuate the Principalities, thus, as Mr. Kinglake observes, being the first to apply force (in that quarter) while the Western Powers were only preparing. We have now to glance at those preparations down to the time when the armies of the allies were encamped on the scene of hostilities.

The first conception of the scope of the war was far more limited than the proportions it soon assumed; though, as we shall presently see, the wider view was put forward almost from the first by the Emperor Napoleon, and was entertained by some among our own statesmen and soldiers. The naval operations must of course sustain England's maritime supremacy. The command of the Black Sea, involving the security of Constantinople on that side, was already secured by the fleet under vice-admiral sir James

* Vol. ii. p. 86.—It is beyond our scope to follow the shifty policy of the King of Prussia, who, while entering into these engagements, was privately pressing the Queen of England to reconsider the last terms offered by the Czar at Vienna, and declaring his intention to remain neutral. We must be content to refer the reader to the documents contained in the "Life of the Prince Consort"; especially the Queen's letter in reply to that of the King just referred to (March 17th).—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 38, f., and that of Prince Albert to the King, when Prussia finally separated from the European concert at the time of the expedition to the Crimea (August 28th, *ibid.* pp. 98, 99). A striking indication of the King's feeling was given by the recall of baron Bunsen from the London embassy, and the dismissal of other counsellors who were opposed to Russia.

Dundas and rear-admiral sir Edmund Lyons; while that sent to the Baltic under sir Charles Napier was to prevent the Russians from coming out to injure our commerce, and to destroy their ships and fortresses as far as possible. But the task of our military force was limited, in the first instance, to the defence of the Sultan's territory,* and especially to the protection of Constantinople and the Straits against attack by land. For this latter object the primary requisites were to guard the base of the peninsula on which Constantinople stands, and also the long narrow peninsula of Gallipoli (the ancient Thracian Chersonese), the possession of which was no less vital, as it commands the Straits of the Dardanelles, and which could be easily protected by lines across its narrow neck from the Dardanelles to the Gulf of Saros. In order to report on the best measures of defence, two engineer officers were sent to Constantinople, sir John Burgoyne by England, and colonel Ardent by France.

The need for more extended operations towards and beyond the Balkans would of course depend on the progress of the war on the Danube, the line of which, as we shall presently see, was held by the Turks with unexpected tenacity through the winter of 1853-4.

Under these circumstances the first step taken by the Western Powers was, that each should send to the Levant a small force, which at first scarcely exceeded the dimensions of a military demonstration; † for, while the hope of peace was still clung to, no adequate arrangements were made to enable an army to live, move, and fight, and the Ministry proposed only a small increase to the army. ‡ On these first measures, taken, as we have seen, in February, Mr. Kinglake observes:—"By despatching a few battalions to Malta, without instructing commissaries to go to the Levant and begin buying up the agricultural wealth of the country, we not only subjected our troops to the danger of their being brought into the field before supplies were ready, but also convinced the Russians that we could not be sincerely intending to engage in a war." § As soon as the war became certain, the troops were carried from Malta to Gallipoli, the fortified town

* The immediate application of this statement is to Turkey in Europe; not that the advance of Russia on the north-eastern frontier of Asiatic Turkey, in Armenia, was of less importance for the interests of England, but it was (practically, at that time, at least) beyond the reach of our military operations. How much could be done to aid and animate the Turkish defence in that quarter, by the presence of a few English officers, will be seen as we proceed.

† Prince Albert writes in February:—"Twelve thousand men will be assembled at Malta within a few days. . . . We are getting ready 15,000 men besides. France, which has hitherto shown no disposition to send a single man, will now send 45,000." Two months later (April 28th) sir James Graham stated in the House of Commons that the Government had despatched to the East 830 officers, 21,119 men, 2,259 horses, 2,800 tons of provisions and commissariat stores, and 3,000 tons of ordnance stores.

‡ Mr. Kinglake states that the duke of Newcastle (Secretary for War and the Colonies) stood almost alone in proposing to the Cabinet a material increase of the land forces; and further that he alone saw the importance of making use of irregular levies of the Sultan's subjects under English officers trained in India. (See the important remarks on the latter subject in Kinglake, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220.)

§ Kinglake, vol. ii. pp. 47-8.

on the neck of the peninsula bordering the Dardanelles, where the first division of the French force, under general Canrobert, had already arrived (March 31st); and a portion of them were sent forward to Scutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, opposite to Constantinople.

The command of the English force was given to a general who, of all the veterans of the great war, had long been most closely connected with the duke of Wellington. LORD RAGLAN, heretofore better known as lord Fitzroy Somerset, was now in the 66th year of his age and the 50th of his military life,* a part of which had also been spent in the diplomatic service at Constantinople and Paris. After serving through the peninsular war on Wellington's staff and as his military secretary, he lost his right arm at Waterloo. From 1814 to 1819 (with the interruption of the Waterloo campaign) he was Secretary of Embassy at Paris; but on Wellington's appointment as Master of the Ordnance (1819) lord Fitzroy again became his military secretary, and retained that confidential post under the duke as Commander-in-chief (1817-1852). That the great chief thought him worthy of this long and intimate association with all his military thoughts and plans, was the best testimony to the use lord Raglan had made of such a training in the art of war; but his official experience for five-and-thirty years was not without that one great drawback, which may be expressed by the contrast between the terms *military* and *warlike*; between the routine and uniformity of army administration during a long peace, and the multi-form and often irregular fertility of resource which war demands.†

Besides his military experience, lord Raglan had qualities of mind and manner admirably fit for the relation he had to sustain to our new allies. His presence had a peculiar charm and power of drawing men to him; and his calm courtesy was the firmest mode of resistance, when he felt resistance to be necessary. Added to these qualities, his aversion to assuming the outward signs of military display was eminently fitted (we adopt the French phrase as suited to the occasion) to "manage the susceptibilities" of a colleague to whose native vanity and *parvenu* dignity such pomp was "the breath of life." To trace the character of field-marshal St. Arnaud ‡ would

* Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, a younger son of the 5th duke of Beaufort, was born on the 30th of September, 1788; entered the army in 1804; was placed on the staff of sir Arthur Wellesley, 1808; military secretary, 1812-1815, and again 1819-1852; Master-general of the Ordnance, and created baron Raglan, 1852; field-marshal, November, 1854; died before Sebastopol, June 28, 1855. He married, in 1814, lady Emily Wellesley, niece of the duke of Wellington.

† This tendency to sacrifice the end to the means, so that "the more a man was military in the narrowed sense of the term, the less likely was he to be fitted for the perturbing exigencies of a campaign," was well exposed in the extreme case of the grand duke Constantine, who declared that "he dreaded a war, because he was sure it would spoil the troops which, with ceaseless care and labour, he had striven to bring to perfection."—Kingleake, vol. ii. p. 169.

‡ Like some others of the associates in Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, he had found it convenient to adopt this new appellation instead of his own name of Jacques Le Roy. The reader is referred to Mr. Kingleake's graphic sketch of his character and career (vol. ii. p. 153, *f.*).

seem but a vain attempt to copy a portrait drawn by the master hand of the author of "Eöthen." He had proved in Algeria, not only his brilliant courage and military skill, but his power to do deeds of what he deemed necessary cruelty in a manner ingeniously original; for he contrived to imitate Pélissier's feat of smothering hundreds of Arabs in a cave without the knowledge even of the soldiers whom he employed to stop the apertures;* and the exploit marked him as the fit right hand of the secret conspiracy which smothered the liberty of France in the night of December 2, 1851. The crowning reward of that service was the command which formed another link between the New Empire and England, when the hero of December was associated with such a man as the honoured friend of Wellington. The ambition of St. Arnaud was gratified for the few months left him to live, though he was so far gone in disease as to be scarcely able to sit on horseback, and his qualities for supreme command were so little relied on that the Emperor surrounded him with more trusted counsellors.

Lord Raglan left England on the 10th of April, the day on which the treaty was signed with France; and on the 13th he first met St. Arnaud in council with the Emperor at the Tuileries. There were also present the Queen's cousin, the Duke of Cambridge, who was to command a division in the war, and the Emperor's uncle, Prince Jerome, who had led the attack on Hougoumont on the day when Lord Raglan lost his arm at La Haye Sainte. No deep strategic plans were formed, for St. Arnaud was impatient of the details of military problems, and Lord Raglan, feeling that the weight of preserving cordiality in this new alliance was one of his chief duties, endeavoured from the first to avoid all needless discussion. He left Paris impressed with the loyalty of the Emperor to the alliance, and, on arriving at Gallipoli, he drew the happiest omen from the cordiality between the chiefs and soldiers of the two armies. With what quiet firmness he repulsed the efforts of St. Arnaud to obtain a superiority in the command, and how he overruled his more dangerous proposal to take up a defensive position behind the Balkans, instead of supporting the gallant stand which the Turks were making on the line of the Danube;—all this may be read in Mr. Kinglake's pages. It is enough to say that, in pursuance of a plan arranged with the Turkish commander, Omar Pasha (May 18th), the allied armies were transported to Varna at the end of May, where, amidst terrible sufferings from cholera, they saw the first act of the war played out almost before they could take part in it. We must now look back to see how the campaign upon the Danube had been brought to this crisis.

Early in November, 1853, hostilities had begun upon the Danube, where the Turks showed policy as well as spirit in taking the initiative. Their position is well described by Mr. Kinglake†:—"The general at the head of

* See his own account quoted in Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 160.

† See Mr. Kinglake's diagram (vol. ii. p. 39), illustrating the Czar's strategic error in occupying the Principalities without the consent of Austria, which Power commanded the flank of his long lines of communication, decreasing in strength with the increasing distance, from the ultimate bases at Warsaw and Moscow. These long-drawn lines of communication afterwards told with fatal effect during the winter campaign in the Crimea.

the Turkish army was Omar Pasha; and it chanced that he was a man highly skilled in the art of bringing political views to bear upon the operations of an army in the field. He perceived that, by protruding his forces into Western or Lesser Wallachia, the Emperor Nicholas was not only distending imprudently his line of communications, but committing in other ways a great strategic fault; and he also inferred that political reasons and imperial vanity would make the Czar cling to his error. He also knew that, for the rest of that year, the Czar, being kept back by the engagements which he had taken, by his fear of breaking with the four Powers, and, above all, by the insufficiency of his means, would abstain from any further invasion of Turkey, and would even be reluctant to alarm Europe by allowing the least glimpse of a Russian uniform to appear on the right bank of the Danube. Omar saw that the river had thus become a political barrier, which protected the Turks from the Russians, without protecting the Russians from the Turks. He could therefore overstep the common rules of the art of war; and, disporting himself as he chose on the line of the Danube, could concentrate forces on his extreme left, without any fear for his centre or his right."

Accordingly a strong body of the Turkish army was concentrated in the autumn at Widdin on the Danube, in the westernmost angle of Bulgaria, and, on the fifth day from the beginning of the state of war, Omar Pasha crossed the Danube to Kalafat, where he entrenched himself, facing the extreme right of the invaders. The result of this movement was to draw a large portion of the Russian force into Lesser Wallachia, far from the direct line of advance upon Adrianople; and the Turks held them at bay at Kalafat in spite of repeated attacks with heavy loss to the assailants, and a long blockade, which was at last broken up in the spring (April 21, 1854). The Turks also took the offensive on the more important line of advance on the lower part of the Danube, crossing from Turtukai to Oltenitza, where the first encounter proved that the Russians had met no despicable foes (November 4, 1853). "The engagement," wrote Omar Pasha, "lasted four hours from noon, and during this interval their waggons never ceased carrying off the dead. At 5 P.M. a total confusion ensued in the Russian ranks; their lines were completely broken and their retreat precipitate. An hour later some few rallied in the neighbouring villages, but the remainder fled in disorder. Our loss amounted to 106 men." In the spring of 1854 the Turks still held the line of the Danube; for the passage of the river by Prince Gortchakov, as soon as war broke out with England and France (March 24, 1854), was of no advantage to Russia: it only placed a portion of her army in the pestilential marshes of the Dobrudja, out of the true line of advance on Adrianople.

These first successes of the enemy were peculiarly irritating to the Czar, as being won on the ground which he held as his "material guarantee"; and they proved the foretaste of a long series of disappointments. He took counsel with the veteran Paskievich, who planned a line of attack on the eastern part of the Danubian frontier, far from the Austrian border on the right and with an adequate space between the left flank and the coast com-

manded by the allied fleets. Crossing the Danube from Kalarasch to Silistria,* reducing that strong place and the fortress of Shumla at the foot of the Balkans, and clearing the mountain passes, the army would march direct upon Adrianople; but the advance from the Danube was only practicable on condition that Silistria fell before the first of May.† Here, then, centres the interest of the campaign, for we cannot stay to describe the various encounters in which the Turks generally held their own upon the Danube during the winter. The veteran marshal, entrusted with the execution of his own plan, was not able to appear before Silistria till a fortnight after the time he had named for its fall; and he opened the first parallel, on his 72nd birthday (May 19th), when Austria was preparing to take decisive action, and only ten days before the allied armies began to disembark at Varna on the left flank of his line of march to the Balkans. But the allied troops, encamped on a most unhealthy site, and not yet supplied with the means of action, remained spectators of a struggle on which the eyes of Europe were fixed in admiration rather than hope. Paskievich pressed the siege with the wonted Russian disregard of the 30,000 lives that he had to expend. Omar Pasha was concentrating his forces at Shumla, but was far too wary to risk a battle with the besiegers. The place had been lately fortified with new works by colonel Grach, a Prussian officer in the Sultan's service, but the real life of the defence was centred in two youths, who wielded that commanding influence which British officers, especially those trained in India, are wont to exercise over the native courage of half-civilized soldiers and the wavering resolution of their commanders. These heroes of Silistria, captain Butler, of the Ceylon rifles, and lieutenant Nasmyth, of the East India Company's service, had thrown themselves into the place as volunteers; and their efforts were afterwards supported by general Cannon (called Behram Pasha), an Indian officer in the Turkish service sent by Omar Pasha, and by lieutenant Ballard, who took Nasmyth's place when he was called away to consult with Omar,‡ Butler having meanwhile been mortally wounded. The fate of Silistria depended on the rude earthwork of Arab Tabia, on one of the hills overlooking the town, which Paskievich deemed it necessary to carry at any

* The fortified towns of Silistria and Rustchuk further west on the Danube, with Shumla and Varna on the coast, formed the defensive "quadrilateral" of Eastern Bulgaria north of the Great Balkans.

† Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 45; who adds, "My knowledge of the counsels tendered to the Emperor by Paskievich is derived from papers in the possession of the late lord Raglan."

‡ Mr. Kinglake tells us that his narrative of the siege is taken in substance from the account furnished to the "Times" by Nasmyth, who had gone to the seat of war as correspondent for that paper, and by his successor Ballard. General Cannon was called away from the place, with Nasmyth, by Omar Pasha, on the 18th of June. Butler died of his wound and fatigue and privation before the end of the siege. Nasmyth was made a major and highly praised by lord Hardinge, the Commander-in-chief. Mr. Kinglake renders this tribute to his memory:—"I knew him in the Crimea. He was a man of quiet and gentle manners, and so free from vanity—so free from all idea of self-gratulation—that he always seemed as though he were unconscious of having stood as he did in the path of the Czar, and had really omitted to think of the share which he had had in changing the course of events,"

cost, while Butler and Nasmyth bent all their energies to strengthen and defend it. We are told by Ballard how the Turks behaved under such guidance and example:—"It was impossible not to admire the cool indifference of the Turks to danger. Three men were shot in the space of five minutes while throwing up earth for the new parapet, at which only two men could work at a time so as to be at all protected; and they were succeeded by the nearest bystander, who took the spade from the dying man's hands and set to work as calmly as if he were going to cut a ditch by the roadside."

In the first assault, which Paskievich resolved to deliver at any cost of life (June 2nd), the old marshal himself was disabled by a wound; his second in command, general Schilders, was also wounded. The Turkish commandant, Mussa Pasha, was killed, and his successor was soon after forced by general Cannon to swear that he would never surrender the place. On the 13th, Prince Gortchakov, who had brought up his army from the Dobrudja, was repulsed in an assault with the whole Russian force; and two days later the Turks made a determined sally, destroyed the siege works, and drove the besiegers across the Danube. The allies in the camp at Varna had listened to the daily cannonade with such little hope of the result, that the silence which announced the raising of the siege was at first mistaken for a sign that Silistria had fallen (June 22nd). Early on the next morning the Russian camp on the left bank of the Danube was broken up.

The resistance of Silistria decided the campaign upon the Danube; but the Turks won still another signal victory. Hassan Pasha held Rustchuk with an army opposed to twelve Russian battalions under general Soimonov at Giurgevo on the left bank of the river. Neither commander desired a battle; but the courage of the Turks was stimulated by the presence of general Cannon and seven young English officers, among whom was Ballard, fresh from Silistria. Early on July 7th, it was seen that the Russians had struck their tents, and Cannon crossed the river, leading what Hassan seems to have meant for a reconnaissance to ascertain the enemy's retreat. The result was a battle, in which fresh troops, poured across the river at different points, 5,000 in all, withstood the attacks of the whole Russian army till sunset, and entrenched themselves on the ground they had won. Such was the famous battle of Giurgevo.

Three days later, Prince Gortchakov came up with his army of 60,000 men from Silistria, as if to avenge his defeat by driving the Turks back over the Danube. Two English seamen now played a decisive part in the defence. Lieutenant Glyn of the *Britannia*, with young prince Leiningen (the Queen's nephew),* and thirty seamen and the same number of sappers, having arrived by land, carried some gunboats that lay in the river into a loop stream between the Turkish camp and the Russian army. While Gortchakov hesitated to attack, the Turks, led by the English officers, sappers, and seamen, threw a bridge of boats over the Danube, placing the whole army of Rustchuk in communication with the little force on the left

* The Queen's mother, before her marriage with the duke of Kent, was the wife of the prince of Leiningen. Her son by that marriage, Charles, prince of Leiningen (the half-vol. IX.—275.

bank. On seeing this, Gortchakov broke up his camp and retired to Bucharest. This end of the attack upon the Danube was a fatal turning-point in the *présteige* which Russia had been steadily acquiring since 1812. Mr. Kinglake truly says* that "people no longer thought of the Czar as they thought of him eighteen months before; and the glory of thus breaking down the military reputation of Russia is due of right, not to the Governments nor the armies of France or England, but to the warlike prowess of the Ottoman soldiery, and the ten or twelve resolute Englishmen, who cheered and helped and led them."

The retreat of prince Gortchakov on the capital of Wallachia was, in fact, the beginning of Russia's enforced relinquishment of her "material guarantee." For, as early as the 2nd of June, Austria, with the support of Prussia, had delivered to the Czar the summons which we have seen agreed upon between them. On the 14th, Austria had made a Convention with the Porte (at Beyadji Keui) for the occupation of the Principalities; and had engaged, in case of need, to employ a sufficient force to drive out the Russians. In reply to a Note from Austria and Prussia to the conference of German states at Bamberg, representing the freedom of the Danube as the object to be attained, it was resolved to support the two Powers with the troops of the Confederation (July 20th). Before such compulsion the Czar yielded with bitter humiliation. His army of occupation began to recross the Pruth just a year and a month after they had first passed it (August 2nd), and, by a noteworthy coincidence, the evacuation of Moldavia was completed on the day after the allies landed in the Crimea (September 15th). The head-quarters of the Austrian army of occupation were established at Bucharest on September 6th; and an impassable barrier was set against Russia on the frontier of European Turkey. The primary object of the war had been completely attained, and the first reason for its prosecution was removed. *Why* and *how* it was continued with such determination, that the whole war takes its name from the part still remaining:—these are the subjects of the next chapter.

brother of the Queen), died at Wald Leiningen in 1856. His son, Ernest, who is spoken of in the text, entered the British naval service. (See the character given of him by Prince Albert in 1856.—"Life," vol. iii. p. 513.)

* Vol. ii. p. 216.

CHAPTER XX.

EXPEDITION TO THE CRIMEA (1854)—Opening of the Crystal Palace (June 10th) : a Contrast of Peace and War—Feeling of the People against Russian Aggression—Desire to take Sebastopol—Declaration of the "Times"—Lord Palmerston's Memorandum for the Cabinet—Views of the Emperor Napoleon and the Duke of Newcastle—Great Speech of Lord Lyndhurst—Lord Clarendon's Assurances—Speech of Lord Derby—Lord Aberdeen's Apology for Russia—The Queen to Lord Aberdeen—His Explanation—Decision of the Cabinet for the Expedition—The Duke of Newcastle's Despatch to Lord Raglan—Reasons for its urgent character—Lord Raglan's Decision: his Letter to the Duke of Newcastle—Replies of the Queen and Duke—Lord Clarendon's Despatch on England's Terms of Peace—Impatience of the People—The "Times" again—Divisions in the Ministry, and discontent of their supporters—Attacks on them in the House—Prorogation of Parliament—Significant allusions in the Queen's Speech—Condition of the Armies at Varna—Cholera: also in the Fleets—Fire in the British Magazines—Scanty information about the Russian Force in the Crimea—False Rumour of a change in Russia's plans on the Danubian Frontier—French Proposal for Delay; how overcome by Lord Raglan—Sir Edmund Lyons and his *Agamemnon*—Sir George Brown—The Embarkation—Numbers of the Allied Armies and Fleets—Sailing of the Expedition—Arrival off the Crimean Coast (September 11th).

A STRANGER in London on the bright morning of June 10, 1854, might have supposed that the throngs of well-dressed people, flocking along all the roads and railways leading southwards, were bound to some review or great ceremony having a relation to the events hastened to their crisis on the Danube. When he followed them to the hill of Sydenham, he might have been forgiven the fancy that the war was all forgotten, and the peaceful visions of 1851 revived. For there, above the slopes laid out in fair gardens, with terraces and lawns, fountains and lakes, on which were seen the forms of monsters of the primeval world restored by the hand of science, glittered in the sun the fairy temple of art and pleasure framed in nobler proportions and increased splendour from the relics of the first "Crystal Palace" in Hyde Park; and beside the promenade adorned with fountains and tropical plants, the counterfeit presentment of works of art and objects of nature from every land. Beneath the wonderful height of the arched transept the Queen and Prince—surrounded by royal visitors, ambassadors and ministers, the primate and bishops, the lord mayors of London, Dublin, and York—were greeted with the National Anthem performed by such a choir as had seldom united their notes before; and her own clear voice declared the building opened with these words:—"It is my

earnest wish and hope that the bright anticipations which have been formed as to its future destiny may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be completely realized, and that this wonderful structure, and the treasures of art and knowledge which it contains, may long continue to elevate and interest, as well as to delight and amuse, the minds of all classes of my people."

But had the stranger listened to the utterance of thoughts that found vent even amidst the holiday outburst of delight at the brilliant scene, he would soon have learnt that a people, who have been well described as not military but warlike, were roused to the prosecution of the contest on which they had been slow to enter, till it should yield results worthy of the tone to which they had braced their minds. "The beginning of strife is like the letting out of water," and the torrent soon obliterates the line about which the first dispute arose. While diplomatists were drawing protocols and treaties about the evacuation of the Principalities, the English people were possessed with the conviction (to borrow the words of a well-known formula of domestic politics) "that the power of Russia had increased, was increasing, and ought to be abated." The opinion was afloat, that our Government were ready to join Austria and Prussia in accepting the retirement of Russia from the Principalities, which now seemed secured,* as enough to remove all further cause of war; and the fear of not taking security for the future was mingled with some shame at the prospect of a peace won by the arms of Turkey and the threats of Austria, while our navies were promenading the two land-locked seas, now taking or losing a ship and bombarding some fort or town,† and the allied armies had been carried within hearing of the fight, only to sicken in the pestilential hollows around Varna. Such being the temper of the people, it seems of little avail to discuss whether the war ought to have ended with the freeing of the Principalities, and whether we ought to have relied on the continued concert with Austria and Prussia to exact all necessary securities from the Czar, who seemed, indeed, as little disposed to yield the *protectorate* which was the real point at issue, as England and France were to hold their hand.‡ It is our part to follow the course of events as they occurred.

The object on which most minds were bent, and the favourite idea of the mode of effecting it, were already in debate among statesmen, when a

* At this time the fate of Silistria was still in suspense, but there was a false rumour of the raising of the siege, and it was known that Austria had summoned Russia to evacuate the Principalities.

† In the Baltic, even Bomarsund had not yet been taken. In the Black Sea, the first prize was made on the 21st of April, and the first guns were fired next day upon Odessa to avenge an outrage on a flag of truce. *En revanche*, the Russians destroyed the steam-frigate *Tiger*, which had run ashore, and carried her crew prisoners into Odessa (May 12th).

‡ All that is to be said on that side of the question will be found in Mr. Kinglake's work; but, as we have already said, the "Life of the Prince Consort" throws much further light on the untrustworthy policy of Prussia, and the obstinate determination of the Czar not to abate a jot of those pretensions to the Protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey, which had been the proximate cause of the war.

sudden and decisive voice was uttered by the organ which had acquired the art of reflecting the prevalent phase of public opinion (or what lord Beaconsfield preferred to call *public sentiment*) so perfectly, that it was hard to say whether it led or followed, or rather gave form and direction to the impulse which it felt with a tact almost unerring. On the 15th of June (the very day of the sally from Silistria) the "Times" put forth the following decided declaration:—"The grand political and military objects of the war cannot be attained as long as Sebastopol and the Russian fleet are in existence; but if that central position of the Russian power in the South of the Empire were annihilated, the whole fabric, which it has cost the Czars of Russia centuries to raise, falls to the ground. . . . The taking of Sebastopol, and the occupation of the Crimea, are objects which would repay all the costs of the present war, and would permanently settle in our favour the principal questions in dispute; and it is equally clear that those objects are to be accomplished *by no other means*. A peace, which should leave Russia in possession of the same means of aggression, would only enable her to re-commence the war at her pleasure."

It may fairly be supposed that this article was not unconnected with "some conversation that had passed the evening before at sir Charles Wood's between some members of the Cabinet,"* and which led lord Palmerston to draw up a Memorandum for the Council held on the same day. He argued that France and England would lose caste in the world if they concluded the war with only a small result; that, on some more favourable opportunity, Russia "would again make her spring upon Turkey"; and therefore it seemed absolutely necessary that some heavy blow should be struck at the naval power and territorial dimensions of Russia; that the capture of Sebastopol and the Russian Black Sea fleet would enable us materially and at once to reduce our naval expenditure, and to dictate terms of peace in regard to the naval position of Russia in the Black Sea. In a letter to the duke of Newcastle next day, he urged further, that "our only chance of bringing Russia to terms is by offensive and not by defensive operations"; and he spoke in his usual light-hearted strain of taking Sebastopol in six weeks after landing, and so keeping a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

The duke of Newcastle himself, who had the official conduct of the war,† had already adopted the same view; and, as early as the 14th of March, he had sent to the Queen a plan of campaign sketched by the French Emperor,

* "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 60.

† It was just at this time (June 8th) that an important change was made in the office of the Minister responsible for the conduct of war. The original office of Secretary of State had long been divided into the three Secretaryships, for the Home Department, for Foreign Affairs, and *for the Colonies and War*. The third Secretaryship of State was now divided into two, a Secretary for the Colonies, and a Secretary for War; the latter office being retained by the duke of Newcastle, while the former was handed over to sir George Grey. At the same time lord John Russell, who had been in the Cabinet without office, was made President of the Council, in succession to earl Granville, who became Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

in which it was suggested that Sebastopol should be attacked, and which, the duke stated, had been approved by lords Clarendon and Raglan, as well as by himself.* On the 10th of April he had written to lord Raglan to make enquiry about the Russian force in the Crimea, and the strength of Sebastopol, and had suggested the attack as an offensive operation to be undertaken in case of a Russian advance on Constantinople.†

Four days after the proposal had been made in the Cabinet and in the "Times," a new impulse was given to the public feeling in its favour. On the 19th of June, lord Lyndhurst called the attention of the House of Lords to the Note of Austria and Prussia to the German Diet,‡ as indicating the desire, which was also imputed to our Government, of making peace on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. The "old man eloquent," who had just completed his 82nd year, put forth the power of forcible speech and lucid argument, which he retained to a much later age, in proof of the necessity of far better security for the future than new promises in a treaty. "Look," he said, "at her whole conduct, and then, if any person can be credulous enough to trust in any statement of Russia, or in any engagement into which she may enter contrary to her own interests, all I can say is that I admire the extent of his faith. . . . When the interests of millions are at stake, when the liberties of mankind are at issue, away with confidence! Confidence generally ends in credulity. This is true of statesmen as of individuals. My lords, the history of Russia, from the establishment of the empire down to the present moment, is a history of fraud, duplicity, trickery, artifice, and violence." The first claim of Catherine to a protectorate of the Greek Church in Poland, and its ultimate result, furnished an example of what was to be expected from the like claim of Nicholas on Turkey. He showed how Russia converted the independence of the Crimea, guaranteed by treaty with Turkey, into a violent annexation, and how, having doubled her European territories within fifty years, she was bent on possessing herself of Khiva—a scheme afterwards accomplished with a new breach of solemn assurances to England. "In this way," he said, "does Russia go on for ever. Take the most recent instance. While Nicholas was pretending to act the part of protector of Turkey, and trying to cajole the Sultan with professions of friendship and esteem, he was at the time planning the partition of his empire. This is the Emperor with whom you are now dealing, and on whose statements and representations we are

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 80. That the probability of such an attack, in case of a rupture with England, had been long foreseen by Russian statesmen, is proved by a despatch of count Pozzo di Borgo, written on the 28th of November, 1823 :—"Although it may not be probable that we shall see an English fleet in the Black Sea, it will be prudent to make Sebastopol very secure against attacks from the sea. *If ever England were to come to a rupture with us, this is the point to which she would direct her attacks, if only she believed them possible.*"

† This despatch of April 10th is referred to in that of June 29th mentioned below.

‡ See above, p. 226. Sir Theodore Martin observes that the States of the Diet were "ever prone to support Russia as a friend on whom they could rely for resistance to their absorption in a United Germany."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 73.

to rely." Finally, he grappled with the question, "What course would you pursue? What is your policy? My reply is, that this will depend a good deal on the events of the war. This, however, I unhesitatingly declare, that in no event, except that of extreme necessity, ought we to make peace without previously destroying the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and laying prostrate the fortifications by which it is defended." And, having thus uttered what had become an unmistakable national demand, he concluded with a powerful expression of the national sentiment towards Russia, on which that demand was based:—"My lords, I feel strongly on this subject, and I believe that if this barbarous nation, this enemy of all progress except that which tends to strengthen and consolidate its own power, this state which punishes education as a crime, should once succeed in establishing itself in the heart of Europe, it would be the greatest calamity that could befall the human race." Loud and prolonged cheering from an audience not given to such displays attested the sympathy as well as admiration of the Peers.

Lord Clarendon had to reply under the double sense of ministerial responsibility and knowledge of the question still before the Cabinet. Of course he could not formulate terms of peace, but he expressed clearly the desire of the Government "to curtail the dangerous predominance of Russian force, and to check her policy of selfish aggrandizement," and he concluded with the declaration, "All Europe is not to be disturbed, great interests are not to be injured, the people are not to have fresh burdens imposed upon them, great social and commercial relations are not to be abruptly torn asunder, and all the greatest powers of Europe are not to be united in arms, for an insignificant result." Lord Derby followed, expressing the full sympathy of the party whom he led with the views propounded by lord Lyndhurst, and declared that "the peace of Europe must be secured from Russian ambition; some of the past conquests of Russia must be wrested from her grasp; the Black Sea must not remain a Russian lake, nor the Danube a Russian river."

In face of the prevalent enthusiasm, lord Aberdeen rose to act the part of a moderator; and, not content with insisting on the defensive character of the war—though certain contingencies *might* require the invasion of Russia—he had the imprudence, not only to extenuate the danger from Russian ambition, but to base his argument on the moderation of Russia towards Turkey, with whom, since the Treaty of Adrianople, she had only interfered to protect her from a rebellious vassal.* He concluded with sounding the old note, that "war should be waged merely for the sake of peace, though not the less vigorously on that account, and should be terminated at the first moment that peace became possible on a just and honourable basis":—truisms which the public temper only resented. To add fuel to the flame, the news of the successful sally from Silistria was followed by a rumour of the raising of the siege, on the very eve of its

* Referring to the contest with Egypt in 1832-3, when Russia claimed the wages of her service in the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (see chap. xvi. p. 170).

occurrence (June 22nd); and on the same day the "Times" returned to the charge, declaring that "Sebastopol was the keystone of the arch which spanned the Euxine from the mouths of the Danube to the confines of Mingrelia,"* and that "a successful enterprize against the place was the essential condition of a permanent peace."

On June 23rd, in the House of Commons, Mr. Layard gave notice of a motion, "that, in the opinion of this House, the language held by the First Minister of the Crown is calculated to raise grave doubts in the public mind as to the objects and results of the present war, and to lessen the prospects of an honourable and durable peace." On this lord Aberdeen wrote to the Queen that, "after the various defeats of the Government,† it was most essential that an opportunity should be found of testing the real feelings of the House of Commons"; but as, for his own sake, he felt it necessary to remove the misapprehensions created by his speech, he had given notice of a motion for that purpose. Her Majesty's reply is a most interesting example of the personal relations between the Crown and Ministers (June 26th):—"The Queen is very glad to hear that lord Aberdeen will take an opportunity to-day of dispelling misapprehensions which have arisen in the public mind in consequence of his last speech in the House of Lords, and the effect of which has given the Queen great uneasiness. She knows lord Aberdeen so well, that she can fully enter into his feelings, and understand what he means; but the public, particularly under strong excitement of patriotic feeling, is impatient and annoyed to hear at this moment the First Minister of the Crown enter into an impartial examination of the Emperor of Russia's character and conduct. The qualities in lord Aberdeen's character, which the Queen values most highly, his candour and his courage in expressing opinions, even if opposed to general feelings at the moment, are in this instance dangerous to him, and the Queen hopes that, in the vindication of his own conduct to-day, which ought to be triumphant, as it wants in fact no vindication, he will not undertake the ungrateful and injurious task of vindicating the Emperor of Russia from any of the exaggerated charges brought against him and his policy, at a time when there is enough in that policy to make us fight with all our might against it."‡ This letter, so remarkable for its tact and considerate feeling, may be commended to the reflection of those who fancy that the British Sovereign is but a cypher, to give dignity to the acts of Ministers who are the organs of the popular will. It is not the first nor the last time, that a king or queen of England, raised above the vacillations of

* It must not be forgotten, that one motive for the enterprize against Sebastopol was the desire to deprive Russia of the command of the south-eastern shores of the Euxine, and to enable the Western Powers to operate through that route on the Armenian frontier, where Turkey was hard pressed by Russia. Thus the French Emperor informed lord Cowley (June 28th) that "he had already anticipated the desire of the English people by orders to St. Arnaud that, if the Russians withdrew, he was to take the Crimea, and *carry the war into Asia*."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 82.

† Chiefly on amendments to their Oxford University Bill.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 77-8.

party, and intent only on thinking and doing right, has been able to instruct even an aged Minister in the real feelings of the people, and to guide instead of merely obeying his dictation.

The same evening, lord Aberdeen moved, in the Lords, for a copy of his own despatch on the Treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, in order to show that he had exposed the danger from the concessions then obtained by Russia, not only to the independence of Turkey, but ultimately to the peace of Europe. As to his supposed doubt or disbelief of danger from Russian aggression, he explained that, "with respect to Russian aggression upon Europe, independently of her designs upon Turkey, I certainly did express no great alarm, because I feel none. If Russia, indeed, could be supposed to have made good her aggression upon Turkey, and to be in possession of Constantinople, then indeed I should feel alarmed, because I think she would then acquire the means of becoming formidable and dangerous to Europe. Against that aggression in any shape—whether in the shape of influence, of conquest, or otherwise—we are prepared to protect Turkey." And, while repeating that he had, perhaps more than any other man in this country, struggled to maintain peace, and only regretted that he had not done enough, he concluded thus:—"It has been said that my desire for peace unfits me to make war; but how and why do I wish to make war? I wish to make war in order to obtain peace; and no weapon that can be used in war can make the war so sure and speedy, and attain peace, as to make that war with the utmost vigour and determination." This explanation was received with the respect due to the Minister's character and motives, lord Clanricarde alone repeating the charges that "the noble earl had shown himself the constant supporter of arbitrary power in every nation of Europe, a partizan of Russia, and an opponent of every national effort to obtain constitutional liberties, wherever undertaken. He was, in a word, the evil genius of the present Government."*

When the Cabinet met on the following day, having before them all these signs of the enthusiasm of people and Parliament, crowned by the news that the attack on the Danube was repulsed, it is not surprising "that scruples and objections and fears were carried away as by a flood; and, when it was proposed to go and fetch, as it were, a new war, by undertaking this bold adventure, there was not one Minister present who refused to give his consent. The sitting of the Cabinet, which thus adopted the momentous proposal to sanction an invasion of Crim-Tartary, took place in Downing-street on Tuesday, the 27th of June, and lasted several hours. It was *with anxious, with thoroughly wakeful care*, that our Ministers weighed and determined the question then submitted to their judgment." †

* Mr. Layard's notice of motion was withdrawn on the following day, the same on which the Cabinet decided for the expedition.

† The words we have emphasized supply sir Theodore Martin (vol. iii. p. 81) with an answer to Mr. Kinglake's tragi-comical account (vol. ii. pp. 248, *f.*) of the reading of the duke of Newcastle's despatch to a Cabinet half-asleep on the evening of June 28th, at Pembroke Lodge in Richmond Park; and Mr. Kinglake himself explains (note to 6th edition, vol. ii. p. 410) that the Ministers were, in fact, under the impression that the despatch was virtually a

The decision was at once communicated by the duke of Newcastle to lord Raglan in a private letter,* which, after recounting the virtual cessation of war on the Danube, went on thus:—

“The Cabinet is unanimously of opinion that, unless you and marshal St. Arnaud feel that you are not sufficiently prepared, you should lay siege to Sebastopol, as we are more than ever convinced that, without the reduction of this fortress and the capture of the Russian fleet, it will be impossible to conclude an honourable and safe peace. The Emperor of the French has expressed his entire concurrence in this opinion, and, *I believe*,† has written privately to the marshal to that effect. I shall submit to the Cabinet a despatch to you on this subject, and if it is approved you may expect it by the next mail. In the meantime I hope you will be turning over in your mind, and considering with your French colleague, what it will be safe and advisable to do.”

On the same day (June 28th) the promised despatch was read to the Cabinet, released from Parliament on a Wednesday evening at lord John Russell's lodge, in Richmond Park. In sending the draft despatch to the Queen, lord Aberdeen wrote that:—“Although the expedition to the Crimea was pressed very warmly, and recommended to be undertaken with the least possible delay, *the final decision was left to the judgment and discretion* of lord Raglan and marshal St. Arnaud, after they should have communicated with Omar Pasha.” But, whether because the Cabinet, having thoroughly considered the matter the day before, omitted to scrutinize the terms employed,‡ or because “soldiers naturally judge such matters very differently from civilians, for upon them the point of honour presses more keenly,”§ we have the plain evidence of lord Raglan's answer, that he regarded the directions given as virtually overriding the discretion which was left him. Could he well have put any other interpretation on the following language? ||—“I have, on the part of her Majesty's Govern-

mere repetition of the private letter already despatched on the same day—“a paper read out to them for form's sake, but not seriously demanding a renewal of that anxious care and attention that they had bestowed upon the subject, in Cabinet, on the previous day.” But, he still contends, the difference was vital, as the despatch alone contained that stringent sentence, which lord Raglan interpreted as practically precluding his use of the discretion which was formally left to him by the despatch.

* Dated June 28th; received at Varna July 13th.

† These words are underlined in the original; we have seen that, on this same 28th of June, the Emperor informed lord Cowley that he had already sent orders to marshal St. Arnaud, who, in fact, came into lord Raglan's tent to show him an almost illegible telegram, *via* Belgrade, at the moment when lord Raglan was about to open this letter (July 13th). Before sending his reply, lord Raglan heard from lord Cowley, that “the Emperor quite concurred in the views of the British Cabinet.”

‡ See the note above.

§ “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 82.—Sir Theodore Martin argues that Mr. Kinglake's explanation will not account for lord Aberdeen's report to the Queen, as *he* was as “wakeful” on the day before.

|| The complete despatch is printed in Kinglake, vol. ii. pp. 261, *f.* We have added the italics for clearness' sake.

ment, to instruct your lordship to concert measures for the siege of Sebastopol, *unless*, with the information in your possession, but at present unknown in this country, *you should be decidedly of opinion* that it could not be undertaken with a reasonable prospect of success." If lord Raglan should deem the strength of the two armies insufficient, he is told, as a matter of unabated *confidence* in him, "*you are not to be precluded from the exercise of the discretion already vested in you*, though her Majesty's Government will learn with regret that an attack, from which such important consequences are anticipated, must be any longer delayed." He is next told that the difficulties of the enterprize would increase with delay, and its importance for obtaining a safe and honourable peace is such that "*nothing but insuperable impediments*—such as the want of ample preparations by either army, or the possession by Russia of a force in the Crimea greatly outnumbering that which can be brought against it—should be allowed to prevent the *early decision* to undertake these operations. This decision"—it was added, in words which must have read after all this as a mere official formality—"should be taken solely with reference to the means at your disposal, as compared with the difficulties to be overcome." All these urgent recommendations were wound up by a conclusion, in which lord Raglan could have felt nothing short of an appeal to his military honour:—"I have only further to express to you, on the part of her Majesty's Government, their entire reliance on your judgment, zeal, and discretion, and their conviction that, whilst you will not expose the army under your command to unnecessary risk, you will not forget that *to the gallantry and conduct of your troops their countrymen are now looking* to secure, by the blessing of Providence, the great object of a just war, the vindication of national rights, and the future security of the peace of Europe."*

The despatch was written by a minister who had the clearest opinion of the necessity of the expedition, and who did not shrink from responsibility, with a view to influence not only lord Raglan himself but the colleagues, the French marshal and the two admirals, who might have withstood him.† But his personal ascendancy was great; and St. Arnaud's instructions were, as we have seen, of the like tenour, so that the decision really rested with lord Raglan. The discretion left him was limited by the condition of information of the Russian force in the Crimea, which would alone justify him in overriding the plan of the Government as impracticable; and of such information he was destitute. "In the state of things which actually existed, the duke of Newcastle's communication was little short of an absolute order from the Secretary of State. The English general deter-

* It is unnecessary to speak of the particular military operations, which were merely suggested for the general's decision, in avowed ignorance of the circumstances—an ignorance conspicuously shown in the suggestion to occupy the pestilential isthmus of Perekop with a Turkish force, in order to intercept the march of reinforcements into the Crimea.

† "What the duke of Newcastle meant was to do all he reasonably could to enforce the invasion; and, so intending, he did honestly in making his order as peremptory as possible."—Kingleake, vol. ii. p. 276.

mined to obey it."* That this is the true account of the course by which the momentous decision to invade the Crimea was determined, is clear from lord Raglan's own answer to the despatch (July 19th):—"It becomes my duty to acquaint you that it was more *in deference to the views of the British Government* as conveyed to me in your Grace's despatch, and to *the known acquiescence of the Emperor Napoleon in those views*, than to any information in the possession of the naval and military authorities, either as to the extent of the enemy's forces or their state of preparation, that the decision to make a descent upon the Crimea was adopted. The fact must not be concealed, that neither the English nor the French admirals *have been able to obtain any intelligence on which they can rely* with respect to the army which the Russians may destine for operations in the field, or the number of men allotted for the defence of Sebastopol; and marshal St. Arnaud and myself are *equally deficient in information* upon these all-important questions, and *there would seem to be no chance of our acquiring it.*"

The duke of Newcastle's reply shows with equal clearness that there was no misunderstanding on his side †:—"I wish that circumstances which are engrossing my attention this afternoon permitted my expressing to you the feelings of intense anxiety and interest which your reply of the 19th of July to mine of the 29th of June has created in my mind. I cannot help seeing, through the calm and noble tone of your announcement of the decision to attack Sebastopol, that it has been taken in order to meet the views and desires of the Government, and *not in entire accordance with your own opinions.* God grant that success may reward you, and justify us."

While awaiting this decision, the English Government made known to the Powers of Europe their resolve to exact new securities from Russia. On the 22nd of July, lord Clarendon addressed to lord Westmoreland, our Ambassador at Vienna, a despatch which pretty accurately foreshadowed the ultimate terms of peace:—"After making such great efforts and sacrifices, and engaged as they are in a just cause, the allied Powers will not stop in their course without the certainty that they will not again be called upon after a short interval to re-commence the war. . . . The privileged frontier of Russia in the Black Sea has enabled her to establish in those waters a naval power which, in the absence of any counterbalancing force, is a *standing menace* ‡ to the Ottoman Empire. The uncontrolled possession by Russia of the principal mouth of the Danube has created obstacles to the navigation of that great river, which seriously affect the general commerce of Europe. Finally the stipulation of the Treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji relative to the

* Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 275.—We must be content to refer to Mr. Kinglake's work for further details of the causes of lord Raglan's decision, and especially the interesting account of sir George Brown's advice, on the authority of that general himself.—At a later period, general Canrobert summed up, with French neatness, the *probabilities* on which the decision was based:—(1) The facility of disembarkation; (2) the small Russian force in the Crimea; (3) the possibility of an easy entrance to Sebastopol, as it was but slightly fortified on the land side (Note of November 7, 1854: Kinglake, vol. vi. p. 522).

† Private letter to lord Raglan, August 3, 1854.

‡ This expression became proverbial.

protection of the Christians has become by a wrongful interpretation the principal cause of the present struggle. Upon these points the *status quo ante bellum* must undergo important modifications." At the same time the Ministry were constantly harassed by the urgency for more active measures, aliko in the press, Parliament, and even within the Cabinet. The "Times" spoke out again (July 24th):—"We are now approaching the sixth month of actual hostilities, and *as yet not a shot has been fired by the land forces of England*. . . . The broad policy of the war consists in striking at the very heart of the Russian power in the East, and that heart is at Sebastopol. . . . To destroy Sebastopol is nothing less than to demolish the entire fabric of Russian ambition in those very regions where it is most dangerous to Europe. This feat, and this only, would have really promoted the solid and durable objects of the war."

As to the position of the Government, we have it on the highest authority that, "notoriously, discontents reigned within the Cabinet itself. Two at least of its members, lord John Russell and lord Palmerston, would have preferred to lead rather than to be led. Each had his partizans within and without the Cabinet, and it was apparent to all the world that no cordial unanimity existed between the Peelite section of the Ministry and their colleagues. In the House of Commons the followers of the Government showed no symptoms of coherence. The head of the Ministry was a favourite object of attack with them no less than with the Opposition."* Lord John Russell was with difficulty persuaded to retain the leadership of the House; and at a meeting of the party, as lord Aberdeen informed the Queen, "many hostile speeches were made, and much confusion prevailed" (July 14th). Well might her Majesty observe on this that "the party which supports the Government is certainly a strange basis for a Government to rest upon." In the debates on a vote of credit for £3,000,000 to provide for war expenditure during the recess, vehement attacks were made from both sides of the House on the lukewarmness of the Government in military operations and their diplomatic relations with Austria, and lord Dudley Stuart moved an amendment for an Address to the Crown deprecating the prorogation of Parliament "till some information had been afforded with respect to the progress of the war and our relation with foreign powers"; but this was not carried to a division (July 24th and 25th).

On the 12th of August Parliament was prorogued by her Majesty in person, with a speech in which the intended attack on Sebastopol was thus alluded to:—"In cordial co-operation with the Emperor of the French, my efforts will be directed to the *effectual repression* of that ambitious and aggressive spirit on the part of Russia, which has compelled us to take up arms in defence of an ally, and to *secure the future tranquillity of Europe*." The House of Commons was thanked for having provided for the cost of the war without any permanent addition to the Debt.†

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 90.

† This was true rather in principle than in fact; for the addition made to the floating debt had to be covered by borrowing in the next year.—This is the most convenient place

At this time, as we have seen, lord Raglan's reply had been received, accepting the responsibility of the invasion of the Crimea; but the news was accompanied by sad intelligence, throwing doubt on the fitness of the allied armies for the enterprize. We have already spoken of the terrible visitation of cholera, which spread from the East over Europe in 1854, and was now becoming severe in London.* The English troops had gone to Varua in excellent health; but cases of cholera had already occurred among the French on the voyage from Marseilles to the Dardanelles; it spread in their camp at Gallipoli, and attended them to Bulgaria. Two days after lord Raglan despatched his letter assenting to the expedition, the disease broke out in the English camp (July 21st), and within a month it carried off more than 500 men. The greatest amount of sickness, from fevers as well as cholera, occurred in the part of the camp which was pitched amidst the beautiful scenery of the Lake of Deyna. Among the French it raged with the greatest virulence, especially in the three divisions sent on an ill-advised excursion into the marshes of the Dobrudja,† of whom 10,000 were struck down by sickness, and about 3,000 died. The whole loss in the French army exceeded 5,000 men. The plague extended to the fleets, the flag-ship *Britannia* alone losing 139 men out of 985; but health was quickly restored by a short cruise in the Black Sea. In the camps, the disease abated before the end of August; but it left the troops in a state of weakened health, little fit for enduring the hardships of the coming winter. But of these they made no forecast. Sebastopol was to be taken in a few weeks; and for this prospect they were rejoiced to exchange the pestilential camp, in which they had witnessed the end of the Danubian campaign, without having the opportunity themselves to strike a blow. Meanwhile, however, another disaster had occurred by a fire in the British magazines

to notice the visit paid by Prince Albert, in the first week of September, to the Emperor Napoleon at Boulogne, where a camp was established to gather and train reinforcements for the Crimea. A full account of this visit, which was paid on the invitation of the Emperor, as a means of strengthening the alliance of the Western Powers, will be found in the "Life of the Prince Consort" (chaps. lv. lvi.), together with the Prince's very interesting *Memorandum* of his conversations with, and impressions of, Louis Napoleon. It appears that the French were not sanguine about the Crimean expedition, and they were jealous of sir Charles Napier and lord Stratford; but the Prince told the Emperor "that sir Charles Napier, lord Stratford, and lord Palmerston, were the three persons who alone could carry on the war." Of lord Aberdeen, whom the Emperor distrusted and disliked, the Prince spoke "as *d'une probité et d'un cœur d'or.*"

* See chapter vi. pp. 46, *f.* The death of lord Jocelyn (heir of the earl of Roden) in lady Palmerston's drawing-room is mentioned by Prince Albert in a letter to baron Stockmar (August 17th), whose reply announces the death of his own brother of the same disease at Munich on August 10th.

† The object of this expedition was to divert the Czar's attention from the design upon the Crimea, by threatening an invasion of Bessarabia, or even, if the opportunity should offer, to strike a blow at his retiring columns. Another attempt at diversion was to spread the rumour of an attack on Odessa. "But, in truth," as Mr. Kinglake observes (vol. ii. p. 289), "all secrecy was forbidden to the allies. It was in a council of the whole people that England had resolved upon the enterprize; and what advantage there is in knowledge of an enemy's plans, that she freely gave to Russia."

at Varna, which consumed a large part of the military stores, already far from sufficient for the requirements of the enterprize.*

We have seen that the duke of Newcastle ordered lord Raglan to undertake the enterprize unless he deemed it hopeless, having regard to the proportion of the allied force to that in the Crimea; as to which lord Raglan declared himself to be *absolutely without trustworthy information.*† From the information gathered by the home Government (which proved to be not far from the truth) the force in the Crimea was estimated at about 45,000 men, including the 17,000 belonging to the ships in the harbour of Sebastopol. Some reinforcements might be drawn from the army of the Caucasus; and the troops now retiring from the Danube would doubtless be marched with all speed to the isthmus of Perekop; another reason for hastening the expedition, in order to anticipate their arrival. But a rumour reached the camp of new political combinations likely to affect the whole military position. It was said that Austria and Prussia, having attained their object by the withdrawal of the Russian armies from the Principalities, and deprived of the support of the allied armies on the Danube, would enter into better relations with Russia;‡ relying on which, the latter Power seemed disposed to suspend the march of its army from the Pruth, and even to await an opportunity for a new advance. At a conference held on July 28th, the French commanders urged these reasons for suspending the expedition, and adhering to the primary object of guarding the Danubian frontier. Lord Raglan, as usual, avoiding direct opposition in argument, proposed that the preparations should be carried on while awaiting positive knowledge of the designs of Russia. His counsel was at once adopted; and the false rumours soon died away.

Meanwhile reconnaissances of the Crimean coast were made by some of the generals of both armies, under the energetic conduct of sir Edmund Lyons, whose professional zeal was combined with a strong interest in the Eastern Question, acquired during his residence as British Minister at

* It should be borne in mind that, notwithstanding the long notice of the coming war, reckoning from the positive determination of the Czar to invade the Principalities in June, 1853 (not to speak of the much longer period from prince Menchikov's mission), vigorous preparations had only been made during the three months since the declaration of war (lord Aberdeen's evidence before the Sebastopol Committee.—Kingleake, vol. ii. p. 242). As to the French preparations, at the very moment when the fleet was sailing for the Crimea Louis Napoleon was telling Prince Albert that "the war had found him *imprévu*: he had to furnish almost his whole material, but he was going on satisfactorily, and *would be ready next year.*"—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 116.

† In a very interesting Memorandum drawn up for the consideration of the Cabinet, on the same day on which the duke of Newcastle sent out his instructions to lord Raglan (June 29th), Prince Albert observed:—"The first difficulty is *the absence of all information as to the Crimea itself*, which can in any way be relied upon. We are equally ignorant as to its population, its harbours, its rivers and roads, its means of supplying troops, and the amount of the Russian force employed in it."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 84, 85.

‡ This was quite true with regard to Prussia, which was now showing a disposition to withdraw from the concert of the four Powers.—See the very outspoken letter of Prince Albert to king Frederick William, August 28th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 98, 99.

Athens. The splendid screw two-decker, the *Agamemnon* (a name of old associated with Nelson), which bore the rear-admiral's flag, seemed the almost ubiquitous instrument of his activity. Among the preparations, the French—adhering to the system of covering a debarkation with artillery, had invented a sort of flat-bottomed lighters (like hung punts), to carry field-guns mounted on their carriages, and allow them to be run out on the beach. In imitation of this plan, the English devised the simpler method of mounting the gun on a platform supported by two boats. To provide these and other materials, buying and chartering steamers, and so forth, sir Edmund Lyons and sir George Brown were sent to Constantinople. Their energy in overcoming obstacles is illustrated by such cases as this:—When a cautious official said, "I cannot venture to give the price," sir George Brown answered, "Then I can! I buy it in my own name."

On the 20th of August, a conference of the four English and French admirals decided that the preparations for the embarkation were complete, and the great operation began on the 24th. Leaving some troops, horses, and supplies at Varna, for future transport, the English force consisted of 22,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of field artillery, besides a siege train; the French of 30,000 infantry and 68 field-pieces, but they took no cavalry beyond 80 or 100 horsemen for escort duty. To these were added 7,000 Turkish infantry, placed under the orders of marshal St. Arnaud. Including general Cathcart's division, which arrived from Varna during the disembarkation in the Crimea, the total force of the allies numbered 63,000 men and 128 guns. To protect these forces on the voyage, the English fleet, under admirals Dundas and Lyons, numbered ten sail of the line (two of them being screw-steamers), two fifty-gun frigates, and thirteen war-steamers heavily armed. The French fleet, under admirals Hamelin and Buat-Wiliaumez, consisted of fifteen sail of the line, with ten or twelve war-steamers; the Turkish fleet, of eight sail of the line, with three war-steamers. But, owing to an unexpected deficiency of steam-transports, the French and Turkish troops were crowded on board their ships of war, leaving the English men-of-war alone free for action in case the Russian fleet—of fifteen or sixteen ships of the line, with twelve war-steamers and some frigates and brigs—should come out of Sebastopol to dispute the passage.

A temptation was indeed held out to them, had they known of the opportunity, by the impatience of St. Arnaud, who put to sea with the French and Turkish sailing vessels, on the 5th of September, while the English armament was delayed by the embarkation of the cavalry. On the morning of the 7th, the English fleet and transports started, accompanied by the French and Turkish steam-vessels; next day they overtook the sailing squadron, and passed on to the appointed rendezvous, off Cape Tarkan, the westernmost point of the Crimea (September 9th), where they were joined by the French and Turkish sailing vessels (September 11th). Before the landing, we must glance at the scene which was about to become so memorable in our history.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CRIMEAN WAR—BATTLE OF THE ALMA (1854)—Description of the Crimea—Sebastopol—Lord Raglan's reconnaissance and choice of a landing-place—Eupatoria—A Russian *Tchinovnik*—Landing of the Armies—March in movable column: the English on the left, the open side—Menchikov's lost opportunity—Sufferings on the March—Skirmish and bivouac on the Bulganak—Russian Forces in the Crimea—Army under Menchikov—His Character, and Plan of Campaign—The Position on the ALMA—The English and French Forces—Marshal St. Arnaud's Plan of Battle—March to the Alma—THE BATTLE (September 20th)—Losses on both sides—Disposal of the Russian wounded—Results of the Victory—The News at Home—Rumour of the fall of Sebastopol—Troubles in the Cabinet—Lord Raglan's Despatches—Letter of the Queen.

THE peninsula of the CRIMEA, called also from the nomad inhabitants, who have peopled it from time immemorial, *Crim-Tartary*, has a mythical and historic fame, dating from the earliest age of Greek literature, and still commemorated by its names. One of these preserves the memory of the primeval people of the *Cimmerians*, from whom the strait at its eastern end was called the Cimmerian Bosphorus; while the appellation of *Taurida* (the Russian Government comprising the peninsula and an adjacent region), handed down from its classic names of *Tauris* and the *Tauric Chersonese*,* recalls the grand legend of Iphigenia and the savage worship of the native Artemis. But it was now so little known, that to the allied forces hanging over its shores it was almost as strange a region as to Orestes and his comrade.† Jutting out from the middle of the northern shore of the Black Sea, which it divides from the large but shallow Sea of Azov (the ancient Palus Mæotis), its lozenge-shape bears no small resemblance to the Isle of Wight, but on a nearly tenfold scale, its greatest length being 190 miles, and its greatest breadth 110 miles. Except along the southern shore, its physical character is the same as that of the great south Russian steppe from which, as well as from the Sea of Azov,‡ it is

* *Chersonesus* is the Greek word for a peninsula.

† It was not so much that the means of knowledge were wanting, as that little use had been made of them. "A great body of most valuable information had been imparted to the English public by general (then colonel) Mackintosh, and the colonel had also addressed important reports on the subject to the military authorities."—Kinglake, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323; and further, vol. iii. p. 380. Another excellent account of the city and its defences had recently been published in Mr. Oliphant's "Russian Shores of the Black Sea." The map used by Lord Raglan was that copied by Major Jervis from the Russian official map of 1837.

‡ Along the whole eastern shore, excepting what may be called the sub-peninsula of Kertch, the Putrid Sea is divided from the Sea of Azov by the tongue of land called Kosa Arabatskaia, with only a narrow strait at its northern end.

divided by the labyrinth of pestilential lagoons, well named the Putrid Sea, except where the narrow Isthmus of Perekop unites it to the mainland. In contrast with this steppe, exposed to the "fierce extremes" of the seasons,* and interspersed with salt lakes, marshes, and small rivers, which dry up in the summer heat, the southern region again reminds us of the "Under-cliff," but on a far grander scale of beauty and luxuriance. It is formed by a chain of mountains, † a detached prolongation of the Caucasus beyond the Strait of Kertch, on the north side rising gradually from the steppe, and falling to the sea on the south in a series of calcareous cliffs. The valleys of this range contain cultivated fields, woods, and meadows, where winter is scarcely felt, the trees seldom lose their verdure, the primrose and crocus appear in February, the olive, fig, pomegranate, and many delicate flowers, luxuriate in the open air. The fairest of these valleys, that of Baidar, has earned the name of the Crimean Tempe. From the western extremity of this region juts out the little peninsula, where the armies of five nations ‡ were now to prove that:—"to suffer as to do, Their strength was equal." This peninsula, which Russian writers call by the ancient name of the Chersonese, preserved by its western headland, forms an elevated plateau, between the storm-beaten bay of Balaclava on the south, and the land-locked harbour of Sebastopol on the north. The harbour is an inlet from the sea towards the valley of the river Tchernaya, nearly five miles long from west to east, with an average breadth of half a mile, enclosed by calcareous hills high enough to conceal the masts of the largest ships. At the head of the harbour, where the river falls into it, stood the ruined village of *Inkerman*, a name soon to become memorable for one of the grandest struggles in modern warfare. The Tchernaya, rising in the mass of mountains above the south coast, runs from S.E. to N.W.; and the sudden descent from the high ground into its valley clearly marks the eastern boundary of the Chersonese.

From the south side of the Great Harbour or roadstead, a number of creeks, prolonged by branching ravines, run up into the plateau of the Chersonese. The largest of these, called the Southern Bay, about a mile and a-half within the roadstead and about the same in length, formed the

* The reader accustomed to think of Russia as in a northern climate, should remember that the Crimea lies directly opposite to the mouths of the Danube, in the same latitude as the south-central belt of France, which may be roughly described as the basin of the Loire and partly of the Garonne. The isthmus of Perekop is on the parallel of 46° N. lat., and the southernmost promontory reaches within 30 miles of the parallel of 44°, the latitude of the Gulf of Genoa. The summer heat and winter cold are both intensified by the neighbouring steppes, the former reaching 100° F. in the shade, while the latter has been known at Kertch to reach — 22° R. (= — 17½ F., or, in popular language, just upon 50° of frost!)—See Mr. Cattle's Memorandum on the Climate of the Crimea, sent home by Lord Raglan, October, 1854, in Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 491.—We have before us two photographs of the port of Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov, heaped up with piles of ice, in the severe winter of 1872-3, which any one would take for a winter scene on the coast of Greenland.

† Tchatir-dagh, the culminating point of this chain, rises 5,000 feet above the sea.

‡ That is, besides the English, French, Turks, and Russians, the Italians, who afterwards joined the allies.

inner harbour for the ships of war. On the plateau between its western side and the ravine running up from the little creek called the Artillery Bay, was built the "imperial city" of SEBASTOPOL,* rising on a grand slope from the bay to the southern heights, with its suburb called Karabel on the plateau east of the Southern Bay. At the time of the war, the city had about 42,000 inhabitants, of whom 35,000 belonged to the fleet and army. In little expectation of an attack, except by a fleet, it was at this time almost completely open on the land side; but the entrance to the harbour had been made as nearly as possible impregnable by works, which will be more conveniently described when we come to the attack. The heights on the northern side sink down in terraces, divided by the little rivers Belbek, Katcha, Alma, and Bulganak, to the plain whose western shore forms the great Bay of Kalamita, extending on the north to Eupatoria. But this whole shore is lined with cliffs, except at the mouths of the rivers and a few other places where the sea has retired from their base. The best advices had suggested a landing somewhere on this shore, but the most suitable place remained to be determined.

It was on Saturday the 9th of September, that the British fleet, outstripping the French sailing squadron, reached the rendezvous off Cape Tarkand. Before daylight on the next morning, lord Raglan, accompanied by sir Edmund Lyons, sir George Brown, and sir John Burgoyne, started with general Canrobert and other French officers, to reconnoitre the coast. "Not long after daybreak the *Caradoc* neared Fort Constantine, and then approached the entrance to the harbour. It was a fair bright morning, and the Sunday bells were ringing in the churches when lord Raglan first saw the great forts, and the ships, and the glittering cupola'd town. Afterwards, the vessel being steered round off Cape Chersonese, he could see two old Genoese forts, and ridges of hills dividing the great harbour from the southern coast of the peninsula. What he looked on was for him fated ground; for the Genoese forts marked the inlet of Balaclava, and the ridges he saw were the 'heights before Sebastopol.' But the future lay hidden from his gaze. The *Caradoc* was now steered towards the north, and the officers on board her surveyed the mouths of the Belbek, the Katcha, the Alma, and the Bulganak, and the coast stretching thence to Eupatoria. Of the sites thus reconnoitred, general Canrobert thought the Katcha the one best fitted for a landing. Lord Raglan entirely disapproved of the Katcha, and he did not at all like the ground at the mouths of the other rivers; but when, moving on in the *Caradoc*, he was off the part of the coast which lies six miles north of the Bulganak, he observed an extended tract of beach, which seemed to him to be the ground for which the allies were seeking. Without generating a debate upon the subject, he nevertheless elicited so much of the opinion of those around

* The foundation of the city by Catherine II. has been already mentioned (chap. xvi. p. 168). A fine view of Sebastopol, and its harbour and fortifications, is given as a frontispiece to Mr. Kinglake's fourth volume, and the work contains several careful plans of the city and its environs, showing the different states of the fortifications.

him as he deemed to be useful. Then he declared his resolve. He said that the allied armies should land at Old Fort.* Marshal St. Arnaud, whose illness had left Lord Raglan's choice uncontrolled, recovered suddenly on the morning of Wednesday, the 13th, when the whole armament was united in sight of the beach chosen for the landing. The first proceeding was to summon the defenceless port of Eupatoria, which was held only by a few convalescent soldiers. The commandant, a genuine Russian "official" (Tchinovnik),† first fumigated the summons according to sanitary rules, and then, being told that the troops of the Western Powers intended to land, he replied that they might do so, but they must land at the Lazaretto, and consider themselves in quarantine! Whether this was stolid adherence to rule or grim humour, the laugh might fairly have been turned against the officers of the commissariat, who had come unprovided with Russian money for traffic with the natives. The want was fortunately supplied by some travellers on board the *Britannia*, and a traffic was set on foot, which ultimately proved a fruitful source of supply to the allied forces. It may here be stated, by anticipation, that a kindly intercourse was soon established between the English soldiery and the natives, but the French Zouaves ‡ committed some shameful outrages. General Sir George (afterwards Lord) Airey, the quartermaster-general, was conspicuous for his activity in collecting waggons, with their oxen and Tartar drivers.

The chief part of both armies landed on the 14th without disaster, though not without mournful losses; for cholera was still among the French, and many who landed had to be carried back or buried on the beach.§ The landing of the cavalry and guns took some time; and the whole disembarkation was completed by the 18th. Unfortunately, the tents had to be left on board for want of land transport. It was impossible to carry more than three days' provisions, and ammunition for perhaps two battles. The consequent necessity of drawing supplies from the fleet precluded any

* Kinglake, vol. ii. pp. 318, 319. The place was so named on the map from a fort of which scarcely any traces were then left. The landing-place is also known by the name of the lake behind the beach, *Kamishlu*. See the full description of the ground in Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 328.

† This word conveys to all who know Russia a meaning but faintly shadowed in Dickens's "red-tape."

‡ It may be convenient, once for all, to guard against a misunderstanding of this term. When the French took possession of Algeria, in 1830, they endeavoured to form a body of native troops from the tribe (or rather congregated tribes) called *Zouaouas*. But the hostility of the Arabs rendered the experiment abortive; and the ranks were filled by adventurous recruits from France, who adopted the Arab dress, and, successfully emulating the activity and endurance of Arabs (not to speak of other habits), became an irregular force conspicuous for dash and daring. The few Arabs soon left the ranks; and the Zouaves had long been Frenchmen, though with an Arab name. They are the chief among the "choice regiments," one of which is furnished to each division of the French army, to act the part which Lord Clyde described as "what a spear-head is to a spear." (Quoted by Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 183.)

§ It must suffice to refer to Mr. Kinglake (chap. xxiii.) for the details of the landing, and the manner in which its order was disturbed through the shifting of a buoy by the French during the preceding night.

attempt to operate on the highroad leading from Perekop to the provincial capital, Simpheropol, and thence to Sebastopol.*

The allied army, then, had to advance from thirty to forty miles, through an enemy's country, in face of a great fortress, held by forces of unknown strength and which might appear at unexpected points,—to advance as a "movable column," without a base or line of operations behind them; depending on communication with their ships, alike for supplies and the means of retreat; so that, "when on the 19th of September, 1854, the allies broke up from their bivouacs and marched towards the south, they were engaging in a venturesome enterprize." †

The march of the allied armies was parallel to the great road from Perekop through Simpheropol, which town lay about twenty miles to their left when they started. As the communications between Sebastopol and all Russia depended on this road alone, and as the Russians were strong in cavalry, the commonest degree of military skill would have counselled prince Menchikov to make this road the base of his operations, threatening the flank and rear of the advancing columns, while holding on by his left to Sebastopol, which would have been more effectually protected by this offensive movement than by the interposition of his army as a mere inert block in its front. Evidently, therefore, the left of the allies was the post of danger, with front, flank, and rear alike open to an undulating steppe, exactly suited to the manœuvres of cavalry. Now it happened that, all the time the armies had been together, the French had always claimed, or rather taken, the right, as the post of honour, and lord Raglan had acquiesced, on his principle of avoiding disputes. When he saw that they now kept this position, in which their right rested on the sea, with front and rear covered by the fire of the steamers, and their left by the English, "there was something like archness in his way of remarking that, although the French were bent upon taking precedence of him, their courtesy still gave him the post of danger." ‡

The day was bright and hot, and many soldiers, weakened by disease, began to fall out after the first hour, some in the agonies of cholera; the officers doing their best to cheer them, while themselves heavily laden for want of transport—a burden under which—lord Raglan wrote—"I have not heard a single murmur." § Early in the afternoon they quenched their

* It should be remembered from the first that this road remained open for the Russians during the whole operations in the Crimea. To have occupied the Isthmus of Perekop, as the duke of Newcastle had suggested, would have required a division of the force already much too small, in fact a separate expedition, besides the great objection from the extreme unhealthiness of the spot.

† See Mr. Kinglake's full description of the character of this movement and the danger it involved.

‡ Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 369. Mr. Kinglake gives an excellent diagram of the order of march of the two armies. Lord Raglan's arrangement was admirably adapted to the probability of an attack on his left flank and rear. One homely incident deserves notice; the plain was covered with an herb like southernwood ("old man" or "boy's love"), the scent of which recalled many a cottage garden in "merry England" to "the unreturning brave" who crushed it under their feet.

§ Despatch of September 23rd.

thirst in the stream of the Bulganak; and the first cavalry skirmish occurred on the rising ground beyond the river. As this affair proved that the enemy was at hand with a force of all arms, lord Raglan caused his army to bivouac in order of battle on the southern side of the Bulganak; * the French lying at an interval of a mile to the right.

The scene, so novel to British soldiers in Europe, of a bivouac in presence of the enemy, has been described in the graphic language of an eye-witness †:—"Immediately the Russians had finally retired beyond the heights, orders were given to halt and bivouac for the night, and our tired men set to work to gather the weeds for fuel. As soon as the rations of rum and meat were served out, the casks were broken up, and the staves served to make fires for cooking, aided by nettles and long grass. At night the watchfires of the Russians were visible on our left. Great numbers of stragglers came up during the night, most of them belonging to the Fourth Division. The night was cold and damp, the watchfires were mere flashes, which gave little heat, and barely sufficed to warm the rations. All night arabas were arriving, and soldiers who had fallen out or gone astray came up to their sentries to find their regiments. Sir George Brown, sir De Lacy Evans, the brigadier-generals, and staff-officers, went about among their divisions and brigades ere the men lay down, giving directions for the following day, and soon after dusk were on the ground, wrapped up in great-coats and blankets, to find the best repose they could after the day's exertion." Before daybreak on the 20th the armies rose up and were marshalled without sound of drum or bugle, for the short march of five or six miles to the river ALMA, on which the Russian army was posted to bar the way to Sebastopol.

We have said that the Russian commander in the Crimea was prince Menchikov, the same whose mission to Constantinople had given rise to the war. The total military force of Russia in the Crimea at the date of the landing of the allies was composed of an active army of 51,500 men, with 2,700 artillerymen appropriated to the coast defences, making (in round numbers) 54,000.‡ The seamen of the fleet, which was also under the command of Menchikov as high admiral, numbered 18,500; and, from circumstances soon to be related, these were converted into good battalions for service on land. Adding to these a thousand men serving in local companies, and about 2,600 marines stationed as guards at various points, we get 76,000 fighting men; or, with the 5,000 workmen employed on the docks and forts, whose services would be specially valuable for the construction of defensive works, a grand total of 81,000 men, to resist the

* See the plan, from the *Atlas Historique*, showing the order of the bivouac of the English army on the Bulganak, and how it wheeled into the line of march on the morning of September 20th, in Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 334.

† Dr. Russell, whose letters to the "Times" during the Crimean war gave the first great example of the style of literature created, and also of the political influence set in action, by the "War Correspondent."

‡ The numbers in the text are given by Mr. Kinglake (vol. iv. pp. 56, *f.*) from the great work of general Todleben, "La Défense de Sebastopol."

invaders. Of the active army, about 12,000 were stationed in the south-eastern part of the peninsula under general Khomontov, leaving 38,500 or 39,000 available for present service under prince Menchikov. This force, of which 3,600 were cavalry, supported by 96 guns, was stationed by prince Menchikov on the Alma, in the hope of inflicting a crushing defeat on the allies.

His plan of defence showed the same spirit of self-confidence as his diplomatic assault upon the Porte, and was destined to a discomfiture as signal. "He was a wayward presumptuous man, and his bearing towards the generals under him was of such a kind that he did not or could not strengthen himself by the counsels of men abler than himself. . . . He had opened his mission at the Porte with insult; he had closed it with threats; and now—a sequence rare in the lives of modern statesmen—he was out on a hillside, with horse and foot, having warrant—full warrant this time—to adduce 'the last reason of kings.'

"So far as regards the general scheme of the campaign, his conception, it seems, was this: he would suffer the allies to land without molestation, because he desired that the defeat which he was preparing for them should be, not a mere repulse, but a crushing and signal disaster. He would not attack them on their line of march, because he liked better to husband his strength for the great position on the Alma. It seemed to him that there he could hold his ground against the invaders for three weeks; and his imagination was that, baffled for many days by the strength of his position, drawing their supplies from the ships with pain and uncertainty, and encumbered more and more every day with wounded men, the allies would fall into evil days. In the meantime, the troops long since despatched from Bessarabia would begin to reach him by way of Perekop and Simpheropol; and, thus reinforced, he would in due season take the offensive, inflicting upon the Western Powers a chastisement commensurate with their rashness." *

Nature had prepared a position suited for his purpose on the banks of the river ALMA, some twenty miles in front of Sebastopol. But to describe that position in detail, and to trace, step by step, the incidents of a day which, amidst the excited feelings of that time, seemed to revive the memories of Waterloo after an interval of forty years, is a task from which we refrain, for three sufficient reasons. First, it must be confessed that the incidents of the battle have lost much of their interest by the lapse of a generation; next, an adequate description of the somewhat confused movements on both sides would be perhaps tediously minute, and certainly unintelligible without a set of plans; and those who care to follow it, have Mr. Kinglake's full and vivid narrative.† In three hours of hard fighting the Russians were driven from the heights in utter rout; the chief merit of the victory resting with the dogged bravery of the British soldiers and the skill and prompt decision of lord Raglan in seeing and seizing a critical moment to ensure success.

* Kinglake, vol. iii. pp. 11, 12.

† The story of the Alma occupies most of Mr. Kinglake's 3rd volume.

In the battle of the Alma, the allies outnumbered the Russians by above one-third (about 60,000 to 39,000); but the assailants had to work uphill against a strong defensive position; and the disparity of numbers was neutralized by the manner of the French attack, sending two-fifths of their army round by the sea-cliffs, and crowding the rest on a narrow front against one-third of the Russian force. The result was to place the English on a numerical equality with the Russian centre and right, which had an immense advantage in its position.* Some index of the fighting in the different parts of the field is given by the casualties suffered. The French had only three officers killed, and their total loss is estimated at 60 killed and 500 wounded.† The English losses were 25 officers, 19 sergeants, and 318 rank and file, killed; 81 officers, 102 sergeants, and 1,438 rank and file, wounded; making, with 19 missing,‡ a total of 2,002; or close upon four times the French loss out of a force nearly one-third less. The Russian loss in killed and wounded was officially stated at 5,709, including 5 generals, 23 field-officers, and 170 officers of lower rank; and of these, not far short of one-half fell in the close fighting with the British infantry on the Kourgané Hill. Few prisoners were made by the allies; none by the Russians; and, as there was no pursuit, the trophies of victory §—besides the small arms picked up on the field—were only two guns taken by the British at the redoubt, and an open carriage in which a clerk was travelling with some official papers, captured by the French.

* Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 318, and "Notes" i. and ii. in Appendix. A careful calculation gives the following result:—

Russian Forces at the Commencement of the Action.

	Guns.	Men.
Opposed to the French	10	10,337
„ „ English	68	23,142
In reserve	18	5,722
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	96	39,251

The chief changes in the distribution of these forces during the action are mentioned in our narrative.

† This was lord Raglan's estimate, based on grounds which he deemed "conclusive," and he pronounced the French official return of about 1,340 to be "impossible." For the evidence confirming this opinion, see Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 312. Roughly stated, the Russian loss was 1-7th of their whole force, the English 1-11th, the French less than 1-50th (or, as *officially* stated, above 1-22nd).—On the further question of the praise due to the several armies we must refer to the discussion which Mr. Kinglake sums up by leaving the reader to judge, from the facts narrated, "whether, for simplicity's sake, it be better to pile up a heap of praise, and distribute it, like a cargo of medals, amongst all the French, English, and Turks, who heard the sound of the guns, or, in a harsher and more careful spirit, to part off the troops which fought hard from the troops which scarce fought at all, and to show by whose ordering it was that the course of the battle was governed."—Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 319.

‡ Supposed to be buried in the ruined houses of Bourliouk.

§ The Russians brought no colours into the field.

The allied armies bivouacked on the heights they had won,* and, during the night and the next day, the wounded were carried to a sheltered spot in the valley, including about 500 Russians who had been left on the field too severely hurt to be carried off. During the two days' halt on the Alma, the English and French were only able to place their own wounded on board the ships; and when the march was resumed on the 23rd, the Russians were left behind for three whole days and nights, till, on the 26th, Captain Lushington, of the *Albion*, carried the 342 survivors to Odessa under a flag of truce. No heroism displayed on the Alma is more worthy of remembrance than of Dr. Thompson and his servant John M'Grath, who "remained alone in an enemy's country, without tent or accommodation of any sort, for the sole purpose of alleviating the sufferings of 500 of his fellow creatures." †

In recounting the losses at Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington wrote:—"The *glory* resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me"—a use of the word even more significant than its supposed absence from his despatches. But the pride of victory is not easily renounced, and this first victory after a long peace proved that our young untried soldiers were worthy of their veteran fathers, and gave a bright promise of the issue of the campaign. "It confirmed to the allies that military ascendancy over Russia, which had been more than half gained already by the valour of the Ottoman soldiery. It lent the current sanction of a victory to the hazardous enterprize of the invasion. . . . It established the allies as invaders in a province of Russia. It did more. *It offered them even SEBASTOPOL*; but always, nevertheless, upon condition that they would lay instant hands on the prize." ‡

Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit; § but sometimes the choice of rumour anticipates only what ought to be, and so is belied by the event. The Alma was an unknown name; the prize expected was Sebastopol; and the Czar's rage at hearing of the battle was mingled with despair at what he deemed its consequence in the certain loss of his Black Sea fleet and fortress, which report brought to the West as a fact. The news of the battle reached England from lord Stratford on Saturday, the 30th, and enhanced the joy of the thanksgivings offered on the next day for an abundant harvest; but it was not generally known till Monday that the report of the victory had been followed on the same day by the rumour that Sebastopol had fallen on the 22nd. The duke of Newcastle, overjoyed at the success of his own special enterprize, wrote to the Queen at Balmoral (September 30th):—"Confirmation of this blessed news will probably be received in a few hours;" || and on the Tuesday it came in

* See Mr. Kinglake's graphic description of the field after the battle, and the state of the wounded, vol. iii. pp. 326-9. Besides the wounded, there were constantly new victims of cholera, which struck down several on the very field of battle.

† Captain Lushington to admiral Dundas, September 27, 1854; Kinglake, vol. iii. pp. 332-3.

‡ Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 324.

§ Tacitus, *Agricola*, 9.

|| Even lord Aberdeen wrote to the Queen (October 1st) that he "had brought himself to

force too good to be true. The Turkish ambassador received a despatch from Vienna, said to have been forwarded by way of Bucharest from Omar Pasha, to whom the news had been brought at Silistria by a Tatar courier from Constantinople (a strange *circumbendibus!*);—that the Russian army was annihilated, 18,000 men being killed and wounded and 22,000 made prisoners (a loss of 1,000 *more* than its fullest force!); Fort Constantine was destroyed and the other forts taken, with their 200 guns; six Russian ships of the line were sunk, and prince Meuchikov had moved the rest to the bottom of the bay, declaring his intention to burn them if the attack were continued!" On enquiry, the Tatar vanished as if into his native steppe.

But more substantial agitations of opinion disturbed the Government. The Cabinet were disputing over what should be done with Sebastopol; and lord John Russell was urging the impossibility of going on with the intractable House of Commons, and echoing the feeling still prevalent about lack of vigour in the war. The disappointment with the Baltic fleet had reached a climax; and a dissatisfaction—not quite unfounded—with the conduct of admiral Dundas in the Black Sea was made keener by contrast with the energy of sir Edmund Lyons. Not only was Dundas to be recalled, but lord Raglan to be tried by a Court of Enquiry.

With the beginning of another week (October 8th) lord Burghersh arrived, bringing lord Raglan's despatch with the details of the battle. It was then learnt what his officers thought of him, as well as what he had to say of his troops:—"Wasted for two months previously by the scourge of cholera, which pursued them to the very battle-field; exposed since they had landed in the Crimea to the extremes of cold, wet, and heat; in the ardour of the attack they forgot all they had endured, and displayed that high courage for which the British soldier is ever distinguished; and under the heaviest fire they maintained the same determination to conquer as they had exhibited before they went into action." As usual, the Queen expressed the deep and mingled feelings of her people in uttering her own; she "fully enters into the feelings of exultation and joy at the glorious victory of the Alma, but this is somewhat damped by the sad loss we have sustained, and the thought of the many bereaved families of all classes, who are in mourning for these most dear to them."*

believe the report, notwithstanding the absurdities and exaggerations of the account," and cited his own recollection that the news of Austerlitz had been disbelieved at first. With greater discernment lord Clarendon wrote, "The Russians cannot have experienced great loss in their superior position; and if 30,000 or 40,000 effected a safe retreat to Sebastopol, it is hardly credible that they should have surrendered the place in two days."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 128, 129.

* Letter to lord Clarendon, October 10th. In a letter to King Leopold (October 13th) the Queen wrote:—"Lord Raglan's behaviour was worthy of the Old Duke's. . . . I feel so proud of my dear noble troops, who, they say, bear their privations, and the sad disease which still haunts them, with the greatest courage and good humour."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 136.

CHAPTER XXII.

SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL (September and October, 1854)—Sebastopol and its Fortifications—Attack on the North side rejected by St. Arnaud—Second lost opportunity—The Flank March—Contact with the Russian rear—The English at Balaclava—Death of St. Arnaud (September 29th): succeeded by General Canrobert—Position of the Allies on the Chersonese—Defences of the South side of Sebastopol—The Flagstaff Bastion, Redan, and Malakoff—Number and Resources of the Garrison—Menchikov's Plan—Kornilov's bold Proposal rejected—Ships of War sunk across the harbour's mouth—Menchikov withdraws his army: his inaction on the Katcha—Defence of Sebastopol by Kornilov and Todleben—Religious Ceremony: the Word of God and the word of the Czar—The Third opportunity lost by the Allies, in rejecting the proposal for an immediate Assault—Sebastopol secure from Investment—The Allies shut up in the Chersonese—Their Positions for Attack and Defence—Weak Point on the Inkerman Heights—Separate Defence of Balaclava—Menchikov's Advance—The Trenches opened—Raglan and Dundas—Co-operation of the Fleets—**FIRST CANNONADE OF SEBASTOPOL** (October 17th)—French fire silenced—Devotion and Death of Kornilov—The English Attack—Explosion in the Redan—The Assault postponed: a Fourth lost opportunity—Naval Attack on the Sea Forts: its Failure—Sebastopol secure on the Sea Front—Cannonade for a week (October 19th to 25th)—Todleben's energetic Defence—Mr. Cattley's Warning of the Crimean Winter—Lord Raglan's Warning home: State of the Army: Cholera.

THE battle of the Alma offered the allies Sebastopol, "but always, nevertheless, upon condition that they would lay instant hands on the prize." It lay at a distance of less than 20 miles, with only the wreck of a thoroughly beaten force to impede the march. What, then, were the obstacles presented by the place itself to an army appearing before it? Its fortifications had been raised almost entirely with regard to making the harbour impregnable to an attack from the sea. The entrance was commanded by three great forts, built of the strong limestone of the country, and faced with granite, each having two tiers of casemated batteries, and one of guns mounted *en barbette* on the top.* The two points which form the mouth of the harbour were occupied by Fort Constantine on the north and Fort Alexander on the south, the former mounting 97 heavy guns, the latter 56. To the east of the latter, on the northern point of the town itself, stood the great Fort St. Nicholas, armed with 192 guns; and from this point a boom of chains was stretched across the harbour. On a point outside Fort Alexander was the less powerful, but still very formidable, Quarantine Sea

* See the Plans of Sebastopol in Mr. Kinglake's 4th volume, and the admirable *Panoramic View* given as the Frontispiece to the same volume.

Fort, with 58 guns behind a parapet, but without casemated batteries. Other minor works completed the sea defences. On the land side, the town itself lay at this time almost entirely open on the south, where the great contest was destined to take place; but at present the allies were concerned with the defences of the northern heights, a plateau rising in steep cliffs above the harbour, and falling off to the river Belbek on the north and the sea on the west. On this "north side of Sebastopol," or, as the Russians called it, *Severnaya*, were barracks, magazines, and a government factory; and its capture by the allies would have placed at their mercy the town and harbour and fleet, to destroy which was their one object.* Below these heights were batteries facing to the sea, but opposing no obstacle to a land force advancing from the north. The summit was crowned with a large work, called by the English the Star Fort, built in 1818 to protect Fort Constantine from attack by any force landing in its rear; but it was old, ill-contrived, and dilapidated. So fully was prince Menchikov convinced that his defeat at the Alma placed these northern heights at the mercy of the allies, that he made no effort to defend them.

Lord Raglan's opinion, though with less certain means of knowledge, tended to the same conclusion. He conceived "that the character of the whole expedition was that of a surprise; that it was undertaken without accurate knowledge of the strength of the enemy or their resources, and that in great measure they (the allies) still remained ignorant on these points; that all they knew positively was, that the victory at the Alma had been a heavy blow to them, and that the best chance of continued success was to follow it up rapidly, and try to take the northern forts by a *coup de main*."† With this view, on the morrow of the battle, he proposed to marshal St. Arnaud "at once to advance on the Belbek, cross that river, and then assault the forts." The marshal made the excuse, "that his troops were tired, and that it could not be done"; a reason which lord Raglan knew to be untrue. In a second interview the marshal talked of earthworks thrown up to defend the Belbek, but proposed no plan of his own.‡ So two precious days were lost in the bivouac on the Alma. The time was, indeed, occupied in getting the wounded on board ship; but this need not have detained the whole armies, had not the plan been now broached of severing their connection with the western coast, and marching round to attack Sebastopol on the south.

On the 23rd the allies advanced to the Katcha, and, after a fresh delay

* This is no assumption, but the deliberate opinion of general Todleben.—"Défense de Sebastopol," vol. i. p. 239; Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 362.

† Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 338. The extract is from Mr. George Loch's Memorandum of a conversation with sir Edmund Lyons, on the 10th of February, 1856, which is one of the most valuable authorities for the campaign, especially for its records of the views and statements expressed by lord Raglan to sir Edmund Lyons, who had his fullest confidence.

‡ Mr. Kinglake (vol. iii. p. 400) suggests the explanation, that marshal St. Arnaud, feeling himself too ill to take part in the active operation of an attack on the forts, and unwilling to resign his command, preferred the course which enabled him simply to cling to it; and hence also his subsequent consent to the flank march.

demandod by St. Arnaud on account of fresh reports of Russian defences on the Belbek, they reached the latter river on Sunday the 24th, and had the northern heights of Sebastopol in full view. The time had now come for a final decision on the mode of seizing the great prize of the campaign. It was true that, in some of the earlier schemes for the invasion, the attention of those far away at home had been fixed on the town itself and its southern face, and this had been lord Raglan's first inclination. But this scheme was connected with a landing on the south shore of the Chersonese; and from the moment that the landing-place was chosen where it was, the assault on the northern heights was the direct and obvious course.* That it was perfectly practicable, was the clear opinion of lord Raglan and sir Edmund Lyons; for the Star Fort, planned (as has been said) against a turning-attack from the shore, was commanded by the ground from which the allies would approach it, and it was exposed to the fire of the fleets. After all that colonel Todleben could do to strengthen the works in the three days' respite allowed him, that consummate engineer gave his decided, and therefore decisive, opinion, that the defence was desperate against the force that the allies had at their command; nay more, that the allies must have known this, had they made the best use of their means of information.†

Unfortunately, the objections of the French were supported by the authority of our great engineer officer, sir John Burgoyne; and lord Raglan fell back on his policy of preserving the harmony of the alliance, even at the sacrifice of his own desires and judgment. His own original inclination towards the attack on the south side had been founded on the valuable information of colonel Mackintosh and Mr. Oliphant about the backward state of the fortifications.‡ And now, as the only alternative to the failure of the expedition, he fell back upon that plan, though it had to be executed under conditions totally different from those that had originally recommended it. The plan might have been excellent if carried out in its

* Even before the war, captain (afterwards admiral sir James) Drummond, who had become acquainted with Sebastopol by lying at anchor in the roadstead, had given it as his decided opinion that, in any case, the north side was the true point of attack, and captain Willes (who had been with Drummond at Sebastopol) reported thus:—"I think it is quite possible to destroy the arsenal with time and 20,000 soldiers, artillery, etc. The attack on the south side should be a feint."—Kinglake, vol. iii. p. 361.

† See the passages quoted by Mr. Kinglake from Todleben's "Défense de Sebastopol." Mr. Kinglake also states fully the arguments on the other side, and prints sir John Burgoyne's Memorandum. The main substance of sir John Burgoyne's argument is that, regarding the northern heights as too strong to be taken by a *coup de main*, and contemplating a siege, the Chersonese gave a strong position, and the harbour of Balaclava offered a secure communication with the fleet, which was our real base of operations.

‡ Mr. Oliphant, who had been in Sebastopol itself, wrote in his book published in November, 1853:—"But of one fact there is no doubt, that, however well fortified may be the approaches to Sebastopol by sea, there is nothing to prevent any number of troops landing a few miles south of the town in one of the six convenient bays with which the coast as far as Cape Kherson is indented, and, marching down the main street (provided they were strong enough to defeat any military force that might be opposed to them in the open field) sack the town and burn the fleet."—"Russian Shores of the Black Sea," p. 260; Kinglake, vol. iii. pp. 381, 382.

integrity from the first, by landing in the Chersonese, and at once attacking the city on its almost open south side with the full fresh energy of the allied forces; but it was a very different thing to fall back upon it after all the expenditure of time, resources, and life in effecting the landing at Kamishlu, breaking down the Russian defence at the Alma, and then sacrificing the advantages so dearly bought by beginning the work anew on the south side. And, more than this, to get now to the south side by a march round the head of the harbour, in a long column exposed to be severed by a flank attack from Sebastopol, was a most hazardous operation. In fact, when lord Raglan proposed the plan as an alternative, in case of St. Arnaud's persistence in his objection to attack the Star Fort, and when the marshal accepted it on that ground, he saw its disadvantages even more clearly than lord Raglan did. It was thus that his colleague caused lord Raglan to renew his preference for the worse course, and accepted it against his own judgment of its faults; and this unfortunate concurrence in preferring the worse counsel to the better marked what Mr. Kinglake rightly calls the *second of the lost occasions of the campaign*.* By a stranger concurrence still, the immediate risk of the flank march was neutralized by a corresponding movement on the part of prince Menchikov; and, to crown the "comedy of errors," the hostile armies, each retiring from the attack and defence of the north side, all but came accidentally into the collision they were avoiding.

On the 24th of September, when the flank march was resolved on, the allies were in a curious and somewhat critical position in their bivouac on the Belbek. In consequence of St. Arnaud's refusal to attack a work which the Russians had thrown up at the mouth of the river, the allies had already turned their march further inland, thus breaking the communication hitherto maintained with their fleets. On their open left was a broken wooded region, as unknown to them as it was well known to the enemy, of whose position also they were ignorant. On the next morning, in fact, the Russians were on a higher point of the river, crossing from south to north as the allies were marching from it to the south! †

The flank march began about half-past eight on the morning of September 25th. As the movement was from the *left* of the allies, it was for the English to take the lead, and, besides this, marshal St. Arnaud was now incapacitated by illness. The whole direction therefore devolved upon lord Raglan. To understand his arrangements, as well as the movement of prince Menchikov, it should be observed that from the harbour of Balaklava, on the south shore of the Chersonese (due south of Inkerman at the head of the harbour of Sebastopol), a highroad runs in a north-easterly direction to Bakchiserai and Simpheropol, crossing the Tchernaya by a bridge called Tractir, about three and a-half miles south-east of Inkerman. The road from Sebastopol falls into this road between Balaklava and the bridge. From

* The *first* was in not at once pursuing after the battle of the Alma.

† These remarkable movements of the armies are made clear by two maps in Mr. Kinglake's 3rd and 4th volumes.

the Tractir bridge the highroad rises out of the valley of the Tchernaya over the wooded heights to which the allies gave the name of Mackenzie, from a farm upon the road, just five miles due east of the roadstead of Sebastopol. Lord Raglan's plan was to strike into the highroad at this Mackenzie's farm, which thus formed the eastern salient angle of the whole march from the Belbek to Balaclava. Lord Lucan was sent forward with the cavalry and a battalion of rifles to this point, whence he was to watch the road both ways and report to lord Raglan, who also rode forward with his staff to reconnoitre, and decide on the further progress of the army, which meanwhile marched through the wood guided by the compass. Owing, however, to an accidental deviation of the cavalry, the march was not led by them, as had been intended; and lord Raglan, with only his staff, riding forward to Mackenzie's farm, found himself almost in contact with a body of Russians, who (it was not known till later) were the rear guard of the army which prince Menschikov was leading away from Sebastopol towards Bakchiserai! The Russians, equally ignorant of the flank march, supposed themselves pursued by the allies in full force; and thus they lost the golden opportunity of first capturing the English commander, and then falling on the flank of the long-drawn column. Such are "the strange incidents of war," to use lord Raglan's phrase on the occasion.

Descending the southern slope of the Mackenzie heights towards the Tractir bridge, the English army rested for the night on the Tchernaya; the French, following them, only reached their bivouac on the heights long after midnight. Cathcart's division was left at the Belbek, to cover the rear and to send back the sick to the fleets, which lay at the mouth of the Katcha.* Two officers made their names memorable by the service of riding to and fro through the dark and unknown forest:—captain Hugh Smith, despatched by Cathcart, and captain Maxse, of the *Agamemnon*, sent by Lyons to the headquarters, whence both returned safe with lord Raglan's messages, desiring that a naval force should be sent round to meet him at Balaclava. So promptly was this request complied with, that when, on the next morning, lord Raglan was the first to appear before Balaclava and the guns of its little castle opened upon the staff,† they heard the English cannon answering from the sea. Lord Raglan was soon greeted by sir Edmund Lyons, and the little town and harbour were filled by the English troops and ships. Both were far too small to allow of a divided occupation; and, as the position of the English in the flank march had thrown the lead of events on lord Raglan, so now their arrival first at Balaclava determined the relative position of the allies for the future. A glance at the map will show that the army holding the right before the southern face of Sebastopol must of necessity have Balaclava for their base; and the French, seeing the English installed there, yielded the post of

* Cathcart, having been left unmolested by the Russians in his dangerous isolation, joined the army before Sebastopol on the 26th.

† The Russian commandant of Balaclava excused this show of defending an untenable post on the plea that he had not been summoned.

honour, which they had hitherto held on the right, and which now became also pre-eminently the post of danger. They were rewarded by finding (what had not hitherto been known) harbours superior to Balacava* in the bays of Kamiesh and Kazatch, to the north-east of Cape Chersonese. These changes had been facilitated by the increasing illness of St. Arnaud, which compelled him, on the night of the 26th, to give up the command to Canrobert. † After a kindly parting interview with lord Raglan, ‡ the marshal was carried on board ship on the 29th of September, and died the same afternoon.

The result of the movement thus completed was to place the allies in a position where, unless they could quickly take Sebastopol by assault, they would be, while besiegers, themselves also besieged. The plateau of the Chersonese may be likened in plan to a pointed arch, having its apex on the west at Cape Chersonese, and its base on the east formed by a line drawn due north and south from the head of the harbour of Sebastopol to the little port of Balacava. The length of the Chersonese is about 10 miles from apex to base. § This base, of about eight miles in length, is no mere imaginary line, but well marked by the acclivity called Mount *Sapouneh* (that is, "a breather"), along which the plateau rises abruptly from the plain of the Tchernaya to the height of about 500 to 700 feet, forming, so to speak, a continuous buttress to the high ground. The only considerable break in this long and steep escarpment is the "Col" of Balacava, through which the road passes from that port to Sebastopol. The whole southern shore of the Chersonese forms a range of precipitous cliffs, affording no landing-place, even for a boat, except at the monastery of St. George, near the south-western headland. The northern shore, as we have seen, is indented with bays and creeks, from which ravines—many of them deep

* We know not whose ingenuity first suggested the likeness of the little port of Balacava to that which Ulysses describes himself as entering on the coast of the Læstrygons (Hom. Od. x. 87-90):—

"To that illustrious port we came, by rocks
Uninterrupted flank'd on either side
Of towering height, while prominent the shores
And bold, converging at the haven's mouth
Leave narrow pass."

"*The Campaign*," in the "Companion to the Almanack," 1856.

† The Emperor had given a dormant commission to Canrobert, against this foreseen contingency.

‡ On the 8th of October lord Raglan wrote thus of the marshal to the duke of Newcastle:—"I must say I deeply regret him. Although he occasioned me many difficulties from time to time, he never varied in his determination to be upon good terms with me: and, personally, he was all kindness to and consideration for me."

§ This description is meant to give an idea in bold outline. Speaking more exactly, the escarpment curves somewhat westward from the bank of the Tchernaya, above Inkerman, to the Col of Balacava, beyond which it merges into the broken heights round Balacava. At the northern foot of these heights, along the road leading eastward from the Col, lies the valley made famous by the Battle of Balacava and the charge of the Light Brigade.

and precipitous—are prolonged through the surface of the plateau, for the most part in a direction from north-west to south-east.

This configuration of the ground went far to determine the character both of the attack and the defence. One wide and deep ravine skirted the western side of the city; and on the south and east, where it was more easily assailable, the approaches through the hollows could be swept by the fire of the place and still more by the fleet in the roadstead, while the intervening ridges, along which lay the true lines of approach, afforded the besieged excellent posts for defensive works. But these detached points in a position commanded by the higher ground of the plateau were so critical, that the loss of any one of the three principal posts—afterwards so famous as the Flagstaff Bastion, the Redan, and the Malakoff, would probably involve the fall of the place. “There existed other sources of embarrassment, which however—though not in an equal degree—were common to the attack and the defence. Besieged and besiegers alike were sure to be put to great stress by the depth of the ravines, which would more or less split their strength by hampering all lateral movements; and, in the event of the conflict taking a form which should make it depend much on earthworks, both the garrison and the assailants would have to encounter the difficulty of trying to gain cover from ground which was simply hard rock, coated over, where coated at all, with a very thin layer of clay.”*

At the end of 1853, when only the signal remained to be given for war between Russia and the allies, Sebastopol still lay open on the south. Since that time, the works projected in 1834 had been pushed forward; but these were chiefly on the west side, with a view to protect the town against the sudden attack of any force that might land in one of the neighbouring bays. Forts and bastions had been raised on the ridge outside of the ravine bounding the city on the west, and the salient angle of the high ground opposite its southern point had been crowned by the important work called the Flagstaff Bastion. These fortifications were joined by a bare loop-holed wall. Much less had been done on the more assailable south-eastern face of the Karabel suburb; but here also the points destined soon to be fiercely contested were already occupied by forts, but without the earthworks necessary for their defence. In a curved line from the head of the man-of-war harbour (running up between the city and the suburb) north-eastward to the small creek called the Careening Bay, the summits of the ridges were crowned by the *Redan*, south of the Karabel suburb, by the *Malakoff* (or White Tower), at its south-eastern point, and by the *Little Redan*; but they were as yet joined by no continuous entrenchment. “The Malakoff, afterwards so formidable, was only at this time a naked horseshoe-shaped tower, having five guns on the top, but without the glacis and the outworks which were soon to rise folding around it.” † Of the 151 guns in battery on the land face of Sebastopol, only 23 were in position for the defence of the Karabel suburb. The arsenal contained thousands of heavy guns, though many of them were useless from age; besides

* Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 52.

† *ibid.* p. 55.

the 1,900 guns of the fleet, which, as will be seen presently, were added to the land defences. The abundance of ammunition and warlike stores seemed almost inexhaustible; and the transfer of the attack to the southern side left the entry of supplies quite free. The garrison left in Sebastopol, when Menchikov took up his position on the Alma, numbered nearly 28,000 combatants and 5,000 workmen.* Of the chiefs who commanded these forces under prince Menchikov (the supreme admiral as well as general) two names were destined to especial fame: vice-admiral Kornilov, chief of the staff of the Black Sea fleet, and colonel Todleben, a young officer of engineers.

On the 20th of September, when "the cannon's opening roar" announced the beginning of the battle on the Alma, these two officers rode beyond the Katcha towards the scene of action, and were soon met by signs of the fatal result.† Among the tide of fugitives they encountered prince Menchikov riding alone and in deep dejection. He at once informed the admiral of his desperate resolution to close the entrance to the harbour by sinking the fleet for the sake of which the town and fortress had their existence.

On the next morning (September 21st) Kornilov assembled a council of admirals and captains, to whom he proposed that the ships should sail out and attack the allied fleets while they were crowded off Cape Loukoul. The bold measure found very few supporters; and it was met by the counter proposal, which was understood to express Menchikov's resolve, to sink the oldest of the ships across the mouth of the roadstead, and to transfer the crews of the whole fleet to the land defences. Menchikov had, in fact, now formed the resolution to operate with his army on the flank and rear of the allies, leaving Sebastopol to be defended by the sailors, with about 5,000 militiamen. To make the plan at all safe, it was of capital importance both to set free the men and material of the fleet for the land defences, and to make it impossible for the allies to bring their ships into the harbour; and the ruthless plan was justified by its success.‡

The ships doomed to be first sunk were moved to the mouth of the roadstead, while the rest were so placed as to fire on the northern slopes should the enemy appear there. The hopelessness of holding the Severnaya was indicated by the removal of the warlike stores from that quarter across the harbour into the town itself. The retreating troops, also, as they arrived on the northern heights, were carried across the harbour to

* The total is made up as follows:—Four militia battalions, 3,000; gunners at the coast batteries, 2,708; stationed marines, 2,666; seamen of the fleet, 18,501; nine local companies (probably about) 900; total combatants, 27,775; workmen, 5,000: total, 32,775. "Of these, however, there were none, except the gunners at the coast defences, and the 3,000 militiamen, who could be said to form part of the army."—Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 65. It should be remembered that Russian seamen pass much of their time in barracks, and are subjected to military instruction and discipline.

† See Kornilov's own words, quoted by Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 67.

‡ For Kornilov's vigorous efforts at resistance and self-sacrificing submission at last, and his noble address to the sailors, likening the sacrifice to that of Moscow, see Kinglake, vol. iv. pp. 80, *f.*

Sebastopol, and bivouacked in a field outside. The seven ships devoted for the sacrifice were scuttled during the night, and in the morning, as the *Three Holy Fathers*, a 130-gun ship, still floated with the water pouring through her sides, a steam frigate was ordered to fire into her "to shorten her agony." Her sinking soon after noon on the 23rd marked the end, for one generation, of Russia's hopes of domination in the Euxine.

When this measure was accomplished, Menchikov announced to his lieutenants his intention of leading the army away from Sebastopol. He was now in pressing want of the reinforcements which prince Gortchakov was bringing from the Danube, and his whole communications with Russia depended on the command of the great road through Bakchiserai and Simpheropol, which would also furnish a base for that vigorous offence which is the best defence. Therefore to Kornilov's objection, that Sebastopol could not be held by a handful of seamen against the armies of the allies, Menchikov replied:—"The enemy cannot undertake an energetic attack on the northern fortifications, having our army on the flank and rear." But this reason for so extreme a measure as leaving Sebastopol without an army, was just what Menchikov failed to justify by instant energetic action; nay, he neglected the most ordinary means of learning those plans and movements of the enemy, which had so strange a relation to his own. Marching out of Sebastopol in the night of September 24th, the morning found his army on the Belbek, just six miles above the English bivouac and just half an hour before they began their march to the point he had just left; * and his rear guard came in contact with the English van, without his having the least idea of the opportunity he was losing, or even of the meaning of the new movement of the allies. Leaving a detachment of about 13,000 men on the Upper Belbek, he retired to a position on the Katcha; where he remained for a time, neither concerting measures with the people he had left in Sebastopol for the defence or relief of the place, nor attacking or even observing the enemy. On the 26th of September, the day when the allies seized Balaclava, Kornilov writes, "Of the prince, nothing is heard"; and what would have been the result if the invaders had made their assault on the next day, is emphatically attested by Todleben: "Thus the defenders of Sebastopol had no help that they could reckon on. It has been seen that it was absolutely impossible for them to repel the enemy with only the force the garrison consisted of. So there remained to them no alternative but that of seeking to die gloriously at the post committed to their bravery."

It was reserved for the writer of these words to create another alternative by his skill and energy.† The stress of the defence rested on his science

* It was 8 A.M. when the Russians reached the Belbek, and the English began the flank march at half-past 8. For the measures which Menchikov might have taken, with his numerous cavalry and knowledge and command of the country, see Kinglake, vol. iv. pp. 94, f.

† General (then colonel) Edward Ivanovich Todleben (b. 1818) was by race a German, a native of the Baltic province of Courland. His great ability, proved in the army of the Danube, attracted the special notice of prince Michael Gortchakov, who sent him to prince Menchikov as an officer eminently qualified to aid in the defence of Sebastopol, where he

and the enthusiasm of Kornilov; and these two had already "come to be as one man. They lived in the same room. What Todleben judged to be right, the admiral impelled men to do. If Kornilov was the soul of the cause, the great engineer was its mind." * No supreme authority over the forces on both sides had been provided by Menchikov; but the generous loyalty of the officers who had been left with separate commands vested in Kornilov the general arrangements for the defence of the town.

Having transported his battalions of sailors from the north side of the harbour to the town itself, he joined with Todleben in disposing his available force of about 16,000 men for the defence of the weak fortifications already described. On the morning of the 27th, the expected day of attack, the troops were ranged along the ramparts to receive the blessing best fit to animate the pious Russian. Kornilov, a man of enthusiastic faith, said, "Let the troops first be reminded of the Word of God, and then I will impart to them the word of the Czar." The latter word was to the following effect:—"The Czar hopes that we shall not give up Sebastopol. Besides, we have nowhere to retreat to. We have the sea behind, the enemy in front. Prince Menchikov has deceived our enemies and got round them; and, when they attack us, our army will fall upon their rear. Remember then—believe in no retreat! Let the bands forget to play the retreat! Let him be a traitor who sounds the retreat! And if I myself give the order for retreating, kill me with the bayonet!" Such addresses, delivered—as eye-witnesses attested—with the tone of a man inspired, reanimated the spirits depressed by the evasion of the army and the chief. And yet, writes Todleben, "neither the exaltation of the troops, nor their resolve to fight to the last extremity, could have saved Sebastopol, if the enemy had attacked it immediately after his passage of the Tchernaya." †

This was the third great opportunity lost by the allies, who gave Todleben the one thing he wanted—*time*; and he used it so well that, in a week after the day of the Alma, the bare defences of Sebastopol were converted into an entrenched position; but troops were urgently needed to man the works. The hopes at length raised by communications from Menchikov, followed by his visit in person (September 28th and 30th), were dashed by his seeming resolve to watch the enemy, whose strength he overrated, and to leave Sebastopol to its own resources. "If that takes place"—said the admiral—"then farewell to Sebastopol! If the allies decide on some daring action, they will crush us." ‡ The remonstrance was so far effective, that Menchikov promised to hold a council of war, and so took his leave.

had arrived as lately as the 22nd of August. He was the bearer of a warning of the intended invasion, as well as of a commission to examine the defensive resources of the place; but Menchikov was so blind to the coming danger, as not only to neglect the new precautions suggested by Todleben, but even to recommend him to leave the Crimea! Fortunately the invasion kept him there to aid in its defence. His actual position was only that of a volunteer.

* Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 116.

† "Défense de Sebastopol," vol. i. p. 257; Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 136.

‡ This was Kornilov's reply to Menchikov. In his private journal he wrote, "To hold

How was it, then, that the allies did not "decide on some daring action"? On the 27th of September—the same day on which the French completed the flank march—a first reconnaissance was made, and the bold counsel of immediate assault was proposed by sir Edmund Lyons and supported by lord Raglan. But sir John Burgoyne, overrating the strength of the defences, remonstrated against delivering an assault till the fire of the place had been subdued by heavy artillery; and, as general Canrobert adhered to the same opinion, lord Raglan suffered himself to be overruled, as a lesser evil than that of divided counsels. The seeming "safer" course prevailed, as so often, over the really surer; but Todleben justly condemns the allies for "the error of exchanging their power to overmaster the stronghold at once for an opportunity of merely besieging it, and that too with inadequate means."* And, even had their means been adequate, "they failed to see how much they were bound by the vital condition of *time*." There were some, indeed, who felt this, for general Airey communicated the decision to the commander-in-chief at home with the ominous words, "My own opinion is, that *we are here for the winter*, maintaining only a strong position until we can be reinforced." †

Sebastopol was now secure on the north side and on the sea-front; and the depth to which the roadstead ran up into the country rendered an investment out of the question by the forces of the allies. The front to be defended was limited to the curve enclosing the city and its suburb, and the great road to Simpheropol and all Russia remained open for the entrance of unlimited reinforcements and supplies. Thus reinforced, the army under Menchikov had in the Mackenzie Heights a position easy to hold against the allies, who were shut up in the Chersonese, cut off from all operations in the field, and with their right exposed always to the attacks of which they had such terrible experience on the day of Inkerman.

In pursuance of the twofold task, of prosecuting the siege and defending their own position, the allied forces were arranged as follows. The more numerous army of the French was divided into two bodies, each of

Sebastopol with troops is very possible, nay, it is possible to hold out long, but without troops—that alters the case." Todleben's defence of Menchikov's course is fully given and discussed by Mr. Kinglake. It amounts to this: that, regarding Sebastopol as indefensible, he turned his thoughts to the defence of the whole Crimea; but "he still preserved the hope that if the irresolution of the allies and the desperate courage of the sailors should make it possible to keep the enemy in check before Sebastopol for some time, the army, after receiving reinforcements, might be able to stop the ulterior successes of the allies." But the Crimea had all its value in Sebastopol, and, as Mr. Kinglake well says, Menchikov was treating the kernel as of less worth than the shell. Mr. Kinglake suggests, as a conjecture of the prince's true reason for not operating at once on the flank and rear of the allies, that the army was so deficient, especially after the losses on the Alma, of officers of the higher grades, as to make it incapable of manœuvring against the enemy in the field.

* Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 213.

† The writer little knew the full meaning of these words, as revealed a month later by the warning of Mr. Cattley, which was soon to be terribly verified. We might almost compare the armies to an Arctic crew caught in the winter's ice when only provided for a summer's voyage.

two divisions, for the double duty just described; while the whole English army, except the small force of cavalry, was assigned to the work of the siege, and to the defence of Balaclava, whence all their supplies were to be drawn. Beginning on the west from Strelitza Bay, the 4th and 3rd French divisions, under Forey, held the ground as far as the ravine running up from the man-of-war harbour. From thence the English confronted the south-eastern defences of the Karabel suburb, the side where the main struggle was likely to take place, and were exposed besides to the brunt of any attack on the north-eastern angle of the Chersonese.

The defence of the position was of course adapted to the nature of the ground, which we have already described as a steep escarpment formed by the Sapouneh heights above the valley of the Tchernaya. It was only the part of the ridge behind the English "left attack"—beginning from the Col of Balaclava—that was guarded by the 1st and 2nd French divisions, under Bosquet, who threw up strong works on the sides of the Col, and even added long lines of entrenchment to the natural strength of the ground.* While this superfluous force was lavished on the strongest part of the ridge (which, besides, looked down on the plain patrolled by the English cavalry), the more assailable part to the north, in rear of the English "right attack," † was left to be defended by their smaller force, while they were engaged in the larger and more important part of the siege operations. At the north-eastern extremity of their position a specially critical and vulnerable point was formed by the "Inkerman Heights" (soon to become terribly famous), a sort of tongue between the valley of the Tchernaya and the deep careenage ravine, connected only by a narrow neck with the rest of the position. Notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of sir John Burgoyne, it was deemed impracticable to cover our right by occupying the spurs above the Tchernaya and the harbour, and the northern part of the Inkerman Heights was left in the power of the Russians. This fault, like all the early errors and disasters of the campaign, was due to the divided command.

The town and port of Balaclava, the base of the English army, lying beyond the plateau of the Chersonese, demanded a separate system of defence. This was offered on the eastern side by steep hills, called the Marine Heights, which needed only slight works; and the entrance to the gorge, at the village of Kadiköi, was defended by a redoubt and breast-work. Here were stationed the 93rd Highlanders and a battalion of sailors. This inner line of defence was covered by an outer chain of redoubts, manned by Turks.‡ The defence of Balaclava was entrusted to sir Colin

* "Labour could be prodigally bestowed upon that part of the field, because the powerful force under Bosquet—the half of the French army, with, besides, several Turkish battalions—was there established as a corps of observation, not busied with any siege duties."—Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 229.

† For the details of the English position, see Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 223.—The English siege batteries were established on the three ridges across which their position lay.

‡ It has been already stated that the Turkish force in the Crimea was attached to the French army. The Turks now mentioned consisted of two battalions which Canrobert

Campbell; but the cavalry and horse artillery remained under the separate command of lord Lucan, with orders to patrol the plain as far as the Tchernaya and also towards the gorges leading into the valley of Baidar.

Both the English and French headquarters were established on the southern part of the heights, giving the advantage of speedy communication with each other and with Balaclava; while lord Raglan was "so near the crest of the Sapouneh Heights, as to be able in a few minutes to obtain a commanding view of the plain of Balaclava, the valley of the Tchernaya, and those neighbouring heights towards the east and north-east, from which, if bent on an enterprize, a Russian field army might come."* In fact, the cloud of war soon began to gather in that quarter, when prince MENCHIKOV, recovering from his discouragement or adopting counsels of less caution, not only secured his communications with Sebastopol by resuming the dominion of the Mackenzie Heights, but pushed forward strong reconnoitring parties of all arms into the valley of the Tchernaya (October 7th). Nor was this all. Suddenly yielding to Kornilov's remonstrances, MENCHIKOV sent across the harbour about 28,000 troops from his army, thus raising the garrison, by the 9th of October, to the force of 53,000 combatants. After throwing these reinforcements into Sebastopol, his field army still numbered 24,000 men. With this total force of 77,000 in the field and the city, the Russians already far outnumbered the allies. The confidence and boldness of the besieged now visibly increased; their works advanced rapidly; and they were relieved from the first fear of an overwhelming assault, when they saw the trenches opened by the French on the 9th, by the English on the 10th and 11th. Thus it was that the allies, with a most inadequate force, undertook the formal siege of the town, lately so exposed that its few defenders had despaired of resisting a sudden assault, but now open to support from all the resources of a mighty empire.

For the work of moving the siege material from Balaclava over several miles of high rugged ground the means of transport were quite insufficient, † and the difficulty was only mastered by the zeal of the British tars. The ardour of the sailors to take part in the work of the siege was gratified by the formation of a naval brigade, under captain Lushington, which rendered admirable service, and captain Peel (a son of the great sir Robert) gained brilliant distinction in command of the battery which he armed and manned from his ship the *Diamond*. ‡ It would be beyond our

placed at lord Raglan's disposal, besides a force of about 3,500 attached to lord Raglan's command by the Sultan, at the instance of lord Stratford de Redcliffe. It must be borne in mind that the arrangements now described were not made all at once, but extended over a considerable part of October. The outer defences of Balaclava, slight even as fully planned, were still incomplete when the Russians made their grand attack on October 25th. The details given above are necessary in order to understand the events of that great day.

* Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 235.

† The French had a much casier communication with their spacious landing-ground on the Bay of Kamiesh.

‡ It was captain Peel who took up a burning shell and threw it outside the breastwork,

scope to dwell on the engineering details and difficulties of the siege, not the least of those difficulties arising from divided counsels both on shore and between the military and naval commanders: difficulties which might have again and again proved fatal, but for lord Raglan's stedfast resolve to merge all personal considerations in the one duty, which he described in a letter to his reluctant naval colleague:—"Our position here is an extraordinary one. We are in the middle of October. The fine weather which we have been so fortunate as to enjoy, with one single day's exception, since we appeared on the south side of Sebastopol, can hardly be expected to last much longer, and large reinforcements are moving from the northward to the assistance of prince Menchikov. Time, therefore, is most precious, and we have not much left to capture the place, *which we have been called upon by the united voice of the Queen, the Government, and the country, to take possession of*, and which our recent success on the Alma will have led all to believe *could and would be accomplished*. Not to disappoint these universal expectations, the combined efforts of all branches of the naval and military service are necessary, and none, I am sure, will be withheld." * The immediate object of this letter was to secure the co-operation of the fleets in an attack on the sea-front of the defences, in combination with the opening of fire on Sebastopol by the French and English armies. †

At dawn on the morning of the 17th of October the land batteries on both sides opened fire; and the contest seemed going in favour of the allies, when a great magazine exploded in one of the French batteries: a second explosion, though of little consequence in itself, added to the shock of discouragement; and at half-past ten the French fire ceased. A bold sortie of the garrison at that moment might have produced a great effect; but about this very time prince Menchikov, who had crossed the harbour to confer with Kornilov, was leaving the town again, to prepare for the defence of the Severnaya, as if he thought the south side untenable. After this last parting with his chief, Kornilov proceeded to visit the posts, replying to a remonstrance against needlessly exposing himself, "What will the sailors say of me, if they do not see me to-day?" In passing to the Karabel suburb, he for the last time met Todleben, who had been repairing the great damage inflicted by the English fire on the Redan; and, though his report might well have sufficed, Kornilov persevered in his resolve to visit each critical point. To another entreaty, that he would take

where it instantly exploded, an exploit rewarded by the Victoria Cross, "for valour." This new order was instituted February 5, 1856, to reward conspicuous bravery in all ranks of both services; its badge being a Maltese cross made from cannon taken at Sebastopol. Captain Peel died, as we shall soon see, in rendering no less brilliant service with his naval brigade in India. For a return of the men and material contributed by the fleet in aid of the land forces before Sebastopol, see Kinglake, Appendix viii. to vol. iv.

* Letter to vice-admiral Dundas, October 13, 1854. When admiral Dundas showed this letter to one of his captains who was dissuading him from allowing his judgment to be overruled, the officer returned it to him, saying decisively, "Sir, this leaves you no option."

† On the unfortunate choice of a plan for the combined attack, see Kinglake, vol. iv. pp. 271, f.

the least exposed road from the Redan to the Malakoff, he answered with a smile, "You can never run away from a shot." At half-past eleven he had finished his inspection of the Malakoff, and had just said, "Now let us return," when a round shot shattered his left thigh and hip, and faintly saying, "Defend Sebastopol," he became senseless. With returning consciousness, he received the last sacraments of his Church, and, in a pause of his cruel agonies, he laid both hands on the head of the Chief of the Staff, and said, "Tell everybody how pleasant it is to die, when the conscience is quiet." Amidst tender messages to his wife and children, he often prayed, "O God! bless Russia and the Emperor! Save Sebastopol and the fleet!" Dozing under the effect of an anodyne, he roused himself at the entrance of an officer with news, and, on being told that the English batteries were almost silenced, he cried "Hurrah! Hurrah!" then fell back insensible and soon died. *Felix etiam opportunitate mortis.* His enthusiasm had given the impulse to the defence, which other qualities were needed to sustain, while his example and memory kept alive the spirit he had kindled among the men, who used often to say, "Our admiral still watches over us!"

Notwithstanding the report which cheered the brave man's last moments, the English fire was kept up with destructive effect on the defences, and, from the height of their ground overlooking the Karabel suburb, with great slaughter among the troops massed to await the assault. The Malakoff tower was silenced; and the Redan—the point intended to be breached for the assault—battered on both faces by a converging fire, seemed rapidly breaking down, when, soon after three o'clock, the explosion of a magazine by a shell threw the front of the work into a heap of ruins, burying great numbers of the defenders, and dismounting all its 22 guns, save two, which only five gunners were left to serve. To this fatal loss was added such discouragement, that the troops posted to withstand an assault fell back to a place of shelter. "Thenceforth," says Todleben, "there disappeared all possibility of replying to the English artillery. The defence in that part of the lines was completely paralyzed; and in the Karabelnaya men expected to see the enemy avail himself of the advantage he had gained, and at once advance to the assault."

In fact, the plan which sir John Burgoyne had preferred to a *coup de main* was now realized—so far as the English attack was concerned; and this qualification explains all. The English assault on the Redan was to be simultaneous with a French assault on the Flagstaff Bastion; the failure of the latter seemed a decisive reason for not proceeding with the former; and thus another opportunity was sacrificed to the exigencies of the alliance. The English fire was continued till nightfall with no further results of considerable moment. "The cannonade, prepared at great cost of warlike resources, and, yet worse, at a ruinous cost of time, had brought them no nearer to their object than they were before opening fire. Not being followed up by an assault, the one opportunity which all their siege labour had earned for them became an opportunity lost."*

* Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 433.

Nor did the result of the naval attack on the sea defences give them any compensating advantage. Without entering into details, or discussing those faults of the plan insisted on by admiral Hamelin, in consequence of which "the ships of the whole French fleet and of our admiral's main division had to ride at anchor in a formal line of battle, at once so grand and so impotent that there needed the fighting there was by the ships in the English left wing to save the whole business of the engagement from being deemed solemnly frivolous"*—it must suffice to record the lesson, taught by the vigorous conflict of the *Agamemnon* and her consorts under Lyons with Fort Constantine, how little power ships armed with the artillery of those days could exert against forts with thick stone walls and casemated batteries.† Besides the failure to make any real impression on the forts, the comparison of losses on the two sides is very striking. "Under the fire of 1,100 ships' guns, and these so diligently served, that from two ships alone there were hurled between 6,000 and 7,000 shot, no more than 138 of the Russians were either killed, wounded, or bruised."‡ On the side of the allies the loss was 520 men (317 English and 203 French), besides that of the Turks, which is not recorded. Two English ships had to be sent back to Constantinople to be repaired, and others were much damaged. The French flag-ship, *Ville de Paris*, received no less than 50 shots in her hull, and one shell, bursting under her poop, killed or wounded nine officers of admiral Hamelin's staff. But far more serious than these losses was the proof now given, how little the naval supremacy of the allies in the Black Sea availed towards the one object of capturing Sebastopol. "From that day, their supposed pretension to be, some day or other, the assailants of the place was visibly a pretension withdrawn; and the seaward approaches of the roadstead became added to the range of unchallenged dominion thenceforth enjoyed by the fortress."§ This fact was most strikingly confessed by the conversion of sir Edmund Lyons to the more cautious views of his superior; and even when he shortly afterwards succeeded Dundas in the command, he attempted no further attack upon Sebastopol.

On the evening of this eventful 17th of October, the assault had been postponed in the hope that the French would soon be able to renew their attack, and on the same night they began regular approaches to the Flagstaff Bastion. But the expectation of renewing the work on the morrow where it had been left off, underrated both the enormous resources of the place and the vast energy and skill of the volunteer colonel who directed them. During the night, Todleben restored and re-armed the defences of the Redan, which the English fire again destroyed on the 18th, with a loss to the Russians of 543 men; and so the cannonade went on for a week, each day proving the fresh resources of Todleben's skill, as well by the smaller proportion of loss as by the addition of new traverses and other

* Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 401.

† *Ibid.* p. 367.

‡ Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 405.—In passing these pages through the press, we cannot but note the contrast supplied in the destruction of the forts of Alexandria by the iron-clads and the tremendous artillery of the next generation after the Crimean war (July 11, 1882).

§ Kinglake, vol. iv. p. 407.

works. "His defence of the place would be weakly, nay almost wrongly described by calling it 'obstinate'; for, united to all the gifts which the defender of a beleaguered fortress should possess, he had a rare flexibility of mind, which enabled him to bend his vast powers to every changing phase of the conflict. Far from offering to the foe a resistance of the kind which the English call 'dogged,' he was enterprising, disturbing, aggressive. Under the direction of this great volunteer, the Russians, though suffering carnage, could steadfastly hold their ground. By fighting their batteries in the daytime with unsparing valour, and achieving at night immense labours, they were able to present to the besiegers every morning a line of defence which was not only strong and unbroken, but even augmented in strength,"* and, with every day gained, man and nature were combining to bring new forces from without against the allies; foreshadowing not only the two desperate fights of the next fortnight, but the gloom and sufferings of the coming winter.

The interpreter at the English headquarters was a gentleman of great intelligence, well acquainted with the climate; and on the morrow of the first abortive attack (October 18th), he gave warning to the following effect:—"I see now that this siege is likely to last a long time, and what I fear is, that if Sebastopol should not fall in the interval of autumn-time yet remaining, there may be an idea of wintering here. But does lord Raglan know what a winter here is likely to be? The army would have to encounter bleak winds, heavy rains, sleet, snow, bitter cold. Once in some few years it happens, that there comes a fortnight or so of Russian cold. When I speak of 'Russian cold,' I mean cold of such a degree that, if a man touches metal with an uncovered hand, the skin adheres."† In his written report, Mr. Cattley added:—"In such weather, no human creature can possibly resist the cold during the night unless in a house properly warmed, and in the daytime unless warmly dressed;" and lord Raglan, therefore, warned the duke of Newcastle that, after the middle of November, "we must be prepared either for wet or extreme cold, and in neither case could our troops remain under canvas, even with great and constant fires, and the country hardly produces wood enough to cook the men's food." A terrible prospect for an army in the fullest flush of health; but lord Raglan felt bound to add another warning of the signs of coming evil:—"Before concluding, I may be permitted to say a word with regard to this army. It requires, and should not be denied, repose. Although the marches have not been many, fatigue has pressed heavily upon the troops. The very act of finding water and of getting wood has been a daily unceasing exertion, and the climate has told upon them; and, independently of cholera, sickness has prevailed to a great extent since the third week in July. Cholera, alas! is still lingering in the army."‡

* Kinglake, vol. iv. pp. 445-6.

† "Cruel as was the first winter endured by the allied armies on the Chersonese, the apprehended contingency of a fortnight of 'Russian cold' did not occur."—Kinglake.

‡ Private letter to the duke of Newcastle, October 23, 1854.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BALACLAVA AND INKERMAN ; AND WINTER TROUBLES (October to December, 1854)—Liprandi's Army at Tchorgoun—Balaclava and its Defences—Redoubts on the Causeway Heights—The British Cavalry and Highlanders : Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell—Prince Menchikov's Plan of Attack—BATTLE OF BALACLAVA (October 25th)—Loss of the Redoubts : Conduct of the Turks—Measures of Raglan and Canrobert—Cavalry Attack on the 93rd : repulsed by Sir Colin Campbell—*Charge of the Heavy Brigade under Scarlett*—Their Brilliant Victory—Inaction of the Light Brigade—Lord Raglan's "Fourth Order" : how construed by Lord Lucan—Captain Nolan—*Charge of the Light Brigade*—Conduct of Lord Cardigan—Return of the Survivors—Lord George Paget—Charge of the French Cavalry—A Victory won and lost—Lord Lucan and the Heavy Cavalry—Losses of the Light Brigade—Lord Raglan's judgment : recal of Lord Lucan—Moral Result of the Battle—Sortie of the Garrison, called the *Lesser Inkerman* : repulsed by Sir De Lacy Evans (October 26th)—Sacrifices made to strengthen Balaclava—Grand Design of the Russians—Their Reinforcements and Strength—Arrival of the Grand Dukes—Numbers of the Allies—Russian Plan of Attack—*Sunday, November 5th* : Religious Service : the Bells of Sebastopol : BATTLE OF INKERMAN—Defeat of the Russian Attacks—Gortchakov's Force Neutralized—Sortie under Timoviev : repulsed by the French—Carnage of the Battle—Russian Atrocities—Menchikov's Apology—Consequences of the Battle—Question of abandoning the Siege—Decision to wait for reinforcements—Sufferings of the Armies—Great Storm (November 14th)—The Hospitals at Scutari—Miss Florence Nightingale—Efforts at Home—The Patriotic Fund—Honours and Rewards to the Army—The Siege Languishing.

On the same day (October 18th) on which Mr. Cattley gave his warning of the approaching winter, Russian forces of all arms were seen moving along the ridge above the village of Tchorgoun on the further side of the Tchernaya,—the gathering cloud of the storm which was to burst on that day week. Menchikov had constituted a complete *corps d'armée* under General Liprandi, supported by another under general Jabrokitsky—the two amounting to about 24,000 or 25,000 men—to operate in the rear of the English and against Balaclava. The peculiar position of the little town and its port must be borne in mind. While the real base on which the English army was dependent for all its stores and supplies, its communications with Constantinople and England, and its much-needed reinforcements, the place lay outside of the natural stronghold which the allies held on the Chersonese ; not a safe station in the rear, but a detached post, exposed to the attack of the Russian forces which were now gathering daily in greater strength in the valley of the Tchernaya. As an outer line of defence a system of fieldworks was hastily thrown up, to enable the small body of troops stationed there to resist an attack till aid could be sent from the main armies. A line of hills, linking those which surrounded Balaclava with the

plateau, secured the communication, and protected the post from any attack on the west side. Another range, called the Marine Heights, on the east of the town and harbour, sweeping round from the sea-cliff in a curve two or three miles long, formed a strong position with the help of some little labour and a few guns from the fleet. Between these two ranges, the only entrance by the gorge of Kadiköi was lined with fieldworks, completing a secure inner line of defence for the town and port. The gorge of Kadiköi leads out upon the plain of Balaclava, a tract of ground broken by undulations, hillocks, and even greater heights, but well-defined by the high ground dividing it from the sea and the Tchernaya on the south, east, and north. It is divided into two narrow valleys—the southern and northern—by a low ridge crossing the plain like a natural causeway from the plateau of the Chersonese on the west to the heights of Kamara on the east. The “Woronzov Road” was carried along the “Causeway Heights” (as this ridge was called), the crest of which was fortified (though so feebly that the word almost needs an apology) by a chain of five redoubts; and another was thrown up on what our men named “Canrobert’s Hill,” a knoll 500 or 600 feet high, jutting out from the Kamara Heights at the eastern end of the south valley. Such was the only outer line of defence, to exclude the Russians from the south valley, which was connected with the plateau by the Col of Balaclava. But all these works, which were made and manned by the Turks attached to lord Raglan’s command, were extremely slight, and were dominated by the Kamara Heights, which were in the power of the Russians; the chain of redoubts was more than two miles long, at a dangerous distance from the ground from which support was to come in case of an attack. The only support immediately at hand was the cavalry division of 1,500 sabres, which lay encamped on the southern slopes of the Causeway Heights. The 93rd Highlanders, under sir Colin Campbell, had to hold the inner line of defences; and there was unfortunately no supreme head on the spot, the commands of sir Colin and lord Lucan being independent of each other.

The design of prince Menchikov’s new enterprize was to carry the outer line of defences, and to attack the camp of the 93rd Highlanders and that of the Turks near Kadiköi, with the further hope of gaining a position whence to bombard Balaclava and so destroy the English base and arsenal. Before daybreak on the memorable 25th of October, the cavalry turned out as usual, and lord Lucan rode forward with his staff towards Canrobert’s Hill. Presently a streak of dawn showed two flags upon the fort, which soon explained the signal by opening fire. The Russian columns had begun their advance at 5 o’clock, and about 11,000 infantry and 38 guns were now converging from three points on the first three redoubts; 30 guns were placed in battery on the Kamara Heights; and the cavalry had come down into the north valley. The brave resistance of the Turks on Canrobert’s Hill was overpowered by the vastly superior Russian force; and when the redoubt was stormed, the Turks, receiving no support from the English cavalry, abandoned the next three in the chain and fled to Balaclava. The Russians occupied the first three redoubts, taking possession of 12 guns;

but they only dismantled the fourth, without attempting to hold it. Thus speedily was the outer line of defences forced. Lord Lucan, who had not deemed it possible to act against the Russian artillery, now placed his cavalry across the south valley, near the gorge of Kadiköi, prepared to fall on the enemy's flank if he advanced towards Balacava.

At the first sign of attack, intelligence had been sent to lord Raglan, who witnessed the loss of the redoubts from the edge of the heights overlooking the valley. He at once decided to move down the 1st and 4th divisions for the defence of Balacava. At the same time, expecting a pitched battle in the plain, and anxious that the cavalry should not become engaged without support, he ordered lord Lucan (much against that general's will) to withdraw to ground at the foot of the plateau. General Canrobert, having joined lord Raglan at his post of observation, moved down two brigades of infantry and two regiments of cavalry; but, apparently under the idea that the attack in the plain was designed to tempt the allies down from their vantage ground on the plateau, the two infantry brigades were held back under the ridge. The effect of these arrangements was to leave the few hundreds of 93rd Highlanders, under sir Colin Campbell, isolated for a time, to maintain the defence of Balacava. Against them were arrayed the Russian infantry in a curved line from the Kamara Heights westward by Canrobert's Hill and the Causeway Ridge, with their artillery in battery in the captured redoubts. Their cavalry were drawn up across the north valley, while the supporting army of Jabrokitsky was now taking up its position on the Fedioukineh Hills to the north. The whole force thus threatening Balacava amounted to 24,000 or 25,000 men, with 78 guns, to oppose which sir Colin Campbell had only some 500 British soldiers and two battalions of Turks. But, whether from ignorance of his weakness, or because an attack in force upon Balacava was not the Russian plan, Liprandi made no haste to use his great advantage.

After a while, his cavalry, under general Ryjov, advanced along the north valley, and four squadrons were detached to the left, across the Causeway Ridge, towards the gorge of Kadiköi, in front of which sir Colin posted his little force on a ridge, with a battalion of Turks on either flank, who fled at the enemy's approach, with wild cries of "Ship! ship! ship!" Riding along his line, sir Colin said, "Remember, there is no retreat from here, men! You must die where you stand"; and the men answered, "Aye, aye, sir Colin, we'll do that!" The Russian cavalry, whose object seems to have been only to seize a detached battery, were startled at the sudden appearance of infantry on the ridge. On receiving the first fire, they wheeled to the left, as if to turn the right flank of the Highlanders, and, upon sir Colin's meeting this manœuvre by a change of front, the whole body retreated in disorder under the fire of our artillery. This attack, which had looked so threatening and proved so feeble, was the second act in the battle. Its failure "ended that part of the battle which was governed by design, and chance began to have sway." *

* Kinglake, vol. v. p. 346.

Meanwhile the main body of Ryjov's cavalry (about 3,000 sabres) having advanced nearly to the western end of the north valley, began inclining to the left, as if to cross the causeway into the south valley. The direction of this movement was across the front of lord Cardigan's Light Brigade, the most advanced portion of the British cavalry, who were hidden behind a rising ground and plantation, to the right of which eight squadrons of heavy dragoons, under general Scarlett, were moving across the front of the Russian line of march, having been sent by lord Raglan to the aid of sir Colin Campbell. By accident, from the broken nature of the ground, Scarlett's force was divided into two columns, and he himself was riding with the left column of three squadrons, when the Russian cavalry were seen upon the causeway in full force, their front coming down direct upon his left flank. He at once formed the resolution, which produced the charge of "Scarlett's Three Hundred," a feat which has only been eclipsed by the charge of the "Six Hundred," owing to the more desperate character of the latter and its disastrous issue. We cannot stay to recount the incidents of this grand charge, in which Scarlett broke at the head of his 300 horsemen into the heart of the great Russian column, and, supported later by four squadrons more, broke and dispersed it with such effect that, "of all the vast body which is known to have been opposed to them, there was hardly one squadron which afterwards proved willing to keep its ground upon the approach of English cavalry."* It was the rare fortune of the combats of that day to be fought under the eyes of large numbers of military spectators looking from the edge of the Chersonese; and their admiration found utterance in the words of a French general:—"It was truly magnificent; and to me, who could see the enormous numbers opposed to you, the whole valley being filled with Russian cavalry, the victory of the Heavy Brigade was the most glorious thing I ever saw." "The French sent to lord Lucan their tribute of enthusiastic admiration; and an aide-de-camp came down from lord Raglan with two gracious syllables for Scarlett conveyed in the message, 'Well done.'" This third act was followed by the one which has rendered the battle ever memorable.

We have seen that the Light Brigade was drawn up fronting directly upon the right flank of the Russian cavalry as they advanced across the ridge. The distance was 400 or 500 yards; yet this splendid body of nearly 700 horsemen † sat motionless looking upon the conflict with feelings to which one of them thus gave vent:—"How can such a handful resist, much more make way through such a legion? Their huge flanks overlap them, and almost hide them from our view. They are surrounded and must be annihilated. One can hardly breathe!" Nor, when the great mass fled broken and scattered to rally in part on the neighbouring heights, were they launched on the simple and obvious service of completing the victory of their comrades. "As may well be supposed, this abstention of our Light

* Kinglake, vol. v. p. 162.

† The exact strength of the Light Brigade was 673 sabres. It was composed of the 4th and 13th Light Dragoons, the 8th and 11th Hussars, and the 17th Lancers.

Cavalry was observed by the Russians with surprise and thankfulness, by the Headquarters Staff of the English with surprise and vexation, by the French with surprise and curiosity."*

The ultimate explanation is doubtless to be found in the extraordinary arrangement, by which, passing over all the experienced veterans, the cavalry was entrusted to generals who, though between 50 and 60 years of age, had never had that experience of war, which teaches the golden lesson, among others, of when to take the initiative;—two out of the three generals, moreover, being of very self-willed tempers, and known, though brothers-in-law, to have no friendly feelings to each other. The immediate cause of the inaction of the Light Brigade was lord Cardigan's construction of an order from lord Lucan, to keep strictly on the defensive in the position where he was placed; and, whatever his error of judgment, his abstinence, like his fatal activity a little later, arose from a sense of duty, made over-rigid by inexperience. "If ever"—says Mr. Kinglake—"there were to be uttered a taunt which should impute the inaction of lord Cardigan to any cause worse than mistake, this short cogent answer would follow, 'He led the Light Cavalry charge.'"

The charge of the Heavy Brigade had produced a most important change in the aspect of the battle. The mass of Russian cavalry, which had presented a serried front across the north valley,—connecting the forces massed on the Fedioukineh Heights with those that had won the Causeway Redoubts,—had now been dispersed, leaving the two weak columns of infantry alone on the two hills, and connected only in the rear by the defeated cavalry which had rallied behind a Cossack battery of 12 field-pieces at the upper end of the valley. Lord Raglan, who saw the whole situation from his vantage-ground on the heights, desired to seize the opportunity for recovering the Causeway Redoubts, while the French cavalry were preparing to attack the Fedioukineh Heights. Owing to the hesitation of sir George Cathcart, the 4th division was only beginning to appear upon the scene, and, instead of attacking vigorously, sir George halted at the 4th redoubt, directing only a distant fire on the 3rd. To remedy this delay, lord Raglan determined to launch his cavalry against the weak Russian position on the Causeway; and he sent the following written order to lord Lucan:—"Cavalry to advance and *take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights*. They will be supported by the infantry, which have been ordered [to] advance on two fronts." Now lord Lucan had formed the unfortunate habit of criticizing the decisions taken at headquarters in no friendly spirit; and, instead of obeying the order "to *advance*," trusting to the promised support of the infantry, he construed it so as exactly to invert its meaning. He moved the Light Brigade to a position across the north valley, with the Heavy Dragoons on the slope to their right, and there waited 30 or 40 minutes, "prepared (in his own words) to carry out the remainder of his instructions by endeavouring to effect *the only object and in the only way that could rationally have been intended*, namely, to give all the

* Kinglake, vol. v. p. 167.

support possible to the infantry in the recapture of the redoubts, and subsequently to cut off all their defenders."

While he thus lost the golden half-hour, the Russians, forming (as it seems) a truer estimate of their exposure to attack, were seen from headquarters preparing to retreat and carry off with them the guns captured in the redoubts. To avert this loss of English guns was another urgent motive for the attack, the delay of which was already causing angry impatience in the staff. In this emergency lord Raglan gave the order, which sir Richard Airey wrote in the following terms:—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, and *try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns.* Troop of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate. (Signed) R. AIREY." This was the much-discussed "fourth order," on the construction of which turned the whole controversy respecting the disaster that ensued. Even had there been any ambiguity in its terms, its meaning was beyond doubt as a peremptory sequel to the "third order," which remained unexecuted. The arguments which lord Lucan afterwards urged were answered by anticipation in the words of his own despatch to lord Raglan two days after the battle, in which he quotes the order as an instruction "to make a rapid advance to our front to *prevent the enemy carrying [off] the guns lost by the Turkish troops in the morning.*" In a word, reading the 3rd and 4th orders together, the "heights," the "enemy," and the "guns" were, beyond any possible doubt, those upon the Causeway.

But, unhappily, there was a personal element which, at the moment of action, distorted lord Lucan's perception of this unquestionable meaning. The order was carried by an officer of general Airey's staff, captain Nolan—like lord Lucan himself, a warm-blooded Irishman—who held enthusiastic views about the power of the cavalry arm, and had chafed at the little use made of it during the invasion. Lord Lucan received the order with an impatience which led to angry alteration, and when asked, "Attack, sir! attack what? What guns, sir?" With a manner which lord Lucan describes as "most disrespectful but significant," Nolan replied, "There, my lord, is your enemy; there are your guns,"—pointing with his hand, as lord Lucan says, towards the left-front corner of the valley. That Nolan meant to point towards the Causeway Heights cannot be doubted, but more directly in front lay open the "valley of death," with the battery and cavalry at its further end, and, as if moved by passion to take the staff and its messenger "at their word," lord Lucan put that meaning on what was, after all, no part of the written order, and saw "*there*" his "enemy" and his "guns." Riding up to lord Cardigan, he communicated to him the order, and "urged him to advance steadily, and to keep his men well in hand." So says lord Lucan himself, but, according to lord Cardigan, his orders were "to attack the Russians in the valley with the 13th Light Dragoons and the 17th Lancers." Bringing his sword to the salute, lord Cardigan answered, "Certainly, sir; but allow me to point out to you that the Russians have a battery in the valley in our front, and batteries and riflemen on each flank." "I know it," replied lord Lucan, "but lord

Raglan will have it. We have no choice but to obey." Thereupon, lord Cardigan turned quietly to his men and said, "The brigade will advance." He took his place quite alone about two horses' lengths in front of his staff, and five in advance of his first line, which was composed of the 13th Light Dragoons and 17th Lancers, supported by the 11th Hussars in a second line; the third line, under lord George Paget, being formed by the 4th Light Dragoons and the 8th Hussars. The Light Brigade was to be supported by the Heavy Cavalry, which had just won their brilliant victory under sir James Scarlett.

The distance of the battery of 12 guns, which—against all the rules of war—was to be charged in front by cavalry, was more than a mile and a quarter down the valley between the Causeway Heights on the right, where the Russians had their batteries in the captured redoubts, and their batteries upon the Fedioukineh Hills on the left; and thus the poet laureate's description of their ride "into the jaws of death," is literally exact.

The advance had just begun, when a warning of its false direction was given, but not understood. Captain Nolan, after his conversation with lord Lucan, had taken his post with the first line to take part in the charge. As soon as he found that they were advancing straight down the valley, he rode at full speed diagonally across the front towards the right, shouting and waving his sword, doubtless with the intention of showing the direction that ought to be taken. But his words were unheard, and, while lord Cardigan was angrily wondering at the disorderly movement across his front, Nolan was killed by a fragment of a Russian shell, the first victim of the error for which he was afterwards made the scapegoat. Almost at the same moment, general Liprandi showed his belief that the movement had the object intended by lord Raglan by withdrawing his most advanced battalions from the redoubt No. 3; but even this retreat failed either to show the cavalry generals their mistake or to induce Cathcart to push on his infantry.

As the real nature of the enterprize to which the Light Brigade was committed became clear to the Russians, fire was poured on our horsemen from the guns in front and on both flanks, as well as by riflemen posted on the slopes of the Causeway Heights. Through this storm lord Cardigan led on straight for the central gun of the Cossack battery, "without word or gesture indicative of bravado or excitement, but rather with the air of a man who was performing an everyday duty with his everyday courage and firmness."* The only word or sign he made was to stretch his sword in front of a too eager officer, telling him "not to force the pace." This became more difficult as the troopers grew more and more excited under the increasingly murderous fire, out of which the only escape seemed to be by a rush on the guns in front; and the pace, which began at a steady trot, was computed at seventeen miles an hour, when, through the smoke of a volley which left only some fifty or sixty of the first line unhurt, lord Cardigan,

* Kinglake, vol. v. p. 261.

still two horses' lengths in front of his men, shot in between two guns of the battery, and rushed on against the main body of the Russian cavalry in a charge supported by some of his followers, while others were engaged in capturing the guns. We cannot dwell upon the details of the slaughter of the gunners in trying to carry off the Czar's much-prized guns, the rout of the horsemen drawn up behind them, and the encounters of the survivors with the fresh bodies of Russian cavalry which charged down from the heights as they retreated. The chief aid rendered in their extremity was by the brilliant charge of the famous 4th Chasseurs d'Afrique of D'Allouville, directed by general Morris, the commander of the French cavalry division, which silenced the whole fire of the Russian batteries on the Fedioukineh Hills.

This brilliant feat was achieved *during the onset of the Light Brigade*; and the popular tradition, embodied in the laureate's pathetic "Then they rode back," does not take sufficient account of the victory really won over the Russian cavalry, and lost again for want of support. Had that support been given by fresh squadrons attacking the Causeway Heights, the tale of "How they rode onward" might have ended with a glorious victory, instead of being summed up in the words of general Bosquet to Mr. Layard as he looked on the charge, "*C'est magnifique; mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*" According to lord Lucan's conception of the attack, the three lines of the Light Brigade, supported by the squadrons of Heavy Dragoons, were to form the supporting links of one continuous chain. But, as the pace quickened, lord Lucan, riding in advance of his first line, found himself the only link between the brigades, the distance widening every moment, while the casualties among his staff, and a musket-ball in his own leg, warned him that he was leading a second body of troops "into the valley of death." Lord Lucan expressed his resolve to lord William Paulett in the words, "They have sacrificed the Light Brigade; they shall not the Heavy, if I can help it." He let go the link in his chain of attack. By two successive movements of retreat he drew the Royals and Greys out of the fire from which they were already suffering heavily; and took up a position which he deemed suitable for carrying out the opinion he now formed, that "the only use to which the Heavy Brigade could be turned was to protect the Light Cavalry against pursuit in their return." So there the half of the English cavalry remained, witnessing only so much of the triumph and fate of their comrades as might be inferred from the roar and flashes of the guns through the smoke, then the silence of the battery, and the return of a disabled or straggling horseman or a riderless charger. Presently they began to greet with cheers the relics of the brigade who came out of the fight, having performed new feats against the lancers who tried to cut them off; the last of them being brought out brilliantly by lord George Paget. When they had re-formed, on the slope towards Balaclava, lord Cardigan addressed them in these words:—"Men! it is a mad-brained trick" (one report said, "a great blunder"), "but it is no fault of mine." "Never mind, my lord" said some of the men, "we are ready to go again." "No no, men!" replied lord Cardigan, "you have done enough." The sad

muster then held disclosed the result that the 673 men who went into action were reduced to 195 mounted troopers; and one regiment, the 13th Light Dragoons, mustered only ten. A later return showed a loss of 113 men killed and 134 wounded, and, of the horses, 475 killed and 42 wounded. The main loss was incurred in the charge down the valley; it is remarkable how few fell after once closing with the battery and cavalry, and how few were taken prisoners when surrounded by the Russian masses. In fact, only fifteen unwounded prisoners were taken, and in all cases (it seems) after their horses were killed or disabled. It is well worthy of record, that general Liprandi examined the prisoners under the belief that the daring deed could only be explained by intoxication. They told him that they had mounted without breakfast, and their untouched rations, including the rum, were found in their knapsacks. This fact may anticipate the possible future ingenuity of that wonderful modern school, which, under the self-assumed name of the "higher criticism," seeks for the truth of history in what is *not* proved by any evidence. It was computed that the affair lasted just twenty minutes.

After the muster, lord Cardigan rode up to report to the commander-in-chief. In a severe and very angry way, lord Raglan said, "What did you mean, sir, by attacking a battery in front, contrary to all the usages of warfare and the customs of the service?" "My lord," answered lord Cardigan, "I hope you will not blame me, for I received the order to attack from my superior officer in front of the troops." On further enquiry, lord Raglan gave his full approval to the conduct of lord Cardigan, of whom he wrote, a few days after, that he had "acted throughout with the greatest steadiness and gallantry, as well as perseverance"; but, as we have seen, his final judgment on lord Lucan's conduct only confirmed his first words on meeting him, "You have lost the Light Brigade!" The brilliancy of the deed of arms did not console the chief for the destruction of half his scanty force of cavalry; and, in a private letter to the duke of Newcastle, he called it a "heavy misfortune," which he felt most deeply. "In conversation at headquarters (in presence of the historian) he not unfrequently expressed his painful sense of the disaster; and, foreseeing the enthusiastic admiration which the feat would excite in England, he used sometimes to lament the perverseness with which he believed that his fellow-countrymen would turn from the brilliant and successful achievement of Scarlett's brigade, to dwell, and still dwell, upon the heroic yet self-destructive exploit of lord Cardigan's squadrons; but the truth is that, apart from thoughts military, there was a deep human interest attaching to the devotion of the man and the men who, for the sheer sake of duty, could go down that fatal north valley as the English cavalry did. This feeling on the part of others lord Raglan might be willing to repress, but he could not help feeling it himself; and, despite all his anger and grief, despite the kind of protestation he judged it wholesome to utter for the discouragement of rash actions on the part of his officers, I still find him writing in private of the Light Cavalry charge, that it was perhaps 'the finest thing ever attempted.'"* And the "unerring instinct"

* Kinglake, vol. v. pp. 337, 338.

of the people has enshrined the deed in a high place among those heroic traditions which keep alive the spirit essential to the very safety of a nation—the spirit which found the noblest of many utterances in the words of the Jewish leader, as he went down to his last fatal conflict with the overwhelming hosts of Syria:—"If our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour." Many faults were buried with lord Cardigan; but for the living influence of the example given by him and his followers to the British army for all time, history echoes the verdict of the poet laureate, in words too well known to need quotation.

To return to the issue of the whole battle, in which the charge of the Light Brigade was the fourth act. The immediate effect was to encourage Liprandi to re-occupy the part of the Causeway Heights from which he had withdrawn his foremost battalions; and the allied commanders had to decide whether to attempt the recapture of the redoubts with the infantry they had by this time brought down into the plain. It is believed that lord Raglan desired to make the attempt, but he deferred to Canrobert's opinion that, after the loss of the Light Brigade, it would be impossible to hold the command of the plain without withdrawing a force that could ill be spared from the siege. Accordingly, after sir George Cathcart had re-established the Turks in the 4th redoubt, the first three were left in the possession of the Russians, who, besides the ground they thus won, were enabled to claim the result of the battle as a victory, and to show as its trophies seven English guns, besides a Turkish standard. The allies lost the outer line protecting Balaclava and the communication with their camps by the Woronzov road, retaining only that by the Col. But, besides its effect in thus cramping the defence of Balaclava and raising the spirit of the besieged in Sebastopol, the success of this first blow struck by Menchikov's field army encouraged other such enterprizes on a larger and more dangerous scale.

The first effect was seen on the very next day (October 26th), in the sortie of the garrison against the exposed north-eastern angle of the English position; an affair which, as a foretaste of the grand effort made ten days later, obtained the name of the *Lesser Inkerman*. The immediate object of this display of the spirit roused in Sebastopol by the battle of the day before, was to divert attention from Liprandi, while making good the ground he had won; but, as the Russians carried entrenching tools, it seems that they hoped to establish themselves on the Inkerman Heights, the northern part of which was already commanded by the guns of their forts and ships, and traversed by the Cossack vedettes. Emerging on this ground, and covered on the right by a body of troops moving up the Carænage Ravine, the attacking force was directed against the Second Division on the higher part of Mount Inkerman. Both attacks were quickly and most skilfully repulsed by sir De Lacy Evans, with a loss to the assailants of 270 killed and wounded, besides 80 prisoners; the English having only 12 killed and 77 wounded. The great gain was the confidence inspired in the men of the Second Division.

The result of the battle of Balaclava forced on lord Raglan a new consideration of the defence of the town and port, now immediately threatened

by Liprandi's army of 24,000 men with 78 guns, while the English, with only 16,000 bayonets, had the threefold task of their share of the siege, the defence of the weak angle of the Chersonese, and the protection of Balaklava. For the last object the insufficient force on the Chersonese was weakened by the withdrawal of 2,000 of lord Raglan's best troops, including the whole Highland brigade, as well as of Vinoy's brigade, forming one-fifth of Bosquet's division. During the following week the Russian army on the Tchernaya was greatly strengthened, and on the 2nd of November a very menacing demonstration was made against the eastern defences of Balaklava. But this was only a feint to mask the grand design which had now been matured;—nothing less than a combined attack of the field army and the garrison of Sebastopol to raise the siege by crushing the allied armies on the Chersonese.

The coming crisis was felt, however vaguely, even more acutely at home than in the allied camp; for, besides other information, our diplomacy obtained knowledge of the following report despatched by prince Menchikov about the end of October:—"The enemy no longer dares to stir out of his lines. We never cease to harass him and kill some of his men. Our squadrons make frequent battues and attacks. The enemy throws some shells at them, but his cavalry dares not risk itself beyond the range of the batteries. The army is filled with enthusiasm. General Liprandi, whose coolness and resolution I cannot sufficiently praise, has caused to be thrown up some armed works (strong redoubts) on the right flank of the enemy, and he threatens the enemy in rear. The enemy cannot effect his retreat without exposing himself to immense losses. If the weather should favour us, nothing can save him from a complete disaster. Future times, I am confident, will preserve the remembrance of the exemplary chastisement inflicted upon the presumption of the allies. When our beloved grand-dukes shall be here, I shall be able to give up to them intact the precious deposit which the confidence of the Emperor has placed in my hands. Sebastopol remains ours. Heaven visibly protects Holy Russia. Have the kindness, prince, to bring this to the knowledge of our august sovereign, for the great satisfaction of his magnanimous heart."

Empty as these grand boasts may seem in the light of past and coming events, there was solid ground for confidence more soberly expressed. The allies, who landed in the Crimea with a force superior to the present means of resistance, had given their enemy time to gather against them the resources of his vast Empire; and the portion first ready—the army of the Danube under Michael Gortchakov—had now accomplished its long march round the Euxine by way of Odessa. By Saturday, the 4th of November, the Russian forces in and about Sebastopol had been raised to 120,000 men; and, on the same day, two of the Emperor's sons, the grand-dukes Nicholas and Michael,* arrived in the camp of Menchikov to make their

* These two sons of the Emperor Nicholas afterwards commanded the armies of their brother Alexander II. in the war of 1877; Nicholas in Bulgaria, and Michael in Armenia. They were at this time, respectively, in their 24th and 23rd year.

first youthful essay in arms, and to stimulate the enthusiasm of the garrison.

It is a maxim of war, that a besieging force ought very considerably to outnumber the besieged, and much more with any field army operating for their relief. But the French and English armies now numbered only 65,000 effective combatants; of which the French infantry were 31,000 and the English infantry 16,000, the rest being made up of cavalry, artillerymen, marines, and sailors. There were also 5,000 Turks under general Canrobert, and 6,000 under lord Raglan; but, owing to the contempt in which these brave men were held for want of skilful leading, they were almost as useless "as a diamond is to a man who mistakes it for a worthless pebble." *

With this great superiority of force, the Russians had a motive for decisive action in the progress of the regular approaches of the French to the Flagstaff Battery; and, in fact, their attack on the early morning of the 5th anticipated a meeting appointed by Raglan and Canrobert for that day to arrange a plan for the assault. Lord Raglan was not without foresight of the real danger; but he could not so far impress it on Caurobert, as to induce him to spare troops to aid in defending Mount Inkerman.

This weak angle of the position on the Chersonese was chosen for the main point of a combined attack, which was also to embrace the front towards Sebastopol and that on the ridge above the plain. Confronting this latter side, an army of 22,000 men, with no less than eighty-eight guns, under prince Gortchakov, was to advance from Tchorgoun and extend in a line from behind Kadiköi across the Balaclava valley and the Fedioukineh Heights, towards the ruins of Inkerman, where prince Menchikov had his headquarters. On the heights behind the ruins of Inkerman and the right bank of the Tchernaya, towards the head of the harbour, was ranged general Paulov's column of nearly 16,000 infantry; and on the other side of the Tchernaya, and in front of the harbour, the northern part of Mount Inkerman was to be occupied by the column of general Soimonov, which came out of Sebastopol. The two columns thus directly threatening Mount Inkerman, united under the command of general Dannenberg, made up, with artillerymen, sappers, and 100 Cossacks, above 40,210 men, with 54 guns of position and 81 light pieces, besides the support of the guns of two ships in the roadstead. The line of battle was continued by the troops of the garrison, ranged on the fortifications of Sebastopol; and, on the extreme west, a force of about 5,000 men, with twelve guns, under general Timoviev, was to occupy the French by a sally from the town. Including this last force, the Russians were prepared to act aggressively in the open with about 68,000 men and 235 guns; while the garrison of Sebastopol made up the numbers engaged over twelve miles along the two fronts to at least 100,000 men.

Against these forces, the Anglo-French army of 65,000 men, with 11,000 Turkish auxiliaries, was engaged on various duties of attack and defence,

* Kinglake, vol. vi. p. 4.

which extended their lines over twenty miles, and the vital point especially threatened was defended by only 3,000 infantry, with 12 guns. With all the reinforcements of both armies that could be brought up from first to last during the battle, the infantry holding this key of the allied position never exceeded 13,000 men with 50 guns,—to bear for seven hours the whole weight of the attack made by 40,000 infantry with 135 guns. It was an important part of the Russian plan that, while the main attack was made on Mount Inkerman, prince Gortchakov should make vigorous feints to occupy the division of Bosquet on the eastern ridge of the plateau, and prevent his aiding the English and his left; and then, when the latter were driven off Mount Inkerman, Gortchakov was to ascend by the way thus opened to him. With 60,000 men thus established on the eastern part of the plateau, Menchikov might well hope to put such a pressure on the allies, as to prevent the intended assault of the Flagstaff Bastion, and even force them to a disastrous retreat.

The movement of the Russian columns to their appointed posts began on Sunday, the 5th of November, about two hours after midnight, and on that holy day, the sanctions of religion were added to stimulate their enthusiasm for this supreme effort to fulfil the sacred task entrusted to them by their Czar, as the head of a nation which is also a Church. "For he had launched them in a war to the knife against the invaders of his Empire, the enemies of the Orthodox faith, the despoilers of churches, the disciples, the abettors of Islam, and therefore (in the apprehension of simple men) the open foes of the Cross. So great was the value attached by men in authority to the force of a religious incentive, that, even at the risk of putting their adversaries on the alert, they, at four in the morning, called people to mass and to battle by the clangour of the bells in their churches, and it was with a soldiery consecrated for battle that Soimonov, before break of day, would march out from the Karabel Faubourg. Paulov's troops, as we know, lay on the heights beyond the Tchernaya, but their spiritual guides were in camp, and with power scarce lessened by the want of any sacred appliances; for customarily, even in cities, the utterances of the Eastern Church are delivered in the roar of strong priests without aid from the wailing of organs. When men heard the Sebastopol bells, the head of this column of Paulov's was already some way on its march." *

Between five and six o'clock the firing along the whole front announced the opening of the great BATTLE OF INKERMAN. Lord Raglan, rightly judging where the main blow was to be struck, hastened in person to direct the defence upon Mount Inkerman. It would require an amount of detail unmanageable within our space and unintelligible without elaborate maps, to trace the outlines of the fight, well designated by Mr. Kinglake as "indented and jagged, like those of Mount Inkerman itself." Under cover of the darkness before the November dawn, made denser by a thick mist

* Kinglake, vol. vi. pp. 32, 33. The narrative of the battle occupies the whole of Mr. Kinglake's 6th volume, illustrated by admirable maps.

and drizzling rain, the two columns of Paulov, from the east, and Soimonov, from the west, ascended the ridge of Mount Inkerman. Driving in our pickets—who first became aware of their approach by seeing the grey-coated forms rising out of the mist—they established some powerful batteries and sixteen battalions on the commanding point called Shell Hill; while twenty battalions, numbering 15,000 men, were led by Soimonov in person against the Second Division. Capturing three guns,* and turning the position with a detached column, the enemy had come within a stone's throw of the tents, when his advance was checked with the aid of some 260 men of the 77th regiment under colonel Egerton. "The course of the strife in this part of the field was abruptly changed; and the mist, which had thus far protected the enemy, began to favour our people by taking from the many their power of rightly wielding big numbers, from the few their sense of weakness. It resulted that, with the aid of three batteries, 3,600 foot were not only able to withstand the 25,000 men brought against them, but to defeat with great slaughter and even expunge from the battle-field all those 15,000 assailants with whom they had come to close quarters." † Once more the attempt had failed, to overwhelm the "thin red line" by sheer weight of numbers, even though our men fought fasting and were short of ammunition.

This first act of the battle was over by half-past seven; but the mist was still so thick as to conceal the completeness of their success from our men, who mistook the new columns coming up for the defeated battalions still standing their ground. We must abstain from following the details of the struggle between the new forces brought up by general Dannenberg and the Second Division reinforced by the Guards, ‡—who bore a splendid part in the action, standing firm even when their ranks were so thinned as in some places scarcely to form a complete line—and by the troops whom Bosquet brought to their support. The stress of the battle was over by eleven o'clock, when the Russians ceased to attack and the English became the assailants in their turn; while the French unaccountably abandoned the offensive. At one o'clock the Russians began a decisive movement of retreat, but the abstinence of the French precluded any effective pursuit, and a gallant attempt of an English officer on Soimonov's artillery was frustrated by Todleben. It was eight o'clock at night before the Russians completed the retreat of their two chief masses within the suburb of Karabel and their lines beyond the Tchernaya.

The defeat of the main attack on Mount Inkerman neutralized the subsidiary part allotted to Gortchakov, which had been meant to crown the anticipated success. For, as the Russian columns failed to reach the point which was marked as the signal for converting his feint into a decisive attack, the prince—adhering perhaps too rigidly to his instructions—

* These guns were recaptured later.

† Kinglake, vol. vi. pp. 152, 457.

‡ Lord George Paget, who was ordered up with the fragments of the Light Brigade as a support, says:—"At one moment I fell in with the duke of Cambridge and said, 'Where are the Guards?'—when he, pointing out a small cluster of men, said, 'There they are, all that are left of them.'"—"Crimean Diary," p. 81.

attempted nothing beyond what Menchikov described in his despatch as "a demonstration against Balaclava." His abstinence set free the duke of Cambridge's brigade of Guards and the forces with which Bosquet supported them in aiding the defence of Mount Inkerman; but, on the other hand, Gortchakov's presence in the plain kept sir Colin Campbell's Highlanders and Vinoy's brigade in check at Balaclava.

At the other extreme end of the two fronts of battle, the portion of the garrison of Sebastopol, who were appointed to make a sortie, made a gallant effort to perform their part. At half-past nine o'clock, general Timoviev, with about 3,000 infantry and four guns, fell upon the left flank of the French siege works on Mount Rodolph, broke into their batteries, and spiked a number of their guns. Though repulsed by force of numbers, their retreat was well covered by fresh troops issuing from Sebastopol, and the French suffered heavily in their eager pursuit. The affair was over by half-past eleven o'clock; but meanwhile it had detained two battalions under prince Napoleon from going to the aid of the English on Mount Inkerman; and they arrived too late to take any part in the fight. The rest of the garrison of Sebastopol remained inactive within their lines, awaiting the part they were to have taken in completing the victory vainly hoped for.

Such is a rough outline of the hard-fought Battle of Inkerman, the most considerable of the campaign, which has well been called "the soldiers' victory." Its brilliant proof of the undegenerate quality of our men caused a joy which yet hardly overcame the painful senso of how narrow had been their escape from destruction, and of the terrible price paid for the victory. The English loss was 2,573, of whom 635 were killed, including a general of division, sir George Cathcart. The French killed were only 175, of whom 25 were officers; but they had 95 officers and 1,530 men wounded, making a loss of exactly 1,800. On the other side, the carnage among the dense and obstinately brave columns of the assailants was awful. "Whilst the bodies of the allies were many, and in some places heavily scattered, the Russian dead lay in heaps." Their official returns confessed a loss of 11,959 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, but, on the basis of the numbers buried by the allies, lord Raglan's estimate reached 20,000.

The painful feeling produced by these natural horrors of war was aggravated by the atrocities committed by Russian soldiers on their unwounded foes. A Court of Enquiry found the charge so clearly proved, that the allied commanders addressed a remonstrance to prince Menchikov, whose reply resembled the paradoxical plea of "not guilty and a justification." While indignantly denying the charge as affecting his army in general, "he admitted it to be possible—though he did not, he said, know the fact—that, *individually and in the heat of combat*, some exasperated soldier might have suffered himself to do an act of violence which was to be deeply regretted"; but then he went on to show that, supposing the imputed butcheries to have been really committed, *they must have been provoked, after all, by a religious sentiment*. His countrymen, he said, were an eminently religious people, who could not but be filled with horror when they learnt

that a church—very holy in their estimation—had been desecrated by the invaders of Russia; and thence he went on to conclude that, if any of the French or the English had indeed been despatched on the battle-field whilst lying disabled by wounds, they must have owed their fate—not to the ruthlessness, but—plainly to the outraged piety of his troops.”

The day of Inkerman ended the active operations of the year on both sides. In the great effort made for an object of supreme and probably decisive moment, had it been successful, the first available reserves of the Russian Empire were expended, with a result which checked further attempts in the open field. On the other hand, in so far as the battle was fought to avert the impending assault, the victorious allies yielded this primary object to the defeated enemy. The French approaches had been brought up so close to the Flagstaff Bastion that, as we have seen, lord Raglan and general Canrobert were to confer about the assault on the very day when their intention was anticipated by the Russian attack. The attack on the Flagstaff Bastion was the cardinal point in a general assault; nay, general Todleben goes so far as to say that, “once entrenched in the No. 4 (*i.e.*, the Flagstaff) Bastion, *the enemy would not have been under the slightest necessity of assaulting Sebastopol*—an attempt in which he must certainly have been defeated with great loss—but our line of defence would have been forced, divided, maimed, and the ulterior defence of Sebastopol must have become all but impossible.”

On the morrow of the battle, however, general Canrobert came to the English headquarters, not to concert the plan of assault, but to represent the new difficulties created by the heavy losses of the allies and the proof they had received of the overwhelming numbers of the Russians. The views which (lord Raglan says) Canrobert stated with much “fairness and ability” were set forth more precisely in a note which he read at a meeting of the allied generals on the 7th. This important paper began by recalling the “three probabilities” on which the whole enterprize had been based: (1) the facility of debarkation; (2) the inconsiderable number of Russian troops in the Crimea; (3) the possibility of effecting a rapid entrance into the town, which was reputed to have defences but little formidable on the land side. Of these probabilities, the first and second had become facts happily and gloriously accomplished: not so the third, which had presented up to the present moment difficulties both of attack and defence which it could scarcely have been allowed them to foresee. These difficulties had now to be surmounted, either by a signal act of valour if it was humanly possible to attempt it with any chance of success, or by a temporizing policy, which, by preserving the moral ascendant which they had gained over the enemy, would permit the allied armies to await with security the reinforcements which had become necessary to fill up the voids left in their ranks by battles and disease, and to restore their effective force to the point which it would be reasonable to expect in order to face circumstances which had now been complicated by an unexpected arrival of a part of the army of the Danube. As a consequence of all this, the question now was to take a prompt decision.

The unanimous decision now taken was almost necessarily involved in such a statement of the question by one of the allied commanders, backed by "a decisive resolve on the part of the French that for the present they would abandon all idea of seizing the Flagstaff Bastion."* It was too late to urge, even had it been then fully known, that the "unforeseen difficulties" of the siege had been created by abstaining at first from the "signal act of valour" which might have been "attempted with the chance of success," and giving the enemy that time which ought to have made the "arrival of the army of the Danube" anything but "unexpected." The question was one of present exigencies, and the impression of the vast numbers of the enemy seems to have weighed upon the English generals almost as strongly as on the French commander himself. As to what the "temporizing policy" involved in the coming winter, it could hardly have been yet fully foreseen that "waiting for reinforcements" meant little short of letting the thinned and wearied armies waste away under cold, privation, and disease, to be replaced by the new forces that were expected. This fate could have been averted only by the third alternative not suggested by Canrobert; and the one general who had had most experience of winter campaigning, sir De Lacy Evans, did not shrink from advising lord Raglan to abandon the siege. "Though lord Raglan instantly, and with barely suppressed indignation, rejected this hasty counsel," he felt that the stress of defending the position against the vast numbers of the Russians would still rest on his little army, which was literally much more than decimated by the battle. "It was a glorious day for the British arms," he wrote to the duke of Newcastle; but he went on to state fully the smallness of the force left him for resisting another attack, concluding:—"To speak frankly, *we want every man you can send us.*"

And so the allied armies, with health depressed by fatigue, and with cholera still among them, settled down to pass a Crimean winter on the storm-beaten plateau of the Chersonese, working and keeping guard in the trenches, harassed by the need of incessant watchfulness against sorties from the town and attacks by the army in the field.

No preparations had been made for a winter campaign, and the administrative departments were half paralyzed by what the poet laureate called "the long canker of peace." It was as late as the 20th of November that lord Hardinge wrote to the Prince Consort that huts to house 20,000 men had been *ordered*, and that large stores of warm clothing and blankets had been "already sent out and received"; but just a week before a hurricane, the like of which the people of Balaclava had only heard of by tradition, swept over the sea and the plateau of the Chersonese, tearing up tents, unroofing huts, overturning waggons, and driving their fragments and contents over the miry ground. The shore all round, from Eupatoria to Balaclava, was strewn with the wrecks of thirty-two transports; and two French ships of the line were sunk in the harbour of Balaclava. The *Prince*, a splendid screw steamer, was dashed to pieces on the cliffs.

* Kinglake, vol. vi. p. 490.

Happily she had landed the 46th regiment a few days before; but the loss of her whole cargo of shot and shell, winter clothing for 40,000 men, and medical comforts urgently needed, was the cause of cruel sufferings. Her fate was shared by the *Resolute*, freighted with an enormous quantity of munitions of war, including 700 tons of powder. The value of the ships destroyed was estimated at £2,000,000, and no less than 1,000 lives were lost by sea and land, including numbers of the helpless sick and wounded.

Of these sufferers, however, those able to be moved had been carried to Scutari, where our chief hospitals were established throughout the war. Even here they were subjected to new and needless suffering from shameful disorganization. But a new administration of mercy sprang up, not only to assuage the present misery, but to transform the whole system of tending the sick. A lady of gentle birth and nurture, Miss FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, who had improved her natural gifts for organization by experience in German hospitals, went out at the request of Mr. Sidney Herbert, with thirty-seven nurses, partly volunteers and partly trained in hospitals, arriving at Scutari on the very day of Inkerman (November 5th). To the support given them by organizations at home, were added personal labour, from the Queen and Princesses downward, in working warm coverings for the soldiers. Besides other efforts of private benevolence, the "Royal Patriotic Fund" for the relief of the families of those who died in the war was founded under a Commission headed by Prince Albert (October 13th), and reached nearly a million and a-half before the end of the war.

Among the rewards given for Inkerman, lord Raglan received a Field-Marshal's baton, with a letter from the Queen, assuring him of her high confidence, and he was desired to select a sergeant from each regiment for a commission. Meanwhile, in spite of the arrival of reinforcements, the siege made scarcely any progress; and our diminished army,* which had from the first undertaken far too large a proportion of the siege-work, had to give up part of their ground to the French, while the Russians were throwing up fresh and immense earthworks, and also adding to the defences on the north side. Under all these difficulties and troubles, the "powerful as well as determined spirit prevailing in both armies" was reported by sir E. Lyons to sir J. Graham:—"They all feel, and with reason, that hitherto everything has been honourable and glorious for the arms of England and France. They have confidence in the support of the two Governments and the two countries, and are resolved to deserve that support, and, through the blessing of God on a good cause, to conquer." †

* On the 22nd of January, colonel Gordon wrote to general Grey, "Our effectives are only 10,362!"

† Sir Edmund Lyons succeeded sir James Deans Dundas in the command of the Black Sea fleet (December 22nd).

CHAPTER XXIV.

FALL OF LORD ABERDEEN'S GOVERNMENT: AND DEATH OF THE CZAR NICHOLAS (November, 1854, to March, 1855)—News of the Battle of Inkerman—Question of Reinforcements—Measures proposed by Prince Albert—Militia and Foreign Enlistment—Policy of Austria and Prussia—Danger of European War—Austrian Project of Treaty—The *Four Points*—Ostensible and Real Causes of the War—Terms to be insisted on, especially about the Black Sea—Russia's acceptance of the Four Points—*Treaty between Austria, France, and Great Britain* (December 2nd)—Prussia holds aloof—*Meeting of Parliament* (December 12th)—The Queen's Speech—Lord Derby's Eulogy of the Army—Attacks on the Government from different quarters—Votes of Thanks to the Army—Militia and Foreign Enlistment Bills—Lord Ellenborough, Cobden, and Bright—State of Public Feeling—The Press and the Army—The "Special Correspondent"—Divisions in the Cabinet—Lord John Russell's Discontent—Unpopularity of the Peelites—Groundless Suspicion against Prince Albert—Parliament reassembles—Mr. Roebuck's Notice of Motion for a Committee of Enquiry—Resignation of Lord John Russell—Mr. Roebuck's Motion—Speeches of Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Palmerston—Defeat of the Ministry—Extraordinary Scene—Failures of Lord Derby and Lord John Russell to form a Government—LORD PALMERSTON Prime Minister—The House insists on the Enquiry—Resignation of the Peelites—The Ministry reconstituted—Battle of Eupatoria—Death of the Czar Nicholas (March 2nd)—His last Words.

ON the morrow of the Battle of Inkerman, we find Prince Albert writing to King Leopold:—"We are in a state of terrible excitement about Sebastopol, as we get nothing but Russian news, and our own comes so late, and in such fragments, that it is difficult to make either head or tail of it. The want of cavalry is a terrible drawback to us. Nevertheless, I have a firm conviction the city will fall before long." Next day came the fuller news of the loss of nearly half our scanty cavalry at Balaclava; and a week later the "firm conviction" was dissipated by the intelligence of the fight of Inkerman. The first telegraphic news, received on the 13th of November, was followed on the 22nd by Lord Raglan's despatches. Besides the feelings already described, which the Queen and Government shared with the people, questions both of administration and high policy were pressed on their attention with new urgency. On the day of the first news, the prince's diary records, "Great excitement in the country, universal outcry for reinforcements, every available man ought to be sent." But where were they to be found? He himself had been engaged, only two days before, in writing his views on the subject to Lord Aberdeen*:—

* Letter of November 11th, in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 115.

“The Government will never be forgiven, and ought not to be forgiven, if it did not strain every nerve to avert the calamity of seeing lord Raglan succumb for want of means. *We have sent out as many troops as this country can provide*, leaving barely sufficient for the depôts to drill and train the men who are to supply the vacancies caused by the exigencies of the service in the field of the regiments now out. *The recruiting does not keep pace even with the losses in the East*, much less does it give us the augmentation required, as *the recruits are mere boys*, unfit for foreign service for two years to come. *The Militia is incomplete*, entirely composed of volunteers, of whom in some regiments more than half are not forthcoming from one time of training to the next. The volunteering for the Militia, instead of adding to the available force, has acted as a competition against the enlistment in the army! The time is arrived for vigorous measures, and the feeling of the country is up to support them, if Government will bring them boldly forward.” Accordingly he proposes “the immediate completion of the Militia by ballot, according to the law of the land”; that the Crown should be empowered to accept the offer of Militia regiments to go abroad, in order to relieve some of our regiments in the Mediterranean, which should be sent on to lord Raglan; and that Militiamen should be invited to volunteer into regiments of the line. To these proposals were added two of a more unusual character: the enlistment of foreigners, and the formation of foreign legions. A cabinet meeting on the same day accepted all these suggestions, except the ballot for the Militia, and the Foreign Legion; but the last was adopted soon after, and carried in the autumn session of Parliament, though not without vehement opposition. Provision was made for despatching 6,000 English and 20,000 French troops, to arrive in the Crimea before Christmas, and a large fleet of English transports was placed at the disposal of our ally.

The prospect of a winter campaign gave new urgency to the questions of European policy which were inseparable from the conflict. Thus far, the active intervention of Austria, while protecting the Sultan's European dominions, had resulted in setting free the Russian army of the Danube for the attack which culminated at Inkerman. The policy of Prussia was growing more and more ambiguous, and exciting strong disgust both in England and in France. While the conduct of the one Power was felt to be inadequate, and of that of the latter disloyal, to their professions, it seemed to tempt France to vent her indignation and her Emperor to enlarge his search for strength in military glory, by reviving her old quarrels with Austria in Italy and with Prussia on the Rhine; and thus the contest threatened to swell into a European war. Prince Albert expressed these views, with his usual ability and frankness, in a letter to King Leopold, whose influence was great at Vienna.* In the same spirit the Queen wrote to King Leopold next day:—“Peace is further distant than ever, and I fear the war will be a lengthened, and finally a general one. Austria could help its conclusion, if she would but act.” A tinge of bitterness was added

* Letter of November 6th.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 141.

to these feelings by the news of Inkerman, and the Queen again wrote to her uncle:—"If Austria did her duty, she might have prevented much of this bloodshed. Instead of this, her generals do nothing but *chicone* the Turks of the Principalities, and the Government shuffles about, making advances and then retreating. We shall see now if she is sincere in her last propositions."

These propositions were a project which Austria had submitted for a treaty with England and France, based on what were afterwards well known as the "Four Points." These were to the following effect:—(1) The Protectorate claimed by Russia over Wallachia, Servia, and Moldavia, to cease; and the privileges granted by the Sultan to those Principalities to be placed under a collective guarantee of the Powers. (2) The free navigation of the Danube at its mouths. (3) The treaty of July 13, 1841, to be revised by the contracting parties in the interest of the balance of power in Europe, and so as to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. (4) Russia to give up her claim to an official Protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to assist mutually in obtaining from the Ottoman Government the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities, and to turn to account, in the common interests of their co-religionists, the generous intentions manifested by the Sultan, at the same time avoiding any aggression on his dignity and the independence of his crown.

In basing her proposals on these principles, Austria asked to be informed what other conditions were to be insisted on by England and France; and, if these met her approval, she would then send an *ultimatum* to Russia, whose rejection of it would be taken as a *casus belli*. However meant, the question involved a snare; for the state of affairs in the Crimea, especially with regard to the great prize of Sebastopol, made it impossible to specify terms to which the allies would be bound, whether the event proved them to be too high or too low; and their concurrence in the Austrian proposals might seem like a suing for peace, involving a confession of defeat. It is significant of the reliance placed by ministers on Prince Albert's judgment, that Lord Clarendon wrote to him (November 19th) asking for his opinion, with a view to the meeting of the Cabinet on the next day. The prince's answer contains one of the clearest and most important statements on record of "the real cause and ultimate objects of the war." * He starts with a truth of very wide application in national disputes: "It generally so happens, that the *ostensible cause* of a war does not embrace *the whole or even the strongest motives* which impel States to resort to that last extremity. A peace, to be satisfactory and lasting, must satisfy all the objects for which the war has been undertaken, and it becomes necessary, therefore, *fully and honestly* to consider what these are. In the present instance I take them to have been, the *necessity* which Europe (or at least England and France on its behalf) found

* Memorandum for the Cabinet, November 19th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 163. The italics are for the most part in the original.

itself under, to put a term at last to a policy, which threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and, by making all the countries bordering on the Black Sea dependencies of Russia, seriously to endanger the balance of power,—a policy of which *the particular steps which led to the present war can be considered only as symptoms.*” The means by which that policy was to be carried out are then stated under these five heads:—(1) Taking advantage of the identity of religion with the Greek subjects of the Porte to set up for the Emperors of Russia, first, a religious supremacy, and, on the basis of this, “a *political* protectorate over the Christians in Turkey, supported by different treaties obtained by violence, and purposely ambiguously worded. (2) The exclusion of all European commerce from the Black Sea, by the shutting up of the mouths of the Danube. (3) The erection of a stupendous military and naval establishment at Sebastopol, which, *having no commerce to protect and no enemy to guard against, can only serve purposes of aggression.* (4) The gradual transfer of the allegiance of the provinces separating Turkey from Russia from the former to herself, partly by treaty stipulations, partly by violent occupations, by bribery and any other surreptitious means. (5) The subjection of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus under pretence of maintaining order. If these are the means by which Russia hopes to succeed *in a policy detrimental to Europe*, no peace can be admitted by us which does not give the *fullest* guarantees against them. These guarantees are, in my opinion, all contained in the well-known ‘Four Points.’ We have, therefore, not to ask at present anything beyond the ‘Four Points,’ but rather *to define more fully the precise meaning we attach to their elastic terms.*” In short, this definition was to be found in what had now become the great practical object, which had been announced to the House of Commons by lord John Russell, and had given it most satisfaction —“the impossibility of allowing Russia to retain her threatening armaments in the Crimea,”—in other words, the destruction of Sebastopol as a naval arsenal,—the precise point which there was reason to suppose that Austria desired to evade or at least keep open. “Now that vast treasure, and the best English blood, have been profusely expended towards obtaining that object, the nation has a right to expect that any peace contemplated by Government should fully and completely realize it.” Hence his practical conclusion as to the explanation asked by Austria:—“If, therefore, our present demands consist strictly in a *closer definition and more extensive application* of the principles contained in the ‘Four Points,’ *in the sense above understood*, Parliament ought to be satisfied, and Austria can derive from them no pretext to fly from her engagements towards us.”

The necessity of this clear understanding was amply proved by the suspicious fact, that Russia had intimated her intention to accept the Four Points as a basis of negociation,—“a step calculated to perplex Austria, and to arrest her intention of binding herself to overt acts against Russia: it probably had no other purpose, and the conduct of Russia at a later stage fully justified this suspicion.”* Nor did the later conduct of Austria, as

* “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 165.

displayed in her comparative inaction and in the abortive negotiations at Vienna, less justify the necessity of these frank explanations. After two days' deliberation, the Cabinet returned an answer to Vienna, founded on the prince's Memorandum; and the contemplated treaty between Austria, France, and Great Britain was signed on the 2nd of December. By it, the Western Powers promised to aid Austria in the event of hostilities breaking out between her and Russia, and the three Powers reciprocally engaged not to entertain any overtures regarding the cessation of hostilities without a general understanding among all the contracting parties. While Austria thus became, as lord Palmerston said, "our ally to a certain extent," Prussia held aloof in her ambiguous policy.

The stand taken by the Government in these negotiations represented the universal conviction, "that we must fight out to the uttermost the contest in which we were engaged. The fall of Sebastopol could alone save the allied armies, and that object must be attained, cost what it might. To re-embark in face of a force so powerful as that of the Russians was impossible. Infinite shame, as well as infinite loss, must have followed on the attempt."* The Czar Nicholas was no less resolved to expend all the resources of his empire in defence of the stronghold of his power in the Black Sea; and, while our Parliament was summoned for an autumnal session (December 12th), he ordered a new levy of 10 men out of every 1,000 throughout Russia (December 13th).

In the speech read by the Queen from the throne, her Majesty said that she had called Parliament together "at this unusual period of the year," in order to take such measures as would lead to the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour and effect, particularly by the augmentation of the forces in the Crimea. She expressed her admiration of the victories gained by her brave troops in conjunction with those of her ally, the Emperor of the French, and her satisfaction at the Treaty of Alliance concluded with the Emperor of Austria. The other topics of the royal speech were the general prosperity of the country, the satisfactory state of the revenue, and the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the United States.

The chief business of the brief session was the passing of the Militia and Foreigners Enlistment Bills, not without strong opposition both from the Conservatives and the Peace Party. The latter Bill was denounced by lord Ellenborough as involving a new traffic in blood as horrible as the African slave trade. In the Commons, Mr. Cobden urged that the continuance of the war was needless and unjustifiable, as its object—the defence of Turkey—had been accomplished, and that the time had come for negotiation on the basis of the Czar's acceptance of the Four Points. Mr. Bright insisted on the hopeless corruption of Turkey, and severely censured the whole policy of the Ministry, denouncing them as guilty of all the suffering and bloodshed caused by the war. After some restrictive amendments, the Bill was passed by a majority of 173 to 135 (December 22nd).

On the same day on which Parliament adjourned for Christmas

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 173.

(December 23rd) the "Times" fulminated another article on the mismanagement of the war,—and especially on the incompetence of all the officers on the spot. The state of affairs was bad enough, without heaping scorn and odium on those least responsible. After the first cry, "*Something* must be done" (*what*, being quite a secondary question), the next was—in the phrase which a clever writer brought into vogue at the time—"Whom shall we hang?" This temper was well understood by sir John Burgoyne, when he wrote on the morrow of Inkerman:—"More will be required of us than we can possibly undertake, . . . and, as *les malheureux ont toujours tort*, I expect we shall have as little mercy from friends as from foes! In fact, we have been engaged in an undertaking for which we had not sufficient means! Our force is little more than half of what we have landed in the Crimea! Our losses yesterday nearly one-half of the forces engaged! These are tests at least of the exertions of the army: their leaders will, I presume, be the victims."

And now to bring them for trial, or often for judgment without trial, at the bar of public opinion, a new agency was at work in the camp itself for the first time in the history of war. The state and operations of our armies were daily reported and commented on by an observer free from all military responsibility and bold in the consciousness of representing the power which takes upon itself to govern Government. The office of "Special Correspondent"—which has from that time been signalized by an ability, energy, and courage in facing all the risks of war, second to none displayed by the most devoted soldier—was now created by the enterprize of the "Times" newspaper, and the brilliant qualities of Mr. William Howard Russell, its correspondent in the Crimea. Gifted in a high degree with the imperfectly regulated enthusiasm and the exuberantly picturesque eloquence indigenous to his nation, he sent home not only reports of facts—or of what no one doubted that he believed to be such—and descriptions of marches, battles, and camp life—or of that aspect in which their complex form presented itself to a single observer,—written in a style which made the sober official reports seem too tame to be worth reading;—but also judgments on men and movements, from the greatest to the least, which were daily enforced on the public mind with all the power of the organ which so singularly combined the functions of following and forming public opinion—often forming what it seemed to follow. But, after all, while many of the *judgments* then passed have been reversed, the good effect greatly preponderated, in the service rendered by making the whole people aware of a state of *facts*, the evil of which could scarcely be exaggerated, rousing the feeling which Mr. Bright described with one of his great touches of solemn pathos:—"Thousands, scores of thousands, of persons have retired to rest, night after night, whose slumbers have been disturbed, or whose dreams have been busied, with the sufferings and agonies of our soldiers in the Crimea."* These feelings reached their climax during the Christmas recess, and a storm of indignation was brewing for the Cabinet.

* Speech in the House of Commons, February 23, 1855.

The attack had been long foreseen by Ministers, nay, even anticipated by an internal division almost fatal to the Cabinet. We now enter on ground where the difficulties of contemporary history are illustrated; and conduct, which seemed prompted by self-sacrificing virtue, is now known to have had more mixed motives even in the mind of one of our most honest and patriotic statesmen. The key to the course taken by lord Russell has been supplied by his own frank avowal * :—"Lord Aberdeen always told me that, after being Prime Minister for a short time, he meant to make way for me, and give up the post. But somehow the moment never came for executing his intentions." It is no disparagement to a great man's virtues, to confess that he has his own nature, and not another man's; and it was not in the nature of the past Prime Minister and Whig leader to serve with contentment under a Tory chief. Lord John was, in fact, the little leaven which kept the antagonism between Whigs and Peelites always effervescing, and both were conscious of the power, which a colleague who belonged to neither derived from the feeling of the people, which might at any moment insist on his taking the helm. The Peelites, never popular, were more than suspected of being half-hearted in the war; and it so happened that the Prime Minister, the Secretaries for War and at War, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had to devise the ways and means, all belonged to that section of the Cabinet.

It was therefore as an organ of public opinion, and doubtless from a clear conviction of what was best for the State (however it might coincide with his own personal feeling), that lord John Russell, as early as November 17th, wrote to lord Aberdeen urging that the offices held by the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Sidney Herbert should be concentrated in a Minister of War "strong enough to control the other departments." A statement of the powers to be exercised by such a minister pointed to the conclusions, first, that he "must be in the House of Commons," and further "to the necessity of having in that office a man who, from experience of military details, from inherent vigour of mind, and from weight with the House of Commons, can be expected to guide the great operations of war with authority and success. There is only one person belonging to the Government who combines these advantages. My conclusion is, that before Parliament meets, lord Palmerston should be entrusted with the seals of the War Department." †

The duke of Newcastle, though "deeply mortified at the reckless manner in which lord John contemplated ruining his reputation and public position, begged most earnestly to be removed, if this were the only way to keep the Cabinet together." But such was not the feeling of the Cabinet; and lord Palmerston himself regarded lord John's proposal as impracticable. With the Queen's full approval, lord Aberdeen wrote to lord John (November 24th) rejecting the proposal, as a change "only tending to weaken Government, of doubtful advantage to the public," and "an act of

* Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 272.

† Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 69.

unfairness and injustice to a colleague." After a threat to resign at the end of the autumnal session, lord John, in an interview with lord Aberdeen, "admitted that he had changed his intention, and attributed this change chiefly to a conversation with lord Panmure, who, although a great military reformer, had convinced him that the present was not a fitting time for the proposed changes."* All this should be remembered in judging of the conduct by which lord John soon verified lord Aberdeen's feeling that his reconciliation "gave no security for a single week."

In the month of the recess the darker and still darker reports from the Crimea gave certainty to the Queen's expectation of a stormy session; and we now know more fully, what was then partially understood, that the impending attack was aimed even higher than at the Ministry.† That *they* would have to face a motion of censure was fully expected. As lord Palmerston said in the House,‡ "Every conversation in every street, the leading articles in every newspaper, must have satisfied every man that such a motion was to be looked for." It found an appropriate organ in Mr. Roebuck,§ an independent member, of the small party of "philosophic radicals," who, through a long and vigorous parliamentary career, never shrank from having "the courage of his opinions," or feared to stand alone in maintaining them against persons or governments, however powerful. On the reassembling of Parliament (January 23, 1855), Mr. Roebuck gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee "to enquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army."

A motion so directly aimed at the conduct of those executive functions, which are the special province of any government, was one of direct censure. "According to all precedent,—precedent founded upon the only sound principle of ministerial responsibility,—such a notice should have been the signal for the Ministry to close their ranks, and to vindicate with one accord the action of those of its members on whom more particularly the conduct of the war had devolved."|| Such a course seemed specially incumbent on lord John since he had withdrawn his proposal for a change, and remained in office without a sign of dissatisfaction. It was, therefore, an equal surprise to the Queen, the Cabinet, and the public, when he wrote to lord Aberdeen, the very day after Mr. Roebuck's notice, saying: "I do not see how this motion is to be resisted; but, as it involves a censure upon the War Department, with which some of my colleagues are connected,

* Lord Aberdeen to the Queen.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 197.

† See the Prince Consort's most interesting Memorandum (dated March 8, 1855) of a conversation in which the duke of Newcastle told him what had passed between himself and Mr. Roebuck, who frankly confessed his astonishment at learning the truth about the prince's loyal zeal and hard work in the common cause.

‡ Speech on Mr. Roebuck's motion, January 29, 1851.

§ Having late in life received the recognition of his public services by enrolment in the Privy Council, the right hon. John Arthur Roebuck died on November 30, 1879, aged 77.

|| "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 199.

my only course is to tender my resignation." The best comment on this step is the frank and manly letter of remonstrance from the colleague with whom he professed a specially close alliance.*

In communicating to the Queen lord John's resignation, which "had come without the slightest notice or warning," lord Aberdeen expressed his own opinion that, "whatever the cause for it might be, its object could only be to upset the Government," which it almost did at once, instead of a week later. For, though the duke of Newcastle begged lord Aberdeen to put his office in the hands of lord Palmerston, who, frankly avowing that "he did not expect to direct half as well as the duke of Newcastle," was ready to consent rather than let the Government be dissolved,† the Whig members of the Cabinet did not see their way to go on without lord John, and it was only on the Queen's personal appeal to stand by her, that they consented to await the result of the attack.

Mr. Roebuck's motion, brought forward on Friday, January 26th, was supported by the whole force of the regular Opposition and the large body of Liberal malcontents. Mr. Disraeli, with perfect fairness, disclaimed any responsibility for the motion or its result; but, as the Ministry had made it a question of confidence, he avowed that he had no confidence in them, who showed that they had no confidence in each other. On the other side, Mr. Gladstone made a defence of the stand taken by the Ministry, doubly powerful from its (perhaps undesigned) personal application. If they had not the spirit to resist the motion, he asked, "What kind of epitaph would be placed over their remains? He would himself have thus written it: 'Here lie the dishonoured ashes of a ministry which found England at peace, and left it at war; which was content to enjoy the emoluments of office and to wield the sceptre of power, so long as no man had the courage to question their existence. They saw the storm gathering over the country; they heard the agonizing accounts which were almost daily received of the sick and wounded in the East. But had these things moved them? As soon, however, as the member for Sheffield raised his hand to point the thunderbolt, they shrank away conscience-stricken; the sense of guilt overwhelmed them; and, to escape from punishment, they ran away from duty.'" Lord Palmerston's speech, in closing the debate, amply justified what has been said by his biographer, that "Left in the lurch by their recognized leader, the Aberdeen Cabinet found their best defender in the man for whom many of them had felt distrust." He manfully accepted the motion as a censure on the Government as a whole, and declared that scant justice had been done to the duke of Newcastle, whose merits would hereafter be acknowledged; he submitted that the failures complained of arose from providential causes, or

* Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 70, 71 (dated January 24, 1855).— In the quiet review of his life (in 1875), earl Russell was content simply to say of this step:—"I committed an error in resigning my office under lord Aberdeen at the time and in the manner in which I did it. But I had in fact committed a much greater error in consenting to serve under lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister." ("Recollections and Suggestions," p. 270.)

† For the whole transaction, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 200.

from the disorganization produced during a long peace; and declared that the committee of enquiry must either prove a delusion, or occasion a paralysis in the executive at home and in the army abroad."

The division showed 305 votes for Mr. Roebuck's motion, and only 148 against it; being a censure of the Ministry by a majority of 157, or more than 2 to 1. What followed is best told in Mr. Justin McCarthy's lively words * :—" Every one knows what a scene usually takes place when a Ministry is defeated in the House of Commons. Cheering again and again renewed, counter cheers of defiance, wild exultation, vehement indignation, a whole whirlpool of various emotions seething in that little hall in St. Stephen's. But this time there was no such outburst. The House could hardly realize the fact, that the Ministry of All the Talents had been thus completely and ignominiously defeated. A dead silence followed the announcement of the numbers. Then there was a half-breathless murmur of amazement and incredulity. The Speaker repeated the numbers, and doubt was over. It was still uncertain how the House would express its feelings. Suddenly some one laughed. The sound gave a direction and a relief to perplexed pent-up emotion. Shouts of laughter followed. Not merely the pledged opponents of the Government laughed. Many of those who had voted with ministers found themselves laughing too. It seemed so absurd, so incongruous, this way of disposing of the great Coalition Government. Many must have thought of the night of fierce debate, little more than two years before, when Mr. Disraeli, then on the verge of his fall from power and realizing fully the strength of the combination against him, consoled his party and himself for the imminent fatality awaiting them by the defiant words, ' I know that I have to face a coalition; the combination may be successful. A combination has before this been successful; but coalitions, though they may be successful, have always found that their triumphs have been brief. This I know, that England does not love coalitions.' Only two years had passed, and the great coalition had fallen, overwhelmed with reproach and silent indignation, and amid sudden shouts of laughter."

The division was taken on the early morning of Tuesday, the 30th of January, and on the same day Lord Aberdeen placed the resignation of his Government in the hands of the Queen. The votes, or equally significant abstention, of the Liberal party, which had made the division so decisive against the Aberdeen Ministry, pointed no less clearly to the one successor long since designated by public opinion; but constitutional principles required the attempt to be first made by the leader of the regular Opposition, and, if he failed, by the leader of the Liberal party, whose late resignation had evaded his share in the condemnation passed on his colleagues, though it is worthy of observation, that he was a chief object of scathing censure in the debate. Lord Derby frankly stated to the Queen that, though his party of about 250 was the most compact, " it wanted men capable of governing the House of Commons, and, unless strengthened by other combinations, he could not hope to present an Administration that would be accepted by the

* " History of Our Own Times," vol. ii. p. 322.

country. He was aware that the whole country cried out for lord Palmerston as the only fit man to carry on the war with success, and he acknowledged the necessity of having him in the Ministry, were it only to satisfy the French Government, whose confidence it was of the greatest importance to secure. Lord Derby did not concur in the general opinion as to lord Palmerston's fitness for the War Office, but he might have the lead of the House of Commons, which Mr. Disraeli was ready to give up to him. At the same time, even if lord Palmerston joined him, he could not hope to meet the House of Commons without the assistance of the Peelites.* The ill success of these overtures, and the signal failure of lord John Russell to rally his late colleagues round him, may be read in the "Lives" of the Prince Consort and Lord Palmerston. These futile attempts not only cleared the course for the real "coming man," but afforded new reasons for the choice. It is virtually her Majesty's own testimony that "lord Palmerston had, throughout this anxious time, shown so genuine a public spirit that, even if his own great ability and experience, as well as the public voice, had not designated him as worthy of the trust, the Queen would have felt bound to place it in his hands." Accordingly she invited him to "undertake to form an administration which would command the confidence of Parliament and efficiently conduct public affairs in this momentous crisis." His position, as the chosen of Queen and people, was at once cordially recognized by all his late Whig colleagues,† who returned to office under him; while the first refusal of the Peelites, and even of the Whig duke of Argyll, out of loyalty to the earl of Aberdeen and the duke of Newcastle (who remained the inevitable victims of the late vote), was generously overruled by the late Prime Minister himself.

At last the statesman of seventy years in age, and nearly fifty in public service, had attained the success which "comes to those who know how to wait"; and the ministerial crisis, which had lasted a fortnight, was ended by the entrance of lord Palmerston (February 6th) on the high office, which he retained, with one short interruption, for the ten years of life left to him. He entered Parliament and office in 1807. A letter to his brother at Naples ‡ gives a striking review of the late crisis and his present position, in a characteristic tone of good-humoured triumph at his becoming at last "the inevitable," and winning his *révanche* for December, 1851. But the letter hinted at difficulties which soon made themselves felt. Besides the "discontented men behind," there was a dissatisfied feeling out of doors, when it was found that the Ministry was unchanged, except by the absence of Aberdeen, Newcastle, and Russell. This was significantly shown by the cold reception of lord Palmerston's hope that the House would not insist on the Committee of Enquiry, but leave to the

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 203.

† Excepting, of course, lord John Russell, in whose place earl Granville returned to the Presidency of the Council, which he had some time before given up to lord John.

‡ February 15, 1855. Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 76. It also contains a manifesto of his policy, the more valuable for its frankness in a private letter.

Government the stringent investigation which he pledged them to carry out. By a comparison not very happily suggestive, he told the House that, as an English king once rode up to his insurgent subjects and offered to be their leader, so the Government offered itself to the House of Commons as their Committee (February 16th). But Mr. Roebuck, preferring, as he said, to "assist the noble lord in infusing new vigour into the Constitution of the country, forthwith gave notice to nominate the committee. Upon this, lord Palmerston, though reiterating all his constitutional and practical objections to the committee, decided that the inconvenience and danger of putting the Government in abeyance was still greater.

The Peelite members of the Cabinet were not prepared to acquiesce in this decision, on the ground both of constitutional usage and personal honour; they felt themselves distrusted by the country; and in more than one point at variance with the policy of their colleagues. On the motion for the appointment of Mr. Roebuck's Committee (February 23rd) sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, explained the grounds of their resignation, in which they were joined by Mr. Cardwell; and their places were filled by members of the Whig party. Among these, lord John Russell returned to office as Secretary of State for the Colonies; and Mr. Gladstone was succeeded at the Exchequer by sir George Cornwall Lewis, who, having earned the highest reputation as a scholar of keen critical judgment, and served with credit in more than one office of government, now won the full confidence of the financial world. The Secretaryship of War, vacated by the duke of Newcastle, had already been filled by lord Panmure, an earnest advocate of military reform; and three months later (May 25th) the whole civil administration of the Army and Ordnance was vested in his office. The loss of intellectual power through the secession of the Peelites was in a large degree compensated by a greater unity of purpose.

On the 2nd of March, all Europe was startled by the sudden news of the death of the Emperor Nicholas from pulmonary apoplexy, caused by exposure to the cold at a review a few days before. In spite of the confidence he expressed in the result of the struggles at Sebastopol, his spirits had been deeply depressed by the successive blows of Silistria, the Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman; and, last and most galling of all, a Russian army had been defeated by the despised Turks at Eupatoria. The Czar received the news on his deathbed (March 1st). "Soon after he became slightly delirious, and fatal symptoms set in. His thoughts to the last were with his soldiers at Sebastopol, to whom he sent his thanks for their heroic defence. But his supreme anxiety was to secure the continuance of Prussia in the policy of which the Western Powers had already so much reason to complain; and his last injunctions to the Empress were:—'Tell my dear Fritz (the king of Prussia) to continue the friend of Russia, and faithful to the last words of Papa.'"

CHAPTER XXV.

LORD PALMERSTON'S FIRST MINISTRY—THE VIENNA CONFERENCES (March to August, 1855)—Manifesto of ALEXANDER II.—Sardinia joins the Allies—Policy of Count Cavour—Convention between England, France, and Sardinia—The *Vienna Conferences*—Feeble Hopes of Peace—Lord Palmerston's Letter to Lord John Russell at Vienna—Prince Gortchakov's declaration—New Austrian Proposal: favoured by Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys—The Emperor Napoleon at Windsor—Prince Albert and Lord Palmerston on the Austrian Scheme—The Conferences suspended: but negotiation kept open through Austria—Decision of the Emperor—Debates on the Vienna Conferences—Course of the Peelites—The Queen's Remonstrance with Lord Aberdeen—State of Public Opinion—The Prince's Speech at the Trinity House—Count Buol's Circular—Lord John Russell's Resignation—Report of the Sebastopol Committee—Failure of Mr. Roebuck's Motion of Censure—Narrow Division on the Turkish Loan—Lord John's Attack on the Ministry—The Question of Italy—Lord Palmerston's Reply—The War not for the sake of Turkey—Prorogation of Parliament—Domestic Legislation: Metropolitan Board of Works; Repeal of Stamp Duty on Newspapers; Limited Liability of Companies; Australian Constitutions—Sympathy from India and the Colonies—Finance of the Year: Loans and New Taxes—Civil Service Commission—Question of Competition or Patronage—Royal Visit to Paris.

THE death of Nicholas not unnaturally raised some hope of the approach of peace,* especially as the new Emperor, ALEXANDER II.† was known to fall far short of his father's unbending will and devotion to military display. But there was no real reason to suppose that a change of person would cause a change of policy, especially while the fate of Sebastopol was in the balance. Nay, lord Palmerston shrewdly observed that "possibly this Czar might find more difficulty in yielding than his father might have done." All doubt was removed by the new Czar's manifesto of his desire to maintain the "power and glory" of Russia, followed by count Nesselrode's circular (March 10th), which, while declaring that his Sovereign would join the deliberations of the Vienna Conference "in a sincero spirit of concord," gave no hint of conceding the essential demand of the allies. One of the last ukases of Nicholas had ordered the organization and arming of all the militia of the Empire "in defence of the orthodox faith"; and his son took up the conflict as a sacred bequest for the honour of Russia and religion.

* Consols rose 2 per cent. on the arrival of the news.

† Alexander Nicolaievich was in his 37th year, having been born on the 29th of April, 1818. After a reign of 26 years, he was assassinated by Nihilist conspirators on Sunday, March 13th (March 1st of the Russian Calendar), 1881.

At the same time a new Power entered the lists on the other side. In the pursuit of his great design of making Italy a nation, count Cavour seized the opportunity of securing the friendship of France and England, giving the Sardinian army an experience of war and perhaps the glory of victory, and establishing a place for Victor Emmanuel among the Powers of Europe when the time came for them to confer on the terms of peace. That the sub-Alpine kingdom had no concern in the question at issue, to justify her in taking up arms against Russia, was a consideration which weighed as little with the Italian statesman as if he had been another Machiavelli—his forerunner in the scheme of Italian unity. On the 4th of March Victor Emmanuel declared war against Russia; on the 23rd Queen Victoria informed her Parliament of a Convention between England, France, and Sardinia, by which the latter power engaged to join the allies with 15,000 troops; on the 26th, the Commons voted an advance of a million sterling to our new ally; and on the 8th of May general La Marmora landed in the Crimea with a well-appointed army of 10,000 men.

An eminent Continental statesman said of the Sardinian alliance, "It is a pistol-shot fired point-blank into Austria's ears"; and Austria's halting diplomacy seemed as if playing into Cavour's hands in his bold scheme for liberation from her thralldom. It will be convenient to dispose of the abortive Conferences at Vienna before following the events passing in the Crimea. There was no real ground to suppose that Russia, till crippled by further defeat, would concede the terms on which she had refused to negotiate six months before, because (as count Nesselrode then declared) they could only be interpreted in our sense, to which Russia would only assent if she were *in extremis*, and then only for a moment, as she would never abide by a peace concluded on such a footing.* As, however, she now professed to accept the Four Points as a basis, we felt bound not to throw away the chance of peace. The Conferences were opened on the 15th of March, and on the 28th lord Palmerston sees in lord John Russell's despatches † "no chance of the new Emperor of Russia agreeing to the only conditions which would afford us security for the future, and, though some few people here would applaud us for making peace on almost any conditions, yet the bulk of the nation would soon see through the flimsy veil with which we should have endeavoured to disguise entire failure in attaining the objects for which we undertook the war, and we should receive the general condemnation which we should rightly deserve." In spite of this warning, lord John Russell and his French colleague, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, ‡ fell into the very trap, and brought on themselves the consequent disgrace, so clearly pointed out. The invitation for Russia herself to name the limitations to which she could consent was met by a *non possumus*, none the less impervious because accompanied with the vague assurance that she was prepared to examine

* A remarkable warning of what took place in 1870.

† Letter to lord J. Russell.—"Life," vol. ii. p. 84.

‡ The representative of Napoleon III. at Vienna was also his Minister for Foreign Affairs.

any measures that might be proposed to her not inconsistent with her honour ; for her plenipotentiaries had declared that *any restriction* upon her naval force in the Black Sea was not only derogatory to the sovereign rights of the Emperor their master, but also—strange to say—*dangerous to the independence of the Ottoman Empire!*

All hope of accommodation, therefore, seemed at an end, when, on the 17th of April, Austria renewed the proposal to limit the Russian force in the Black Sea to the number of ships maintained by her before the war, but with the addition, that any attempt to exceed the limit would be made by Austria *a casus belli in the future*.^{*} The telegraphic despatch, announcing these “incredible and impossible” terms, as the Queen called them,[†] arrived when the Emperor was on a visit to her Majesty, whose account of their reception shows that, at home as well as in the Crimea, the Anglo-French alliance was not secure from peril. The news was received with an astonishment and indignation expressed in the Queen’s letter to lord Clarendon.[‡] The gist of the Austrian proposal, as lord Palmerston replied in communicating the response of the Cabinet next day, “could not be more accurately described than in the concise terms” of the prince’s Memorandum, “namely, that, instead of *making to cease the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea*, § it would *perpetuate and legalize that preponderance*; and that, instead of establishing a secure and permanent peace, it would only establish a prospective cause for war.” || On the next day (May 5th), the Emperor Napoleon announced to lord Clarendon his final rejection of the Austrian proposals, whereupon M. Drouyn de Lhuys resigned his office as Minister of Foreign Affairs. ¶ Lord John felt at first that he ought to follow the example; but, fearing to renew the recent scandal and to damage the Government by another resignation, he went to the opposite extreme in defending the rejection of the proposal he had supported.^{**} We must reluctantly pass over the great debates, in which the ministerial policy was attacked by the Opposition, and by some of their own party, for want of vigour, while the Peelites expressed their dissatisfaction at the rejection of the Austro-Russian terms in a manner which drew a remonstrance from the Queen and Prince in a letter to lord Aberdeen. †† Strange to say, the rejection of those overtures found no more vehement supporter than lord John Russell;

^{*} This was the gist of the proposal; for its details, see the “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 261.

[†] Her Majesty’s Diary.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 244.

[‡] April 25th.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 262.

§ The precise terms of the “Third Point” proposed by Austria and accepted by Russia—“*de mettre fin à la prépondérance de la Russie dans la Mer Noire*,” which, as the prince observed, “presupposes that there existed a *prépondérance* before the war broke out in 1854.”

|| Compare his letter to the French Emperor.—“Life,” vol. ii. p. 94.

¶ He was succeeded by M. Walewski, whose post as ambassador to the English court was filled by M. Persigny, the Emperor’s most devoted friend.

** Lord John took his seat on his re-election for the City of London, in consequence of his acceptance of the Colonial Secretaryship during his absence, and on the same night he made a statement about the conferences in reply to Mr. Disraeli.

†† “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 289.

and the speeches, in which both he and lord Palmerston showed the fatal results of allowing Russia to take Constantinople, expressed what was *then* the clear and decided feeling and resolution of the country.

The great Parliamentary conflict was followed by an episode often celebrated in contemporary history, and nearly as often misrepresented. It happened that, on the evening after the debate (June 9th) Prince Albert, as "Elder Brother" of the Trinity House, delivered a speech at its annual dinner, carefully prepared (as was his wont) at Osborne, and, as the "Times" said, "put more point into an address that cannot have taken three minutes to utter, than some Parliamentary orators can accomplish in two hours." Knowing, as but one other person in the kingdom did, all the difficulties that beset the Government in the present crisis, he thought it right to make an earnest appeal on behalf of those who bore the burden. In proposing the health of her Majesty's Ministers, who had just passed through so great a trial, the prince spoke as follows* :—"If there ever was a time when the Queen's Government, by whomsoever conducted, required the support—aye, not the support alone, but the confidence, good-will, and sympathy—of their fellow-countrymen, it is the present. It is not the way to success in war, to support it, however ardently and energetically, and to run down and weaken those who have to conduct it. We are engaged with a mighty adversary, who uses against us all those wonderful powers which have sprung up under the generating influence of our liberty and our civilization, and employs them with all the force which *unity of purpose and action, impenetrable secrecy*,† and uncontrolled despotic power can give him; whilst we have to meet him under a state of things intended for peace and the promotion of that very civilization—a civilization the offspring of public discussion, the friction of parties, and popular control over the government of the State. The Queen has no power to levy troops, and none at her command, except such as voluntarily offer their services. Her Government can entertain no measures for the prosecution of the war without having to explain them publicly in Parliament; her armies and fleets can make no movement, nor even prepare for any, without its being proclaimed by the press; and no mistake, however trifling, can occur, no weakness exist, which it may be of the utmost importance to conceal from the world, without its being publicly denounced, and even frequently exaggerated, with a morbid satisfaction. The Queen's ambassadors can carry on no negotiation which has not to be publicly defended by entering into all the arguments which a negotiator, to have success, must be able to shut up in the innermost recesses of his heart;—nay, at the most critical moment, when the complications of military measures and diplomatic negotiations may be at their height, an adverse vote in Parliament may of a sudden deprive her of all her confidential servants." All this led up to the famous saying, "*Constitutional Government is under a heavy trial, and can*

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 296.

† See the *facts* by which the prince's biographer illustrates the passages we have emphasized.

only pass triumphantly through it if the country will grant its confidence—a patriotic, indulgent, and self-denying confidence—to her Majesty's Government. Without this all their labours must be in vain."

The real meaning of the much-canvassed passage of this speech—as the application of the pregnant facts so clearly stated, and in the light of its whole purpose, to ask the confidence of a free people in their constitutional Government—was so manifest, that it needed a direct misquotation of the words to make it mean that "Constitutional Government was *on its trial*," as if the question between it and despotism—settled from the first foundation of the English state, and resettled against each new encroachment—were still in doubt, and ready to be reopened at the suggestion of the Queen's foreign consort! But, as a leading liberal journal (the "Spectator") said at the time, "The true and obvious moral of Prince Albert's admonition is, not to abandon our manifold blessings in order to acquire the military advantages of Russia,—which would not be worth the price,—but to show that our institutions do not incapacitate us from rivalling the Russian autocracy in its unity of purpose and concentration of action." In a word, it was an earnest call to solve a pressing problem by good sense and self-denial; not to commit political suicide rather than practice the virtues necessary to a free government.

The Ministers for whom consideration was thus asked were not yet out of the troubles brought on them by the unlucky Vienna Conferences, and lord John Russell was soon overtaken by a second retribution. His late speeches provoked a circular from the Austrian Minister, count Buol, contrasting their warlike tone with the language held to the count by lord John and M. Drouyn at Vienna, where both (he said) "showed themselves decidedly inclined to our proposal, and undertook to recommend the same to their Governments with all their influence."* With this weapon put into the hands of the peace party, Mr. Milner Gibson rose in the House (July 6th) to ask for an explanation, how it was that the noble lord, after agreeing to the Austrian proposal for peace, still held office in a Ministry that continued to make war. Lord John replied that, though personally he was convinced that the Austrian proposals gave a very fair prospect of the cessation of hostilities, yet the Government, on his return home, came to the conclusion that the peace proposed would not be a safe peace, and that they could not recommend its adoption. His continuance in office, under these circumstances, was based on a consideration of the exigencies of the times, the failure of lord Derby and himself to form Ministries, and the appearance of instability his retirement might give to the present Cabinet. These frank confessions brought down upon his colleagues, as well as himself, sharp invectives alike from the friends of peace and the advocates of war, from Mr. Cobden, as well as the Opposition; "And this"—exclaimed Mr. Disraeli—"is the end of this important session; this is the end of breaking up so many governments; this is the end of your great national intentions,

* For lord Russell's own account of the matter, see his "Recollections and Suggestions" (1875), p. 272.

great national disasters ; this is the end of the Government at the head of which you were to have a Minister of surpassing energy and, no doubt, transcendent experience ; this is the end of the Ministry which was to put the right men in the right places ;—this is the end, that even peace and war have become mere party considerations, that the interests of the country are sacrificed to the menace of a majority, and that the tumults and turbulent assemblies of Downing-street are to baffle all the sagacity of all the Conferences of Vienna.” In his accustomed report of the proceedings of the House, lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen, “This evening in the House of Commons has not been an agreeable one.”

But this was not quite “the end,” and the process of “breaking up so many governments” was not yet finished. On the 10th of July the Opposition had concerted a new attack, and sir Bulwer Lytton gave notice of a motion, “That the conduct of the minister charged with the negociations at Vienna, and his continuance in office as a responsible adviser of the crown, have shaken the confidence which the country should place in those to whom the administration of public affairs is entrusted.” At first, lord John awaited the attack with the courage made famous by Sydney Smith’s well-known epigram ; and when, two days later, lord Palmerston laid the papers relating to the conference on the table of the House, he offered an explanation which “was generally regarded only as making bad worse. Indeed, such was the prevailing excitement, that the stability of the Ministry was in danger, a danger so imminent, that it was even doubtful if the resignation of lord John Russell could avert it.” * Even then, it was understood to be only in deference to the urgent remonstrance of friends, † especially one who has long since been a high authority on constitutional questions, that lord John placed his resignation in lord Palmerston’s hands next day. He made the announcement himself on the 16th, and, after another volley of Mr. Disraeli’s favourite “ornaments of debate,” sir E. B. Lytton withdrew his notice. Lord John was succeeded as Colonial Secretary by Sir William Molesworth, who had already represented the small party of “philosophic radicals” in lord Aberdeen’s cabinet. ‡

Next night another fierce attack was opened ! The “Sebastopol Committee,” after collecting a large body of important evidence, which however failed to prove the case against the victims aimed at, had presented its report on the 18th of June, § and Mr. Roebuck had given notice

* “Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. p. 307.

† This interposition was noticed in a smart article in the “Times,” as well as in Mr. Disraeli’s speech on the 16th, who likened the adviser to the kind of friend immortalized by Canning :—

“But of all plagues that Heaven in wrath can send,
Save, save, oh ! save me from the *candid friend*,”

in contrast with “the devoted friend, who stands or falls by one, like the noble lord” (lord Palmerston).

‡ Sir William died in the following October, at the early age of 45. He is best known as the editor of the collected works of Hobbes of Malmesbury.

§ By a coincidence worth noting, this anniversary of Waterloo was the same day on which the besiegers of Sebastopol were repulsed from the Malakoff and the Redan.

of a motion, "That this House, deeply lamenting the sufferings of our army during the winter campaign in the Crimea, and coinciding with the resolution of their Committee that the conduct of the administration was the first and chief cause of those misfortunes, *hereby visits with its severe reprehension every member of the cabinet* whose counsels led to such disastrous results." But when the motion came on (July 17th), it was felt that the practical effect of such a censure would fall on those members of the present Government who were now doing their best in accordance with the public wish, rather than on those of the late ministers who were deemed specially responsible, and who were now doubly unpopular as having joined the Peace Party. Sir James Graham and Mr. Sidney Herbert, indeed, opposed any decision short of a verdict "Aye" or "No," but the "Previous Question," moved by general Peel, was carried on the second night of the debate by 289 to 182 (July 19th).*

But, again, on the very next night (July 20th) the Government all but succumbed to another attack from their former colleagues. The assent of the House was asked to a convention by which England and France jointly guaranteed the interest on a loan of £5,000,000 raised by the Turkish Government, which had been already approved by the French Chambers. But the memory of the great war still made the public very sensitive about subsidies to foreign allies, and Mr. Gladstone, with the Opposition and the Peace Party, strongly opposed the guarantee as a subsidy in disguise. In the face of lord Palmerston's assurance that the money was necessary to enable the Turkish army to keep the field, the narrow majority of 3 (135 to 132) proved at all events that the war was not waged for the sake of Turkey.

As a fit close to this exhibition of the generous support which it is the boast of parties to give to a Government engaged in upholding the honour and interests of England at a crisis of great difficulty, on the third reading of the Appropriation Bill, lord John Russell led the attack in the new character of open hostility to the policy of the Government. He dwelt on the vast expense of the war, amounting to £49,000,000 in the current year; the inability of the powerful fleets sent to the Baltic and Black Seas to effect its termination; the failure of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and our consequent inability to ward off the danger that threatened the Asiatic frontier of Turkey. While blaming the allies for not accepting a peace mediated by Austria, he dragged into the discussion the subject most likely to embroil them with that Power, and to provoke a European war. A just eulogy of Sardinia gave him occasion to dilate on the oppressed state of Tuscany and Naples, and the occupation of the States of the Church by Austrian and French troops; and he concluded by recommending ministers, in concert with France and Sardinia, to introduce some system of govern-

* This form of giving the "go-by" to a question, on which a direct vote is deemed undesirable, consists in taking a vote on the motion, "That the question be now put"; and if "the Noes have it," this is called (by a customary but scarcely accurate phraseology) "voting" or "carrying the Previous Question." It is, in fact, voting a negative to the Previous Question.

ment into Central Italy, which would admit of the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country. To this challenge, lord Palmerston, who had long since proved his zeal for Italian liberty,* was content to answer, that no *proper* opportunity for promoting it should be lost, and he repeated his vindication of the war on the great principle, that the protection of Turkey was one of its objects, but only one, and that *not for the sake of Turkey merely, but as a means to an end* of political and commercial liberty upon which the independent existence of the kingdoms of Europe must mainly depend."

This eventful session was closed on the 14th of August. The absorbing interest of the war had not prevented the passing of many measures of great public utility. Among these were the Act for the Better Local Management of the Metropolis (18 and 19 Vict. c. 120), which constituted the Metropolitan Board of Works, to be elected by the parishes of London and its suburbs, for drainage, street improvements, and so forth;—the Act abolishing the Stamp Duties on Newspapers, except for their transmission by post (c. 27) †;—the Act for limiting the Liability of Members of certain Joint-Stock Companies (c. 133), by which shareholders in such companies ‡ were made liable for the debts of the company only to the full amount of their shares, whereas till now every individual shareholder had been liable for the whole debts of the company;—the Act to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Friendly Societies (c. 63) was mentioned as likely to "encourage habits of industry and thrift among the labouring classes of the community." Other important Acts of this session were: for confirming Conventions about Fisheries with the United States and France (cc. 3 and 101); for the regulation of the erection, etc., of Buildings in the Metropolis (c. 122); for enabling companies to be formed for erecting Dwellings for the Labouring Classes (c. 132; also for Scotland, c. 88); for the Prevention of Diseases and Removal of Nuisances (cc. 116 and 121); for amendment of Burial Acts (c. 128); for inspection of Coal Mines (c. 108); for preventing vexatious defences in actions on Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes (c. 67); for allowing costs to successful suitors in Crown suits (c. 90),

* Lord Palmerston had soon an opportunity of showing that he was not losing sight of Italy. The notorious king, Ferdinand II., after showing his Russian sympathies by forbidding throughout his territories the sale of horses, mules, and other supplies, to English agents, had permitted Massa, his Minister of Police, to insult the English mission at Naples. Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother (August 25th) proposing to send three line-of-battle ships to anchor opposite the King's palace, and to insist on the dismissal of Massa within an hour. "If the time passed without a satisfactory reply, the palace should share the fate of Sweaborg" (just bombarded by the allies); "*e poi dopo*, if that should not be sufficient." Without the necessity for such measures, king Bomba yielded on hearing of our capture of Sebastopol.—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 101.

† The distinction between unstamped newspapers and those stamped for transmission by post was afterwards abolished; the postage being paid in all cases by an affixed stamp or stamped cover.

‡ The Act required all Companies formed on the principle of Limited Liability to be registered as such, and always to use the word "Limited" as the last word of the name of the company. Joint-Stock Banks were excepted till 1879, until the privilege of limited liability was extended to them under certain conditions (42 and 43 Vict. c. 76).

removing the great hardship that no costs were allowed against the Crown ; for preventing expense and delay in the administration of Criminal Justice (c. 126) ; for removing restrictions on the liberty of Religious Worship (c. 86). The total number of 134 Public Acts attests the activity of Government and Parliament, even in a session so much occupied with foreign affairs, the war, ministerial crises, and great party debates. Besides these domestic measures, her Majesty's speech at the prorogation expressed the hope "that the measures to which she had given her consent for improving the Constitutions of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, and for conferring on the important and flourishing colonies of Australia extended powers of self-government would assist the development of their great natural resources and promote the contentment and happiness of their inhabitants." The zeal displayed throughout her Majesty's Indian and Colonial Empire for the success of her arms, and their sympathy with her soldiers and sailors, shown especially by their contributions for the relief of the sufferers by war, were acknowledged with deep gratification.

As to the financial measures of the Session, the second year of the war dissipated the notion of paying its expenses by current taxation without loans ; but those who made the war did not shrink from their share of the burden. From sir G. C. Lewis's first financial statement (April 20th) it appeared that the income for the past year (to April 5, 1855), estimated by Mr. Gladstone at £59,494,000, had been £59,494,144, increased by additions to the floating debt to £66,621,000 ; and the expenditure had been about a million less. For the current year, the expenditure, swollen by increased war charges, the Sardinian loan, and a sum of £4,400,000 to cover the probability of further excess, reached the (then) enormous sum of £86,339,000. The revenue was estimated at £63,339,000, leaving a deficiency of 23 millions, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to raise (speaking roughly) one-third by increased taxation and two-thirds by a loan of sixteen millions. Of the additional taxation, £2,000,000 were to be raised by an increase of the Income Tax,* and £3,300,000 by an increase of indirect taxes, namely, on sugar, tea,† coffee, and spirits. He further asked leave to issue Exchequer Bills to the amount of £3,000,000 as a surplus credit for military services. The provision for further war expenses was, however, found insufficient ; and about the end of the session (August 2nd) sir George Lewis made a second financial statement, and an act was passed to raise seven millions by Exchequer Bills and Bonds to meet the supplementary estimates. Thus twenty-three millions were added to the debt, by *estimate*, in this second year of the war ; and, in practice, the addition proved to be between twenty-seven and twenty-eight millions in the year.

Besides these fruits of legislation, the year 1855 was marked by one of the greatest administrative changes ever made in this or any other country ; the

* By adding 2*d.* in the pound (making the tax 1*s.* 6*d.*) on incomes above £150, leaving the tax on those between £100 and £150 at the former rate of 11½*d.*

† The tea duty was raised to 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound.

beginning of the reorganization of the *Civil Service* both at home and in India, by the introduction of competitive examination for appointments, instead of patronage; but our space does not permit us to trace the history or discuss the results, as yet very imperfectly developed, of this great change. The *Civil Service Commission* for the examination of candidates was appointed by an Order in Council (May 21, 1855).

After the prorogation of Parliament, the Queen and Prince Consort, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal (then in their 14th and 15th years), went to Paris, to return the visit of the Emperor and Empress, and to aid in cementing the alliance of the two nations (August 18th to 27th). For this purpose the time proved to have been happily chosen, for the honour which the French troops had shared with the Sardinians in the Battle of Tchernaya* had opportunely stimulated their languid interest in a war which "had appealed to no French national sentiment, offered no palpable material gain," and in which there was a general feeling that France was merely playing the game of England.† But those—in France as much as in England—who doubted the reception which would be given to the first English sovereign seen in Paris since the infant Henry VI. was taken there to be crowned a king imposed by a humiliating conquest—and predicted that the spirit of parties, full of resentment against both England and the Emperor, would give her Queen and his guest only a cold welcome—were unjust to the French character. For a royal *lady*, especially, they had ready (not unmixed with curiosity) the courteous enthusiasm, which the Queen was equally willing and able to win for her own sake.‡ Through the charmingly simple and heartfelt records of the Queen's Diary§ there runs a vein of deep reflection on the series of historic contrasts that crowded on her mind, mingled with the instinctive note of misgiving which would break in; witness this entry written at St. Cloud:—"All so gay, the people cheering the Emperor as he walked up and down in the little garden; and yet how recently has blood flowed, a whole dynasty been swept away, and *how uncertain is everything still!* All is so beautiful here; all seems now so prosperous; the Emperor seems so fit for his place; and yet how little security one feels for the future! These reflections crowded on my mind, full as it was of joy and gratitude for all I saw, for all the kindness I had received!"

* August 16th. See next chapter.

† To this was added a jealousy of the confessed superiority shown by the English officers, and the feeling that the French alliance was aiding to improve the English army, and, in short, the war would "augment England's strength and influence both abroad and at home."—See the important remarks on this subject in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 316.

‡ See the prince's letter to baron Stockmar. The testimony of the princess Lieven is doubly valuable, coming from a lady who was for years a chief social representative of Russia both in England and France.—See the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 355.

§ For the interesting details of the visit we must be content to refer to the extracts from her Majesty's Diary, given in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. chap. lxvi.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL (1855)—Improved State of the Crimean Army—Measures of the new Government—Military and Sanitary Commissions—Hospitals—Railway and Telegraph—Progress of the Siege—Repulse of Sorties—Second great Cannonade—Canrobert succeeded by Pélissier—Furious Night Combats—Expedition to Kertch and the Sea of Azov: great results—Third Cannonade—Capture of the Mamelon—Failure of Assaults on June 18th: the Malakoff and Redan—Death of Lord Raglan—His Eulogy by Lord Ellesmere—General Simpson—New Plan of the Russians: *Battle of the Tchernaya*—Final Bombardment of Sebastopol—Capture of the Malakoff—Failures at the Redan, etc.—The Burning City—Evacuation of the South Side—Entrance of the Allies—Reception of the News in England—Rejoicings and Congratulations—Resolve to continue the War—Lord Palmerston and the People—Prince Gortchakov's Manifesto—Russian and Allied Forces in the Crimea—Inaction of the Generals—State of Feeling in France—Policy of the Emperor—Successful Expedition to Kinburn—Destruction of the Works at Sebastopol—Campaign in Asia: Defence of Kars—General Williams and his Comrades—Defeat of the Russian Attack—Sufferings of the Garrison—Omar Pasha's Victory—Surrender of Kars—Honours to its Defenders.

As in physical nature, so in the affairs of men and nations, the greatest intensity of an effect is often felt when the cause has begun to subside or has even ceased; and the crisis of an evil is often past before impatience applies its "heroic remedies." So was it with our army in the Crimea: its state was already vastly improved at the moment when public indignation at its sufferings drove from power the two ministers whose incessant labour had most contributed to that improvement. Large reinforcements had relieved the terrible pressure of work and watching; and "the men were better rested, in better health, in better spirits, more warmly clad, and better housed."* The soldiers in the Crimea read the accounts of their own condition with astonishment. "It is the fashion"—writes sir John Burgoyne †—"to talk of the army as consisting of 10,000 or 12,000 men"; but soon, he adds, "you will find an army of at least 24,000 or 25,000 men ready to take the field from 'the miserable remnants of the British army now in the Crimea'; and I can assure you that the men are beginning to look tolerably healthy and cheerful again." The Government had, in fact, been the first to learn, from bitter experience, the real source of all the suffering and humiliation. "Our failure hitherto had been clearly due to the

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 216.

† Letter of March 13th, in his "Life and Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 274.

fact, that we had commenced a great war with inadequate means, and that with these inadequate means we had attempted more than our army could possibly execute." * Our French allies bore the same testimony. Thus colonel Vico, the Commissioner attached to lord Raglan's staff, wrote to marshal Vaillant (January 23rd):—"It is the fault of the system, and not that of the Commander-in-chief or those about him. To judge by what is said in the English journals, the state of our allies is much worse than it is in fact, and advantage is sure to be taken of those misrepresentations to revive the spirits of the Russian army."

The new Government took up the work of their predecessors with all the advantage of public confidence in lord Palmerston, and his power of impressing his own energy on others. One of the duke of Newcastle's last acts had been to organize a transport corps, and now two Commissions were sent out, the one to enquire into the organization of the commissariat and other departments which had broken down, the other to reform the sanitary condition of the camp, the port, and hospitals. At the same time, efforts were made at home to provide better hospitals for the wounded and invalids who were now returning from the seat of war; and the ideas suggested by the Queen, as the result of her visits to the military hospitals, were afterwards carried out in the great hospital at Netley, of which her Majesty laid the foundation-stone in May, 1856. The advent of spring, which gives a few weeks of fresh beauty to the Russian steppes, brought new health and spirits to the camp, which the railway now connected with Balaclava; and the completion of the Crimean telegraph enabled lord Palmerston to surprise Parliament with his intention to have *daily reports* from the camp (April 26th).

Meanwhile the siege was pursuing its slow course. During the winter, the Russian defences were continually strengthened with that consummate skill, which only succumbed at last to the exhaustion of the resources at its command. On the other side, the trenches were pushed nearer and nearer; the rifle-pits were vigorously contested, and several desperate sallies were repulsed. On the 9th of April, the second great cannonade was opened against Sebastopol; but, at the end of a week, lord Raglan had to report that the fire "had not produced that permanent effect which might have been anticipated from its constancy, power, and accuracy." The value of Todleben's enormous earthworks was now fully proved, in striking contrast with the effect of the fire where stone walls remained exposed to it.

On the 19th of May, general Canrobert, whose high qualities as a soldier were marred by the want of self-confidence and initiative power, which had often clogged lord Raglan's bolder counsels, was relieved of the command at his own request. His successor, GENERAL PÉLISSIER, had proved his power of pitiless resolution in Algeria; and the French Minister of War, marshal Vaillant, said of the two generals, "Pélissier will lose 14,000 men

* "See on this subject an admirable speech by general Peel (19th February) in the debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Layard's motion for a Committee of Enquiry on the Army Estimates."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 218.

for a great result at once, while Canrobert would lose the like number by driblets, without obtaining any advantage." Pélissier at once gave a sample of his resolution in a series of assaults on some new and formidable works by which the Russians threatened the French left attack (May 21st-23rd).

The Black Sea fleet was now employed in striking a very effective blow at the enemy's communications. Large quantities of supplies were brought from the Russian forts on the Sea of Azov to Kertch, at the eastern extremity of the Crimea, and thence carried to Sebastopol. In spite of rumours of difficult navigation and vessels sunk across the Straits, an expedition of steamers, under captain Lyons (son of sir Edmund), carrying a large force of English, French, and Turkish troops, under sir George Brown, sailed on the 21st of May for Kertch, which they found that the Russians had evacuated, after blowing up all their fortifications along both shores of the Strait and destroying immense stores of provisions. Having signalized the Queen's birthday (May 24th) by the capture of Kertch, the expedition entered the Sea of Azov, and destroyed an immense number of storeships, merchantmen, magazines, and provision depôts, at Berdiansk, Arabat, and Genitchi, besides causing the evacuation of Anapa, at the western extremity of the Caucasus, the last stronghold held by Russia on the Circassian coast. The stores destroyed were reckoned equal to the rations of 100,000 men for four months, and our steamers of light draught in the Azov could threaten the direct communications through the Isthmus of Perekop. Nor was this all; the absence of all resistance indicated that the available forces of men in the Crimea were nearly exhausted, and an intercepted letter from prince Gortchakov to general Wrangel, the commander at Kertch, showed that the latter had expected the attack and been told that no reinforcements could be spared for him. Altogether, this expedition was most effective towards crippling the defence of Sebastopol.

The British army had by this time been reinforced to more than 30,000 men under arms and in excellent spirits. The allies had recovered the line of the Tchernaya, which was held by the newly-arrived Sardinian army under general De la Marmora; and they had obtained the command of the valley of Baidar.* On the 6th of June, the third great cannonade and bombardment was opened on Sebastopol with far more effect than before. On the following evening the British troops stormed the quarries in front of the Redan, which had been the scene of the fiercest contests on the day of Inkerman, and the French carried the Mamelon, thus again bringing their attack close up to the Malakoff tower, the key of the whole position.

The time seemed at last come for a decisive blow; and, after pushing forward and strengthening the works, a tremendous fire was opened from all the English and French batteries on the 17th of June, with such effect that the assault seemed practicable. It was the eve of the anniversary of Waterloo; and it was felt that the long-talked-of *révanche* would be nobly won if the two nations, which had stood face to face to decide the fate of Europe forty years before, should again shape its destiny by a great victory

* See the description of the Crimea, chap. xxi. p. 242.

gained by their armies fighting side by side. But this was not to be; and their only consolation was their equal share in the repulse. The evil of a change of plan on the eve of action was made far worse by an accident which precipitated the assault. The points of attack were the oft-named forts of the Malakoff and the Redan. The former, which was both the true key of the defences and the more easily assailable, was to be first assaulted by the French; and their success was to be followed up by the English against the Redan, which was known to be too strong for an independent attack. Through mistaking a supposed signal, the French assault was delivered prematurely, and its repulse involved the failure of the resolute attack which was nevertheless made by the English on the Redan.

None could have felt the contrast between the 18th of June in 1815 and 1855 more keenly than the "noble gentleman" who was carried from the one field gloriously wounded, and retired from the other disheartened by the fruitless sacrifice of so many of the brave men with whom he had shared victory and suffering. It is no doubt true that "this reverse probably took more life out of the brave old soldier than all he had undergone in the severity of the winter and the anxieties of the siege, and, what was worse, in the merciless attacks to which he had been subjected at home."* Within a week (June 24th) he was seized with the cholera, which had now again broken out in the armies, and, after seeming each day to get better, he died calm and peaceful about 7 o'clock on the evening of the 28th. Among the many eulogies which atoned in part for the obloquy heaped upon him when living, the earl of Ellesmere pronounced one as just as it was eloquent †:—"Through that awful winter of complicated trials, such as no army I ever heard or read of endured and survived, there was one spell which stood between that host and its destruction. That spell was confidence in its leader. From that humble abode, the headquarters of lord Raglan, there radiated a moral force, a serene and unquenchable spirit of faith and trust and duty, which did resist, and which alone could have resisted, the combined influences of weather, privation, and fatigue, superadded to the constant changes of a defective military position, threatened in front, flank, and rear, by a brave and able and outnumbering enemy. The spell prevailed; not even discomfiture, far less disgrace—for discomfiture and even destruction under such circumstances might have come without disgrace—fell on the banners of England."

After the failure of their assault, the allies resumed the energetic pushing forward of their approaches, till, on the 21st of July, lord Raglan's successor, general Simpson, reported that his advanced trenches were within 200 yards of the Redan, which, however, had been so much strengthened since the 18th of June, that any direct attack upon it must fail. But the losses in the trenches were so heavy, ‡ that all were eager

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 302.

† Speech in the House of Lords on the terms of peace, May 5, 1856.

‡ It was reckoned that every 24 hours cost the French 200 men, and the English nearly 60!

for Pélissier to declare his readiness for a combined assault of the Malakoff. On the other hand, the Russians began to find their supplies failing, and all their available reserves were being poured into the Crimea for another supreme effort, like that made before at Inkerman, to overpower the allies by the weight of numbers. A paper found in the pocket of a Russian general killed in the action showed that the attack made on the line of the river Tchernaya was part of a great operation planned at St. Petersburg. As on the eve of Inkerman, the forces destined for this great attack, under general Liprandi, were marshalled in the night, in order to surprise the French and Sardinians, who held the line of the Tchernaya; and the complete defeat of the Russians in the battle named from that river gave the Italians their full share in the honours of the campaign (August 16th).*

The final act of the great siege, which had lasted nearly a year, was opened early on Wednesday, September 5th, by a tremendous fire (a *feu d'enfer* prince Gortchakov called it) from all the allied batteries, which was only suspended for the assault at noon on the 8th. Its overwhelming effect prepared for the renewed assaults on the two great works made with equal valour but unequal success. While the French stormed the Malakoff, the English were beaten back from the Redan, and they resolved to make a new attempt next morning. But a picket party, creeping stealthily up to the Redan after nightfall, found the work deserted; and about the same time a series of tremendous explosions in the arsenals, and numerous fires, proclaimed that the Russians had determined to leave the city they had so long and so obstinately defended. "Soon afterwards"—to use Mr. Russell's graphic description of the scene—"wandering fires gleamed through the streets and outskirts of the town; point after point became alight; the flames shone out of the windows of the houses; rows of mansions caught and burnt up; and before daybreak the town of Sebastopol, that fine and stately mistress of the Euxine, on which we had so often turned a longing eye, was on fire from the sea to the Dockyard Creek. At sunrise, four large explosions followed in quick succession, and at 5.30 Fort Alexander and the Grand Magazine, with all their deadly stores, were blown into the air. The former exploded with a tremendous crash, that made the very earth reel. All this time the Russians were marching with sullen tramp across the bridge, and boats were busy carrying *matériel* off from the town, or bearing men to the south side to complete the work of destruction, and renew the fire of hidden mines, or light up untouched houses."

This great movement of the Russian garrison from the city of Sebastopol to the fortified quarter on the north side of the harbour strikes the imagination as a case unique in history. Many cities have been taken with all the nameless horrors of a storm; many have been evacuated by garrisons marching out with deep shame or with honour almost brighter than success; but it was reserved for the defenders of Sebastopol, after the key of their

* An excellent account of the battle is given in Lord George Paget's "Crimean Diary," chap. ix.

defences had been stormed, to pass in one night over an arm of the sea to their still untouched forts and arsenals of the Severnaya, which they held till peace was signed, so that it is only true in a partial sense, that Sebastopol was taken. We cannot but sympathize with the tone of heroism, almost bordering on triumph, with which prince Gortchakov reports this great retreat and sacrifice in the sequel of the despatch already quoted:—
 “To continue the defence of the south side would have been to expose our troops daily to a useless butchery, and their preservation is to-day more than ever necessary to the Emperor of Russia. For these reasons, with sorrow in my heart, but with a full conviction, I resolved to evacuate Sebastopol, and to take over the troops to the north side of the bridge constructed beforehand over the bay, and by boats. . . . Remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of the country in 1812. Moscow was surely as valuable as Sebastopol. . . . It is not Sebastopol that we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner that our great grandchildren may recal the remembrance thereof with pride to all posterity.”

After a siege of 349 days,* the victorious armies of the allies took possession of the ruined city of Sebastopol on Sunday morning, the 9th of September; and next day the news was announced in London by the guns of the Tower and St. James's Park.† The bonfire lighted by the Prince on Craig Gowan at Balmoral was the royal signal of the rejoicings through the length and breadth of the kingdom. A special thanksgiving was appointed for Sunday the 30th.

Lord Palmerston, as was his wont, struck the key-note of the public feeling when he said that “After what had occurred at Sebastopol, it was impossible that the war could be brought to any other conclusion than that which would secure to Europe safety against the future aggression of Russia.” These and his emphatic declarations at the Mansion House (November 9th) were in reality a manifesto in reply, not only to the resolution evinced by Russia to continue the struggle, but to the signs given by our chief ally of a disposition to withdraw from it. On the 15th of October, Alexander II. had ordered a new levy of 10 in every 1,000 of the population of his Empire; and on the same day prince Gortchakov issued an address to his army from the Mackenzie Heights, thanking them in the name of the Emperor, who, he went on to say, “is persuaded that the army, after having acquired freedom of operations in the field, will continue by all possible efforts to defend the holy soil of Russia.”

Nor did the mind of England shrink from the conflict thus anticipated

* The following are some of the statistics of the siege. The approaches of the allies, cut in many cases through the rock by the help of gunpowder, had a total length of full fifty miles. Upwards of 1,600,000 shot and shell were fired from about 700 guns placed in battery. Among the materials employed were 80,000 gabions, 60,000 fascines, and nearly a million sandbags.

† See the graphic account from the Queen's Diary of the reception of the news at Balmoral.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. iii. pp. 358, 359.

by prince Gortchakov. Her heart was now more than ever in the war, and the public feeling was ready to respond to the hope at once expressed by Prince Albert:—"What the generals will now do, we cannot tell. *I hope they will not rest till they have driven the Russians fairly out of the Crimea.*" Meanwhile, all waited with impatience for further news as to "what the generals would do now." The allied armies in the Crimea now exceeded 200,000 men: 110,000 French, 35,000 English, 54,000 Turks, and 12,000 Sardinians; while the Russians, though nearly all their *corps d'armée* were in the Crimea, scarcely reached 130,000, and those not in the best condition. Every one felt, with the Prince, "What we want now is a united command." But, in truth, there was an obstacle to vigorous action much nearer home; for "the views in Paris were not identical with those in London. *There* people were beginning to say that in taking Sebastopol enough had been done. The honours of war had of late chiefly rested with the French. The chances of a fresh campaign might perhaps dim some of their present lustre; while the expenses of another winter in the Crimea must run up to a figure which the Emperor's Government professed itself unable to face. The season was far advanced, and the English Government learned with some dismay that the order had been given to recall a large portion of the French force to France. Assurances were at the same time given that they would be replaced by equal numbers. This might or might not be the case, but at all events it soon became apparent that any great movement must be reserved for a spring campaign." There were signs that the French were again turning their thoughts from the Crimea to the Rhine, and an ominous hint of ulterior objects was given in the Emperor's speech to the Guards returned from the Crimea (December 29th), when he said that "the country which maintains 600,000 soldiers is interested that there is now in France a numerous and veteran army *ready to show itself where circumstances may demand.*" It is not, therefore, surprising that general Pélissier turned a deaf ear to the vigorous counsels urged by sir Edmund Lyons and even by the French admiral Bruat. But the fleets were able to perform one act of thoroughly good service in the bombardment of the forts of Kinburn (or Kimburoun) commanding the mouth of the lagoon which receives the united waters of the Dnieper and the Bug, and protecting the great naval station of Nicolaiev, on the estuary of the latter river. A powerful detachment of the fleets, with a land force on board, under sir Edmund Lyons and admiral Bruat, sailed from Kamiesh Bay on the 7th of October, coming to a rendezvous next day before Odessa, where the inhabitants were kept for some days in terror of a bombardment, which the allies had no intention of inflicting on that great commercial town. After a delay in consequence of winds unfavourable for the landing of the troops, the grand attack on the forts of Kinburn was made on the 17th (the anniversary of the unsuccessful cannonade of Sebastopol). A brave defence against the overwhelming fire of the greatly superior attacking force procured for the garrison of 1,400 men a surrender with the honours of war. The capture of Kinburn, at scarcely any cost of life to the allies, cut off all communication by sea between Odessa and

Nicolaiev, and prepared the way for an attack on the latter great arsenal in case of another campaign. The army settled down for another winter, with abundant provision for health and comfort, and full occupation in making the roads, of which the want had been sorely felt, and in the gigantic work of destroying the fortifications, quays, docks, and southern forts of Sebastopol, under a more or less constant fire from the Russians on the north side. These labours were completed in February.

Meanwhile, the close of the campaign was illustrated by some brilliant deeds of daring and endurance on the remote but important theatre of war in Armenia. The defence of Kars against general Mouraviev, who truly called it "the bulwark of Asia Minor," proved, like Silistria two years before, what Turks could do when commanded by British officers. The city stands on the river Arpa, in an amphitheatre of black basaltic rocks, amidst the highlands of Armenia, between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above the sea. Within its fortifications, strengthened by a line of earthworks, called the English Tabias (i. e. *batteries*), constructed by colonel Lake, a Turkish force of 15,000 men, with three months' provisions, and three days' ammunition, was shut up by the Russian army of 35,000 men under Mouraviev. Fortunately there were in the place some half-a-dozen English officers, the chief of whom was her Majesty's Commissioner to the Turkish army in Asia, afterwards known by his well-earned title of sir William Fenwick Williams, of Kars. After a siege lasting from the 18th of June, the Russians made a grand attack on the 29th of September, under cover—as at Inkerman and Tehernaya—of the mists of daybreak; but their desperate courage proved vain against the tremendous fire of artillery and musketry from the earthworks. From parts of the defences, which they carried at the first assault, they were repulsed with terrible slaughter, after a combat which had lasted nearly seven hours.

The news of the battle of Kars enhanced the rejoicings for the fall of Sebastopol, and the ardour for continuing the war. But few then understood the importance of checking Russian advances in Asia; and, in the absence of any support, the fate of the place was already sealed before the news of the victory arrived. Omar Pasha made a gallant effort for its succour, advancing from Redoute Kaleh and defeating 16,000 Russians on the river Ingour (November 6th); but his force was not strong enough to relieve the place, which was at length starved into surrender (November 25th).*

* Kars had been taken by Paskievich in the war of 1828, and restored to Turkey by the peace of Adrianople, as it was now again restored by the peace of Paris (1856). In the war of 1877, after another long defence by Mukhtar Pasha against the grand duke Michael and general Loris Melikov, it was at length taken by surprise, with a strong suspicion of treachery; and it was ceded to Russia by the treaty of Berlin in 1878.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PEACE OF PARIS (1856)—Preparations for a Third Campaign—The Army in the Crimea—Visit of the King of Sardinia—The Austrian Proposals—Russian Plan of neutralization of the Black Sea—The Austrian Ultimatum accepted by Russia—Conference arranged at Paris—Meeting of Parliament : Queen's Speech—Public Opinion on Terms of Peace—Virtual End of the War—Losses on both Sides—Cost to England—The Budget—The Peace Conferences—Prussia admitted to the Conference—Diplomatic Intrigues : Firmness of Lord Clarendon—Birth of the Prince Imperial—The Third PEACE OF PARIS signed (March 30th)—How received by People and Parliament—Queen's Speech to returned Crimean Soldiers—Return of the Guards : last Scene of the War—*Articles of the Treaty between the Seven Powers*—Guarantee of Ottoman Empire—All claim to Protectorate annulled—The Straits and the Black Sea—The Baltic neutralized by another Treaty—The Bessarabian Frontier and the Danube—Constitution of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* (also *Servia*)—Union of the Principalities as *Roumania* acknowledged by the Porte (1861)—Prince Charles joins Russia (1877)—Roumania made independent (1878), and a Kingdom (1881)—The *Tripartite Treaty* of 1856 : proves futile in 1877—Resolutions of the Conference on the Maritime Law and Rights of Neutrals—Privateering abolished—Discussion on the State of Europe—The Press in Belgium—Count Cavour's Declaration about Italy : a virtual defiance of Austria—Sardinian Protocol—Naples—Lord Lyndhurst on Italy—Prorogation of Parliament—Acts of the Session 19 and 20 *Victoria*—National Education—Question of Life Peerages—Appellate Jurisdiction.

BOTH sides were now sounding the note of preparation for a third campaign. While the Emperor Alexander visited his army in the Severnaya and on the Mackenzie Heights (November 8th), the citizens of London cheered lord Palmerston's declaration, that "this nation evinces, from one end of the country to the other, a steady, a calm, but a deliberate determination to exhibit the utmost constancy in carrying on the struggle, and to continue its sacrifices and its exertions until peace shall be obtained upon conditions such as we may be entitled to demand" (November 9th). Gunboats were built in such haste that their unseasoned wood decayed without their being ever used; and contracts were made for two or three years' supplies of stores and munitions of war. The state of our army in the Crimea (independent of the French and Sardinians) was thus summed up by Prince Albert* :—"After beginning the campaign last year with

* Letter to baron Stockmar, November 19th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 389.

25,000 men and 35 guns, and *well-nigh losing our whole army in the disastrous siege*, we stand there now with 51,000 men, 94 field-pieces, and 4,000 cavalry, and our Turkish Legion is good for 20,000 men; besides which, the regiments of the Foreign Legion will by the spring amount to 10,000 men. Four excellent regiments, two German and two Swiss, have already been despatched to Constantinople. In Malta we have organized a depôt of 10,000 men. This is no bad result after the taking of Sebastopol. In Paris the passion for peace has infected the moneyed interest, and the war will yet cost a great deal of money. Here the enthusiasm is unabated, and the resources unimpaired." A further sign of this enthusiasm was given by the reception of our ally, the king of Sardinia, when he arrived on a visit to the Queen (November 30th).

In the face of the growing lukewarmness of France, the disposition of Austria to patch up a peace, and the certainty that Russia would exhaust every resource of diplomatic skill

"To work in close design, by fraud or guile
What force effected not"—

these great preparations and this resolute spirit were almost as useful for securing adequate terms of peace, as they would have been for the continuance of war. The firmness and patience of our government were put to a severe test when Austria renewed the proposal she had so often made, to send an ultimatum to Russia, the terms of which had been concerted with France, and were communicated to England for acceptance without modification. Lord Palmerston had felt himself obliged to inform count Walewski that England would prefer continuing the war with no other ally than Turkey, rather than be dragged into a peace on unsatisfactory terms (November 21st), when a direct correspondence between the Emperor and the Queen brought the two governments to full accord.* France adopted our modifications of the Austrian ultimatum; and this was sent to St. Petersburg (December 15th), notwithstanding prince Gortchakov's efforts to avert the direct demand by private negotiation with France, in reliance on the severance of her interests from those of England.

While publicly declaring her readiness to treat on the basis of the "Four Points," Russia gave it to be understood that she was willing to assent, not to a *limitation* of her force in the Black Sea, but to what was called its *neutralization*,—namely, that the Straits and the Black Sea should remain closed to all ships of war, *except those of Russia and Turkey*, which should agree with one another as to the amount of force to be maintained by them respectively, without the ostensible participation of the other Powers! Well might Prince Albert write to King Leopold—"A very pretty outcome this would make to a two years' bloody war!" The ultimatum, on the contrary, insisted on the principles both of *limitation* and

* These very interesting letters are given in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 333, f.

neutralization, in the only sense which could give any hope of security for the future, namely, that "Russia should thenceforth erect no military or naval arsenals in the Black Sea, which was to be absolutely closed to vessels of war." She was further required to consent to a rectification of her frontier with Turkey, which was well understood to mean the surrender of the part of Bessarabia which bordered on the Danube, removing Russia from all control of its navigation.*

The Austrian ultimatum fixed the limit of time for a reply at the 18th of January; and on the 17th a second edition of the "Times" published the telegraphic news from Vienna—"Russia has unconditionally accepted the proposition of the allies. This is authentic." †

At this critical conjuncture Parliament was reopened by the Queen in person (Thursday, January 31st). ‡ After congratulations on the fall of Sebastopol, and a reference to the preparations for another campaign, her Majesty informed the Houses of her acceptance of the good offices of Austria, and the agreement on terms which she hoped might prove the foundations of a General Treaty of Peace, the negotiations for which were about to open at Paris; § but it was significantly added—"In conducting those negotiations, I shall be careful not to lose sight of the objects for which the war was undertaken; and I shall deem it right in no degree to relax my naval and military preparations until a satisfactory treaty of peace shall have been concluded." A new proof of the resolve of Europe to set bounds to Russian aggression in the Baltic as well as the Black Sea was given by the announcement that a treaty had been made with the King of Sweden and Norway, "containing defensive engagements applicable to his dominions, and tending to the preservation of the balance of power in that part of Europe." Her Majesty expressed her "gratification that, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, the resources of the empire remained unimpaired, and her reliance on the manly spirit and enlightened patriotism of her subjects for a continuance of that support which they had so nobly afforded." "The debates in both Houses fairly reflected the divided opinion of the country upon the subject of the peace, of which there seemed now to be a prospect. Only by those who had all along condemned the war was it regarded with unmixed satisfaction. The prevailing feeling was, that a better peace would be secured

* To the "Four Points" was added a fifth, reserving to the belligerent Powers the right to procure, in the interest of Europe, special conditions over and above those stipulated in the Four Points. This was intended especially to preclude the restoration of the fortifications of Bomarsund, as another Sebastopol in the Baltic; but the Austrian ultimatum omitted to specify, as England wished, what was proposed under this head.

† See the letters of Lord Clarendon and Prince Albert for the mingled satisfaction and misgiving caused by the news.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 425, *f*.

‡ The fourth session of the fourth Parliament of Victoria (ann. 19, 20), the sixteenth of the United Kingdom.

§ See the interesting expression of the Queen's confidence in Lord Clarendon (in accepting his proposal to go to Paris) as "a more honest and sincere counsellor" to the Emperor than "his own advisers and so-called friends."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 433.

by continuing the war, which the country believed it was in a position to do with greater effect than before."*

On the following day (February 1st) the representatives of the five Powers at Vienna signed a Protocol embodying the "Draft Preliminaries," and appointing the meeting of plenipotentiaries to be held at Paris within three weeks, and also arranging for an armistice which was to extend from the 29th of February to the 30th of March. On the day first named, the armistice was settled by the commanders in a conference at the Tractir Bridge. This 29th of February, then, was the virtual END OF THE WAR WITH RUSSIA, which had been proclaimed just two years before. According to a statement made by Lord Palmerston in Parliament, the total British loss by death, dating only from the landing in the Crimea (September, 1854) to the signature of peace (March 30, 1856), was 270 officers and 19,314 men, † besides 2,873 discharged as incapacitated; the total of these "unreturning brave" being very nearly the same as the number who landed on the coast of the Crimea to begin the enterprize against Sebastopol! The loss of the French was stated at 63,500 men; ‡ while the estimate of *half a million* is probably far below the actual number of Russians who perished, chiefly in traversing the vast distances from all parts of the empire to the extreme corner which was the seat of war. It has been roughly calculated that, for every Russian soldier or recruit who reached the Crimea, three perished by the way; and those who knew the country best bore the strongest testimony to the exhaustion of the peasantry, and the misery entailed on those left at home.

The sacrifice of wealth to Great Britain alone—besides all the indirect losses suffered by industry and commerce—was summed up in the Budget opened by Sir George Cornwall Lewis (May 19th). For the year 1855-6, the expenditure had been £88,428,355, exclusive of the loan of £1,000,000 to Sardinia. The revenue raised by taxation had been £65,704,491, showing an excess of expenditure of £22,723,864; but the loans authorized in the last session had reduced the actual deficit to about four millions. The total expenditure in the two years of war had been £155,121,307, and during the preceding two years of peace £102,032,596; but, as the latter sum included some expenses incurred by way of precaution, the difference did not represent the whole war expenditure for the two years: the actual amount of this was calculated at £56,772,000. Of course the war expenditure did not cease at once with the return of peace, and, though the estimates that had been prepared for the army and navy were now reduced by between 17 and 18 millions, the estimated expenditure for 1856-7 still amounted to £77,525,000, the estimated revenue being

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 433.

† A striking light is thrown on the secondary causes of loss of life in war by the fact that, of these nearly 20,000 victims, only a little more than 4,000 (or 20 per cent.) were killed or died of wounds received in actual warfare. To these numbers are to be added the losses of the navy.

‡ The addition of the losses of the Turks and Sardinians would no doubt bring up the total loss of the allies to more than 100,000.

£67,152,000. This deficiency of more than 10 millions the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to meet by new loans; and, to provide for the actual deficit on the past year, it was resolved at once to raise a loan of 5 millions, which the house of Rothschild took up at the price proposed by Government, £93 for each £100 stock in Consols.

The total expenditure due to the war did not fall far short of 80 millions sterling; of which (speaking in round numbers) half had been met by extra taxation, and half by loans. The exact addition thus made to the National Debt was stated in next year's Budget at £41,041,000.

To return to the conferences for peace, which were opened at Paris on the 26th of February under the presidency of count Walewski. It was felt to be of the first consequence to make sure of the Emperor Napoleon, who had himself written to the Queen (January 21st) that, "Unity of action was as essential at the council-table as in the field." With this view lord Clarendon took with him to Paris a letter, written at his own suggestion, from the Queen to the Emperor, which had an excellent effect. A new danger arose from the desire of Prussia, after all her ignoble and embarrassing neutrality, to take part in the Conference, where she would be sure to aid Russia in the new diplomatic contest. The claim was resisted both by England and France, on grounds admirably stated by Prince Albert in reply to a letter from King Leopold pleading for Prussia.* In another letter to the Prince of Prussia the Prince expressed the same views with great frankness, but added that, "so soon as peace is assured, I have no doubt it will be followed by an invitation to Prussia to take part in the general treaty." This was the course actually adopted on the 18th of March, when, as the preamble of the treaty states, an agreement having been happily established between the Powers—France, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey—they, in the interest of Europe, invited the King of Prussia, as signatory of the Convention of July 13, 1841, to take part in the new arrangements.

The difficulties already foreshadowed were fully realized in the course of the negotiations at Paris. Russia, who, in her long career of aggressive aggrandizement had never yet ceded territory once gained, struggled hard against the surrender of the part of Bessarabia which would remove her from the mouths of the Danube.† On this point the English plenipotentiaries

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 446-449.—The question, as between the English and Prussian courts, was rendered the more delicate by the marriage engagement of the Princess Royal to prince Frederick William, eldest son of the Prince of Prussia (afterwards the King and Emperor William I.), which had been formed in the preceding September, and had already brought down the wrath of the "Times" on the Prince Consort. Even the Emperor Napoleon hinted to lord Clarendon that this tie gave England an interest in pleasing Prussia, and was greatly gratified at being told by him that "he was greatly mistaken if he thought that the private feelings of her Majesty ever interfered with what she might think right for the honour or the interests of England,"—words verified by the experience of four-and-forty years.

† It should be remembered that the whole province of Bessarabia had been ceded by Turkey to Russia in 1812. The portion now ceded to Roumania in 1856 was restored to Russia by the treaty of Berlin, 1878.—(See chap. xxxv.)

took a firm stand, as likewise on the condition implied in the fifth article—though Austria had omitted to name it explicitly—that the Aland Islands should not again be fortified as a standing menace, not only to Sweden, but to the freedom of the Baltic.

It seemed a happy omen for the French empire that the empress gave birth to a son just at the crisis when peace had become assured.* In acknowledging the congratulations of the Queen and Prince, the emperor wrote:—"The sympathy shown on this last occasion by the English people is another bond between the two countries, and I hope my son will inherit my feelings of sincere friendship for the royal family of England, and of affectionate esteem for the great English nation":—words for which the irony of history reserved a sad fulfilment. On Sunday, March 30th, a third "Peace of Paris" † was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the seven Powers represented at the conference. "The peace is signed. Here it has been received with moderate satisfaction; in Paris with exultation" ‡:—in these few words the Prince summed up the state of public feeling, which was confirmed when the treaty came to be discussed in both Houses of Parliament (May 5th and 6th). The treaty was defended with signal ability by lord Clarendon and lord Palmerston; and on the 8th of May, the two Houses went in state to Buckingham Palace, to present to the Queen their addresses approving of the peace, as having been made "on conditions which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken." The previous Sunday, May 4th, was observed as a day of thanksgiving, and immense crowds of all ranks in London were delighted by the illuminations and by the fireworks which disposed of much of the powder bought up in prospect of a third campaign (May 29th). A grand naval review of 240 vessels of war of various sizes had been held at Spithead on the 23rd of April, in the presence of above 100,000 spectators; but a still more interesting celebration took place at Aldershot, when the Queen reviewed the army that had returned from the Crimea (July 8th).§ On the following

* The Prince Imperial, NAPOLEON EUGENE LOUIS JEAN JOSEPH, "fils de France," was born on the 16th of March; and the proof that peace was assured was given by the admission of the Prussian plenipotentiaries to the conferences two days later. On the 2nd of April, marshal Pélissier congratulated the army in the Crimea on their approaching return home, "happy at a peace signed at the cradle of an imperial infant." The peace was proclaimed with great rejoicings in the allied camps (April 5th), but the Russians made no demonstration.

† The first Peace of Paris, which was supposed to end, and the second, which really ended, the great revolutionary war, were signed on May 30, 1814, and November 20, 1815, respectively

‡ To baron Stockmar.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. p. 474.

§ For an account of the ceremony, and the Queen's touching speech to the soldiers, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iii. pp. 497, *f.*—A melancholy exception to the pleasure of the scene was formed by the absence of the commander-in-chief, who had arrived at Aldershot the day before, to submit to the Queen the report of the Military Commission at Chelsea, completely exonerating the officers inculpated by the report of sir John McNeill. While discussing the report with her Majesty, lord Hardinge was struck with paralysis, from which he never fully rallied, and died in the following September. He had at once tendered

day of brilliant weather, the returning Guards entered London, marching into Hyde Park before the Queen, as she stood on the same balcony of Buckingham Palace from which she had bidden them (or rather, alas! their predecessors) farewell on an early morning of February, 1854. The two scenes may fitly mark the first and last public acts of the war.

The Treaty of Peace, which was fondly trusted to have given Europe the prospect of long security against disturbance from the Eastern Question, contained the following chief Articles. After the usual promise of "peace and friendship" between the seven contracting powers "in perpetuity" which forms the almost ironical preamble of every treaty (*Art. 1*), and stipulations for the mutual restoration of conquests and prisoners, and a general amnesty for offences arising out of the state of war (*Arts. 2-6*), the six Powers (Turkey being the 7th) "declare (*Art. 7*) the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and concert of Europe," and they further "engage, each on its part, to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; they guarantee in common the strict observance of this engagement, and they will consequently consider every act of a nature to infringe upon it (*à y porter atteinte*), as a question of general interest." The 8th Article binds Turkey and any (one or more) of the contracting Powers, between whom and her disagreement might arise menacing their relations, before resorting to force, to give the other Powers the opportunity of acting as mediators. The 9th Article was drawn up, with the greatest diplomatic nicety, to secure a solemn promise of amelioration in the lot of the subjects of the Sultan in general, and his Christian subjects in particular, by the spontaneous action of his sovereign will, and at the same time to exclude every claim of any other Power to a Protectorate. How, in the face of the express and well-weighed words of this 9th Article, the assertion could ever have been made—that the Treaty of Paris transferred to the European Powers collectively a Protectorate over the Christians of Turkey, formerly vested in Russia—is a problem far beyond the reach of an impartial historian.

On the question of the Straits, the 10th Article declares the continuance of the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire for the closing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to vessels of war in time of peace, as maintained by the Convention of July 13, 1841, and revised by an act annexed to the Treaty. The Black Sea was *neutralized** (*Art. 11*), opened to the mercantile marine of all nations, but interdicted to the flags of war of all nations, except a definite number of Russian and Turkish light vessels, necessary for their respective coasts; and both Russia and Turkey engaged neither to erect nor to preserve any military-maritime arsenal on its shores. We need not dwell upon the details of the stipulations (*Arts. 15-19*) for ensuring and

his resignation, which the Queen accepted with the strongest expressions of regret and regard; and, on the recommendation of the Cabinet, the duke of Cambridge was appointed his successor (July 15th).

* As to the *Baltic*, by *Art. 33* there was annexed to the Treaty a Convention between France, England, and Russia, declaring that the Aland Isles should not be fortified, nor any military or naval establishment maintained there.

regulating the free navigation of the Danube and its mouths, nor upon the now subverted, though then most vital question of the new Bessarabian frontier (*Art. 20*), the tracing of which gave Russia an opportunity for long and troublesome diplomatic intrigues.

Still more serious dangers were involved in the future constitution of the Principalities, the invasion of which had been the first overt act of the war. Wallachia and Moldavia were still to enjoy their existing privileges and immunities, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the collective guarantee of the contracting Powers.* It would be tedious to follow the long course of Russian and French intrigue, which had its result when the full administrative union of the Provinces under the name of ROUMANIA† was proclaimed and acknowledged by the Porte (December, 1861). The internal troubles attendant on the organization of the new state culminated in the enforced abdication of prince Couza (February 22, 1866); and, after the crown had been refused by the count of Flanders (the second son of King Leopold) it was accepted by prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who was recognized by the Sultan as hereditary Hospodar (October 24, 1866). The increased hope that the state thus re-constituted under a German prince might prove an effective barrier to Russian aggression was brought to a test in the war of 1877. There was indeed a real desire for peace and jealousy of Russia both in the people and the government; but the example of Servia, the ardent feeling of the Christian populations against Turkey, and the whole force of circumstances, proved too strong for a neutral policy. First, a Convention gave the Russian army a passage to the Danube (April 24th), and soon after the Rouman Senate voted a declaration of independence and war with Turkey (May 21st). The effective part played by the gallant Rouman army in the war was rewarded at the peace of Berlin (1878) by the complete independence of the state, but at the bitter cost of giving back to Russia the part of Bessarabia added to it by the Treaty of Paris, in recompense for which Roumania received the marshes of the Dobruja on the Bulgarian side of the mouths of the Danube. Finally, at the time we are writing, prince Charles has assumed the royal title, and Roumania has been enrolled among the kingdoms of Europe (May, 1881).

The same crisis proved the futility of the further safeguard which was added to the Peace of Paris by the separate treaty between Austria, France, and Great Britain, guaranteeing the integrity of the Turkish Empire (April 15, 1856). It was held that the obligation on the three Powers was solely collective, a mode of action which the new circumstances of 1877 put out of the question.

We must return, finally, to the Congress of Paris, to notice the very important agreements to which it came on points of international law, some

* The same stipulation was made for Servia.

† This national name was taken from that preserved among the people (the *Roumans*) to assert their claim, which has only a partial (if any) foundation in historic fact, to their descent from the ancient Roman settlers in Dacia. (See above, pp. 169, 170.)

of them probably more permanent than its chief work. The assembled plenipotentiaries agreed to the following resolutions respecting those maritime rights of belligerents, the claim to which—especially by England—had long been in dispute, and, on more than one occasion, the cause of drawing neutrals into a war in which they had no concern. (1) "*Privateering* is and remains abolished. (2) The *neutral flag* covers enemies' goods, with the exception of contraband of war. (3) *Neutral goods*, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag. (4) *Blockades*, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." But this declaration was only to bind the Powers who acceded to it; and, in consenting to the last three rules, the United States rejected the first, as an unreasonable limitation of the rights of a belligerent. It must, indeed, be admitted that the loss of such means of quick expansion of naval force would weigh heavily against a state whose wars with any European Power would necessarily be maritime, but which, keeping clear of European complications, maintains only a small navy for the necessary police of the sea and protection of her commerce. But the declaration went far to put an end to the gross abuse of privateering by ships of a neutral state under letters of marque from a belligerent,—a sort of licensed piracy.* On account of these resolutions, earl Grey, in the House of Lords (May 5th), pronounced the treaty to be "one of the greatest steps ever made in the progress of civilization and humanity."

Greater differences of opinion were provoked by the attempt of the French Government to include within the discussions of the conference some of those European questions which the emperor was bent upon reopening (April 6, 1856). Count Walewski invited an interchange of ideas on subjects "which it might be advantageous to discuss in order to prevent fresh complications," particularly as to the condition of Greece, the Papal States, Naples, and Italy in general. Venturing on ground where English feeling was peculiarly sensitive, he asked for some notice of the favour shown by the Belgian press to the revolutionary society called "*La Marianne*," † and the attacks of that press on the empire, which he called "so many implements of war directed against the tranquillity of France by the enemies of social order, relying on the impunity which they found under the shelter

* As between Great Britain and the United States—the two Powers likely to be most practically concerned—the question was virtually settled by the *Treaty of Washington* (1871), which declared it to be the duty of a neutral state, not only to abstain from affording military aid to any belligerent, but to take care that no acts constituting such aid be committed by any one within its territory. Any privateering in defiance of such treaty law may be justly treated as piracy; and a proposal, made in high quarters in Russia, to use such a weapon, when a European war was threatened in 1878, was strongly discountenanced by the opinion of the civilized world. In the debate on the treaty, not only earl Grey, but the high legal authority of lord Campbell, gave the opinion that, even without a treaty, the crown had the power to declare privateering illegal.

† This was the society afterwards made famous by the notice of its operations in Mr. Disraeli's novel "*Lothair*."

of Belgian legislation." Lord Clarendon gave some undeserved offence at home by the moderation with which he replied that, as one of the representatives of a country in which a free press was one of its fundamental institutions, he could not agree to measures of coercion against the press of another state, but he was willing to admit that the authors of the execrable doctrines referred to were undeserving of protection. Count Orlov, with the skill of a Russian diplomatist, declared himself not authorized to take part in a discussion not provided for by his instructions. But the opportunity was eagerly seized by count Cavour, to take another step towards the great object for which he had won Sardinia a place in the European Council. When, notwithstanding count Buel's protest against the competency of the congress to entertain the subject, lord Clarendon supported count Walewski's exposure of the misgovernment of Naples and the Papal States, Cavour, with characteristic plainness of speech, declared that Austria was the main cause of the state of things they all agreed in deprecating, the arch-enemy of Italian independence, the permanent danger to the only free nation in Italy, the nation he had the honour to represent. He followed up this bold denunciation by a protocol addressed to France and England (April 16th), requesting them to pronounce against the continued occupation of Italy by foreign troops, and distinctly declaring that the position of the Sardinian kingdom was becoming insupportable, and that, if nothing were done, she would be driven to the alternative of submitting, like Lombardy and Venice, to the Austrian yoke, or of resorting to arms. This was virtually a gauge of defiance thrown down to Austria; and, as the contest single-handed would be hopeless, from that moment Cavour devoted all his diplomatic skill to bring about an embroilment which might engage one of the greater states on his side. He was not a little aided by the persistence of Ferdinand, King of Naples, in a system of tyranny and cruel persecution of the Liberal leaders, which caused England and France to mark their sense of the rejection of their remonstrances by withdrawing their ambassadors (October, 1856).* It was, however, no part of lord Palmerston's policy to commit England to the revolutionary ventures, into which the French emperor might be tempted by his speculative temper and by the hope of aggrandizing

* The Russian Government—as if unconscious of ever having interfered in the internal affairs of other nations, and oblivious of the whole principle governing its conduct towards Turkey—took upon itself to remonstrate against this flagrant violation of “the right divine of kings to govern wrong.” A circular of prince Gortchakov to the diplomatic agents of the Czar declared:—“We could understand that, as a consequence of *friendly forethought*, one government should give *advice* to another in a *benevolent spirit*”—(like prince Menchikov's in 1853!); “that such advice might even assume the character of *exhortation*; but *we believe that to be the furthest limit allowable*. Less than ever can it now be allowed in Europe to forget, that sovereigns are equal among themselves, and that it is not the extent of territory, but *the sacred character of the rights of each*, which regulates the relations that exist between them. *To endeavour to obtain from the King of Naples concessions as regards the internal government of his states by threats, or by a menacing demonstration, is a violent usurpation of his authority, an attempt to govern in his stead; it is an open declaration of the right of the strong over the weak.*” Grand principles for Naples in Italy, and (as we shall soon see) for Russia in Poland! But what of Turkey and the Sultan?

France and confirming his dynasty. When pressed by the friends of Italy in Parliament—chief amongst whom lord Lyndhurst eloquently denounced the Austrian oppression of the North, and the government by police agents, spies, and informers in Naples (June 30th and July 14th)—lords Lansdowne and Clarendon admitted “not only the right, but the duty of one nation to interfere in the affairs of another when humanity was outraged by arbitrary power,” but they held that “any hope of permanent amelioration must rest upon the unforced action of the governments in Italy.”

The session of Parliament was closed by a royal message of thanks for their support in the hour of trial, congratulation on the peace, and hope for the continuance and increase under its genial influence of the prosperity of the people, “which was not materially checked by the pressure of war” (July 29th). The claims of foreign affairs had not prevented the introduction of 130 ministerial bills, 95 of which became law. The following were among the most important of these Acts of the 19th and 20th of Victoria:—(c. 16) For removing trials in certain cases to the Central Criminal Court*:—(c. 28) For Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland:—(c. 47) For the Incorporation and Regulation of Joint Stock Companies †:—(c. 64) For the simplification of the Statute Book by the repeal of 118 statutes (nearly all obsolete) from the reign of Edward I. downwards:—(c. 65) To encourage the providing of Improved Dwellings for the Labouring Classes in Ireland:—(c. 69) To render more effectual the Police in Counties and Boroughs of England and Wales:—(c. 83) For reorganizing the Coast-Guard and establishing a reserve of Naval Volunteers:—(c. 88) The Cambridge University Act (on the same principles as the Oxford Act of 1854):—(c. 96) The Scotch Marriage Act, which put an end to the notorious “Gretna Green” marriages, by requiring one of the parties to have resided in Scotland for 21 days preceding an irregular marriage, and providing for registration:—(c. 98) For establishing Burial Boards in Ireland as in England:—(c. 115) An Act providing for the first time for the retirement of Bishops of the Church of England on a suitable pension ‡:—(c. 120) To facilitate Leases and Sales of Settled Estates:—(c. 116) For the Appointment of a *Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education*,—the first step towards the organization of a system of National Education under a Minister of the Crown. The further attempt of lord John Russell in that cause by moving a series of resolutions in the House of Commons was rejected as premature by 260 votes to 158 (April 11th).

* The object of this statute—commonly called *Palmer's Act*, from an atrocious poisoner whose case gave rise to it—was to secure a fair trial in cases where it might be endangered by the excitement of local feeling, or other causes of prejudice either way.

† This important Act consists of three parts:—I. The Constitution and Incorporation;—II. The Management and Administration;—III. The Winding-up of Joint-Stock Companies. Further Acts amending this were passed in the following year—namely, 20 and 21 Vict. cc. 48, 49, 78, and 80.

‡ This Act applied to the individual cases of the Bishops of London (Charles James Blomfield) and Durham (Edward Maltby). General provision was made for episcopal resignations by the Acts 32 and 33 Vict. c. 111 (1869), and 38 and 39 Vict. c. 19 (1875).

Another legislative failure of the session is memorable as involving a collision between a prerogative claimed by the crown and privileges asserted by the House of Lords. In order to strengthen that supreme Court of Appeal, one of the most eminent of the judges, sir James Parke, was called to the Upper House as a peer for life, with the title of baron Wensleydale. The right of the crown to create Life Peerages had not been exercised since the reign of Richard II.; and a power, which might so readily be used for a government for party purposes, was strongly objected to as dangerous to the independence of the House. When lord Wensleydale appeared to take his seat, lord Lyndhurst carried a motion for referring the Letters Patent granting the peerage to the House as a Committee of Privileges, which decided against the right of the new peer to sit and vote in Parliament* (February, 1856). The Government deferred to this decision by advising the Queen to create baron Wensleydale a peer in the usual form; a Bill for remodelling the appellate jurisdiction of the Peers was carried through the House, but was ultimately rejected by the Commons (July 10th); and the question was left to be settled twenty years later.

Before this year of restored peace closed, England was involved in two new wars in the distant East; but their issue belongs more fitly to the events of the next period.

* It should be observed that the point in contest was not the prerogative of the crown, as the fountain of honour, to confer a peerage for life, but whether a peerage so conferred gave the right to sit and vote in Parliament. The *latter* proposition only was negatived by lord Lyndhurst's motion, which was carried by 97 to 52, against the amendment moved by earl Grey, "That the highest legal authorities having concurred in declaring the crown to possess the power of creating peerages for life"—(which few, if any, denied)—"the House of Lords would not be justified in assuming the illegality of the patent creating the Right Hon. Sir James Parke Baron Wensleydale for life, and in refusing upon that assumption to permit him to take his seat as a peer."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WARS WITH CHINA (1857-1860)—TRIUMPH OF LORD PALMERSTON (1857)—Prospects of the New Year—*India*: Lords Dalhousie and Canning—Opening of Parliament—War with *Persia* about Herat (1856-7)—Lord Palmerston on its Object—English Victories—Capture of Mohammerah—Peace concluded at Paris—The Budget: Addition to National Debt: War Taxes taken off: decisive victory over the Opposition—Relations with *China*—Affair of the lorch *Arrow*—Sir John Bowring and Commissioner Yeh—Hostilities at Canton—Attacks on the Government—Lord Derby's Motion rejected—Combination of Parties on Mr. Cobden's Motion—Defeat of the Government and Appeal to the Country—Lord Elgin's Mission—Dissolution and New Elections decisively in favour of Palmerston—The "winnowing of parties": fate of the Peace leaders and Peelites—The Queen's *Fifth Parliament*—New Speaker, Mr. Evelyn Denison—Queen's Speech—Question of Reform—Dowry of the Princess Royal—Prince Albert styled PRINCE CONSORT—Acts of Parliament—Penal Servitude and Transportation—New Court of Probate and Divorce—Financial Crisis and Panic—Suspension of Bank Charter Act—Parliament assembled in December—Act of Indemnity—Sequel of the *Second War with China*—Capture of Canton—Treaty of Tien-tsin (1858)—Lord Elgin visits *Japan*: Treaty of Yeddo—Breach of the Treaty—*Third War with China* (1860)—Capture and Convention of Peking—Destruction of the Emperor's Summer Palace.

On the 1st of January, 1857, the Queen offered the congratulations of the new year to her French ally in terms of bright hope for a new era of tranquillity:—"I am very happy that the difficulties which arose about the execution of the Treaty of Paris are now *entirely at an end*. . . . Nothing, I trust, will hereafter take place to trouble that good understanding between us, which furnishes so important a guarantee for the welfare of Europe." But each new year is sure to bring its own new troubles, added to the gleanings of the old; and the terrific storms, which bore destruction over sea and land on this and the following days, were fit emblems of what the history of the year was to bring forth. The convulsion which threatened the overthrow of our Indian Empire began to break out before the end of January; but so little had it been expected, that the late Governor-General, on laying down his office, had written to the Queen (February 29, 1856):—"Although no prudent man will venture to predict the certainty of continued peace in India, lord Dalhousie is able to declare, without reservation, that he knows of no quarter in which it is probable that trouble will arise." *

* The marquis of Dalhousie, after governing India for eight years, left Calcutta, February 6, 1856, to use his own words, "wearied and worn," and died in his 49th year

On the 3rd of February, the *Fifth* and, as it unexpectedly proved, the last brief session of the Queen's *Fourth Parliament* was opened by a Royal Message. To congratulations on the peace, her Majesty added "the gratification which it afforded her to witness the general well-being and contentment of the people; and to find that, notwithstanding the sacrifices unavoidably attendant upon such a war as that lately terminated, the resources of the country remain unimpaired, and its productive industry continues unchecked in its course of progressive development." But the speech made the unwelcome announcement of hostilities both with Persia and China. Earl Grey's amendment, censuring Government for not summoning Parliament when the former war broke out, was rejected by 45 votes to 12.

The war with Persia was one phase of the long contest for influence in the East, for the sake of the safety of our Indian Empire. The effete despotism of "His Majesty whose standard is the sun," furnished a perpetual field for the rival diplomacy of Great Britain and Russia. At the prompting, as it seemed, of the latter power, the Shah Nasr-ed-Deen, in violation of an engagement made with England in 1853, revived his claims to a suzerainty over Western Afghanistan, and took the city of Herat, the key to that approach towards India (October 25, 1856). The true significance of the step was exposed by lord Ellenborough in the House, and lord Palmerston wrote* :—"Ellenborough is right: *we are beginning to repel the first opening of trenches against India by Russia.*" The Governor-General of India declared war with Persia (November 1st); a combined fleet and land force took Bushire on the Persian Gulf, but not without heavy loss (December 10th). An army under sir James Outram, who afterwards won the title of "the Bayard of India," landed at that port (January 27, 1857); and, amidst difficulties and hardships from the nature of the country and climate, defeated the Persians at Kooshab (February 8th), and took the fortified city of Mohammerah (March 26th). But the Persian envoy had already signed a peace at Paris (March 4th), by which the Shah renounced all claim to dominion in Herat and Afghanistan, and engaged to refer any future differences with the Afghans to the friendly offices of England. Lord Palmerston seized the opportunity to stipulate for the abolition of the slave-trade in the Persian Gulf. It was one fortunate result of the expedition, that Outram's returning troops were at hand to meet the first shock of the Indian Mutiny.

On the 13th of February, sir George Cornwall Lewis brought forward a Budget adapted to the restored state of peace. After the grave announcement that, in addition to all the extra taxation, the war had added £41,041,000 to the National Debt, he estimated the expenditure for 1857-8 at about 65½ millions, and proposed a reduction of nearly 12 millions in taxation. The

(December, 1860). He was succeeded by Charles John, viscount (afterwards earl) Canning, son of the famous George Canning, who was born in the same year as his friend lord Dalhousie (1812).

* To lord Clarendon, February 17, 1857.—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 128.

extra war duty on malt was to be abolished, and the duties on tea and sugar reduced; while the Income Tax was to be renewed for three years at its original rate of 7*d.* in the pound for incomes above £150, and 5*d.* in the pound for incomes between £150 and £100; * leaving an estimated surplus of £891,000. The plan was assailed by a combination of some of the Peelites with the Opposition, on the twofold ground of not assuring an adequate balance for future contingencies, and making no provision for the cessation of the Income Tax in 1860, a pledge specially insisted on by its author, Mr. Gladstone; but Mr. Disraeli's resolution embodying these views was rejected by 286 to 206 (February 23rd).

This decisive majority of eighty gave little warning of the result of the attack opened on the following night. It had been announced in the Queen's Speech, that "acts of violence, insults to the British flag, and infraction of treaty rights, committed by the local Chinese authority at Canton, and a pertinacious refusal of redress, had rendered it necessary for her Majesty's officers in China to have recourse to measures of force to obtain satisfaction." Divested of all party recriminations and doubts as to whether greater tact might have averted the rupture, the simple fact was that the Chinese had not yet brought their minds to a full acceptance of the new position secured for "the outer barbarians" by the Treaty of Nanking † (1842-3), and the immediate provocation was but the sign of a settled purpose to set us at defiance, and to expel English commerce from Canton. On the 8th of October, 1856, the Chinese officers seized a lorch, the *Arrow*—Chinese built, but with a British register, flag, and master—on a charge of piracy, and made the crew prisoners. The Commissioner Yeh—a name afterwards notorious for his ferocity—refused the satisfaction demanded by Mr. Consul Parkes ‡ and sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong and Plenipotentiary of the Queen in China. Upon this sir John resorted to force; the fleet under sir Michael Seymour took the Canton forts (October 23rd), destroyed a Chinese fleet, and bombarded the city (November 2nd, 3rd); and, in addition to the first demand for redress, sir John Bowring required the admission of foreigners to the port and city of Canton, which the Chinese had never yet granted according to the treaty. The Americans also were drawn into the war to avenge an attack made on them by the Chinese; the latter burnt the European factories at Canton (December 14th), besides committing other outrages; and Yeh offered rewards for the heads of the barbarians.

In these proceedings, adopted, as we have seen, by the Government, and laid before Parliament under the significant title of "Correspondence respecting insults in China," the various sections of their opponents found the ground for a combined attack; which they based, first, on the merits of the quarrel, or, even if the seizure of the *Arrow* was wrong, the severity of the measures taken; secondly, on the inopportuneness of choosing the

* The rates for 1855-6 were 16*d.* and 11½*d.* respectively.

† We use this phrase to include the supplementary treaty of October 8, 1843.

‡ Afterwards sir Harry S. Parkes, well known for his eminent diplomatic services in China and Japan.

occasion of such a quarrel for pressing claims left in abeyance since 1849; and, thirdly, on the general principle that—unless under necessity which could not be pleaded in this case—the officers of the Crown abroad ought not to engage the country in war without authority from the Government.* Of these three points, the first was implied and the other two expressed, in a resolution of censure moved by lord Derby (February 24th), and supported by lords Lyndhurst, Grey, and Ellenborough, but rejected by a majority of thirty-six:—a remarkable example (in our times) of the Lords supporting a Liberal Government against the Commons (February 26th).

On the same evening on which this vote was taken, Mr. Cobden moved a briefer resolution, by which the House, without expressing an opinion on the merits of the quarrel, considered that the papers “failed to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton.” The motion thus made in the cause of peace and humanity was supported by Mr. Gladstone and the Peelites on the ground of high morality, and not only by the Opposition and by such free-lances as Mr. Roebuck, but also by lord John Russell—the destroyer of Cabinets—as well as by the whole force of the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli’s challenge to appeal to the country was at once accepted as lord Palmerston’s reply to the vote of censure by a majority of sixteen.† On the 5th of March he announced that, considering its recent votes and the grounds on which many members had joined in this one, it could not be interpreted as such a proof of want of confidence as to drive the Ministry to resign; and they had advised her Majesty to dissolve Parliament at the earliest period consistent with the discharge of public business.‡ But in reply to Mr. Cobden’s demand, that the vote should meanwhile be acted on by suspending the war and recalling sir John Bowring, lord Palmerston announced a firm and decided policy. He said “that the Government had for some time been concerting, in conjunction with France, and, as he trusted, with the United States, how best to improve the commercial relations with China through direct negotiations with the court at Peking. It would be matter for grave deliberation what person should be charged with the task as the envoy of Great Britain.§

* This general principle was the subject of an interesting discussion in the session of 1881 on the motion of Mr. Henry Richard. As to the merits of the case, lord Lyndhurst maintained that the Chinese Governor was right in the seizure of the *Arrow*, and lord Derby said that “there had been on the one side courtesy, forbearance, and temper, on the other arrogance and presumption.”

† The vote was taken, after a four nights’ debate, on Tuesday, March 3rd, or rather the morning of the 4th. The division was very remarkable from a party point of view, no less than 21 of the usually serried ranks of the Conservatives going over to the Government, while 35 Liberals voted against them, the difference (curiously enough) being nearly the number that turned the balance. The analysis of the division showed: for Mr. Cobden’s motion, 196 Conservatives, 22 Peelites, 35 Liberals, and 10 Irish members; against it, 226 Liberals and 21 Conservatives:—totals, 263 to 247.

‡ Parliament was prorogued on March 21st, and dissolved on the same day.

§ The choice happily fell on James Bruce, earl of Elgin (son of the earl who brought home the “Elgin Marbles”), who had already signalized his ability as Governor of Jamaica (1840-1846) and Canada (1846-1854). Almost of the same age (born 1811) as lords Dal-

But in the meantime the policy of the Government would remain what it had been. That policy was "to maintain the rights, to defend the lives and properties of British subjects, to improve our relations with China, and, in the selection and arrangement of the means for the accomplishment of those objects, to perform the duty which they owed to the country." Such words struck a responsive chord in hearts which still vibrated with the spirit which had borne lord Palmerston into office two years before; and the result was never for a moment doubtful. The verdict of the country was given as much on his Crimean as on his Chinese policy, or rather on the ground that in both he was the fittest guardian of England's honour and true interests. This was most conspicuously shown by the fate of the leaders of the party so lately popular as the heroes of free trade. Mr. Cobden had predicted "such a *winning* of parties in the House and throughout the country as would be of great use to them all"; and much good corn was borne away like chaff before the wind. He himself fell from the popular member of the great West Riding to the rejected candidate for Huddersfield, and Manchester rejected both Mr. Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson.* The Peelite party became smaller than ever, and Mr. Layard was rejected at Aylesbury, while only two subordinate members of the Government lost their seats. No less than 189 new members were returned; and the estimate of parties showed 371 Liberals and 284 Conservatives.

On the last day of April, the meeting of the new Parliament † was signalized by the election of a new Speaker, in place of Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre, who, after eighteen years' service, had retired with a peerage as viscount Eversley. The unanimous choice of the House fell on Mr. JOHN EVELYN DENISON, member for North Nottinghamshire. The Royal Speech, delivered by Commission a week later, had a scantiness suited to the brief time left for the session, and the quiet which fell on parties after the late struggle and victory. It announced the peace with Persia and the mission of lord Elgin to China, and promised measures of Law Reform. The complaints, made in the debate on the Address, of silence on Parliamentary Reform, were met by lord Palmerston's assurance that the Government would give full attention to the subject before the next session. How little could the course of events be foreseen! This assurance was given on Thursday, the 7th of May, and on Sunday, the 10th, the Indian Mutiny broke out in full violence at Meerut. ‡ But at that time a month or six weeks passed before we learnt news which is now flashed in a few minutes; and we may first dispose of the domestic transactions of the year.

housie and Canning, he was destined to follow them in the government of India at the cost of his life (died November 20, 1863). How he broke off the mission to China, for which he sailed on April 21st, to aid in the Indian crisis, will be related presently.

* Both were returned again before the end of the year, Mr. Bright for Birmingham (August 16th), and Mr. Gibson for Ashton-under-Lyne (December 12th). Mr. Cobden did not sit in this Parliament, but was returned for Rochdale at the next general election (1859), being at the time absent in America.

† The fifth of Queen Victoria, and the seventeenth of the United Kingdom: ann. Vict. 20, 21.

‡ The news arrived on June 9th.

The first act of Parliament was to make a suitable provision for the Queen's eldest child, Victoria, the Princess Royal, in view of her marriage with Prince Frederick William of Prussia.* The occasion was important as establishing the principle, which has since been contested by very small minorities, and which Mr. Disraeli happily expressed when he said that "it became the House to consider in a generous spirit an appeal not only necessary, but which all were ready to welcome with sympathy and respectful affection." On the 25th of June the Queen formally conferred on Prince Albert, by Letters Patent, the title of PRINCE CONSORT, by which he was already usually designated. This recognition (to use the Prince's playful term) of his "legal status in the English hierarchy" came happily at a time when his sympathies with England had been fully proved, and his place in the regard of the English people was being daily strengthened by his active part in works of social improvement.

The attention of Parliament was chiefly occupied by a measure for carrying further into effect the substitution of penal servitude for transportation; † and in long debates on the proposal of the Government to supersede the Ecclesiastical Courts by a new Court for the trial of all causes relating to wills, matrimony, and divorce, and for giving this Court the power to grant divorce, on the grounds of adultery, cruelty, or desertion; which was carried against an earnest opposition on moral and religious grounds, in which Mr. Gladstone took a conspicuous part. In proroguing Parliament by Commission (August 28th), the Royal Message mingled congratulations on the useful work of this short session, the peace of Europe and settlement of difficulties in carrying out the Treaty, with sorrowful references to the convulsion then at its height in India and the barbarities inflicted on her subjects by the rebels. ‡

The worse and worse news daily arriving threw a gloom over a brilliant summer and a bounteous harvest; and, as the autumn advanced, the commercial world was involved in one of those sharp financial crises, which come round, almost in a fixed cycle, as the reaction from prosperity and the result of the inflated speculation which it engenders. The case was well described in a letter by the Prince to baron Stockmar §:—"Bad times are approaching. Bankruptcies are spreading; thousands of artisans are turned into the streets through the consequent stoppage of works. Want and discontent are visibly on the increase in manufacturing districts. In America things are even worse, and they will soon react upon the continent. The financial difficulty is not so great, I think, as might be supposed from its

* The House of Commons voted a dowry of £40,000, with an annuity of £4,000. The marriage took place on the 28th of January, 1858.

† 20 and 21 Vict. cap. 3, amending the Act 16 and 17 Vict.

‡ The state of India had been naturally often referred to in Parliament, and on the 27th of July Mr. Disraeli's motion to censure Government was rejected in favour of lord John Russell's amendment, pledging the House to support them in suppressing the mutiny. The debate is memorable for Mr. Disraeli's suggestion of the great change made a year later in the government of India.

§ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. pp. 143, 144.

effects. Long prosperity had made all bankers, speculators, and capitalists careless; and now they are being unpleasantly reminded of natural laws which have been violated, and are reasserting themselves." The truth of this view was proved by the readiness with which the *panic* yielded to the prompt step of Government, though the recovery itself was slow. The crisis became a real panic early in November, when firms of high standing and country banks fell with crash upon crash,* and the Bank of England rate of discount, which was raised from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent. on the 8th of October, advanced by rapid steps to the unprecedented amount of 10 per cent. on November 9th; and on the 11th the bullion in the Bank was only £7,171,000, while its notes and liabilities amounted to £60,000,000. On that day the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer authorized the Directors of the Bank to make discounts and advances beyond the margin of notes above bullion defined by the Act of 1844. Out of an excess of £2,000,000 in notes thus provided, only £928,000 was actually issued to the public, the largest excess being on the day following the permission; and so rapid was the restoration of confidence, that the over-issue was entirely returned by the 1st of December. On the 3rd Parliament was summoned to pass a bill for indemnifying the Ministers responsible for the relaxation of the law; and this new session was adjourned on the 12th for a Christmas which was cheered by bright news of the relief from pressing dangers and deeds of self-sacrificing heroism in India.

Reserving for a separate chapter the great and terrible events that had been passing in the Peninsula, it remains to relate the issue of the war with China. The main body of troops sent out from England had been intercepted by the vigorous decision of viscount Canning, and disembarked at Calcutta at the beginning of July. Lord Elgin himself, finding on his arrival at Hong Kong (July 2nd) that the military operations were proceeding satisfactorily, resolved to suspend his mission while he went to India † to aid lord Canning with his counsel, and remained with him till September. During the interval, admiral Seymour maintained a blockade of the Canton river. In October lord Elgin was joined at Hong Kong by baron Gros, ambassador of the Emperor of the French; and commissioner Yeh's evasive answers to lord Elgin's ultimatum made it necessary to attack Canton. For the siege of that vast city the allies had a considerable fleet of ships and gunboats, with a land force of 4,800 British—soldiers, marines, and naval brigade—and about 900 French troops and sailors. After a bombardment continued through the whole day and night of December 28th, the assault was made at dawn of the 29th, and the walls and forts were completely taken, with little damage to the town. As Yeh still made no sign of submission, the allies entered the city in four columns, taking possession of the treasury, and seizing the Tartar general and

* Within a few days the list of failures included 146 firms and 5 banks, with liabilities of $41\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and deficiencies amounting to $7\frac{3}{4}$ millions. In October the 3 per cent. stocks fell to between 87 and 86.

† He took with him a further force of 1,500 marines and sailors.

other chief authorities. After a search of no little difficulty and danger through the intricate streets, commissioner Yeh was found in a hiding-place, from which a British sailor pulled him out by his pigtail. He was sent a prisoner to Calcutta, where he died in the following year. He was said to have beheaded no less than 100,000 rebels. Canton, placed under the Chinese deputy-governor, with a council of three English officers, was held as a material guarantee for compliance with the demands of the allies.

For this object it was resolved no longer to treat with distant officials, but to approach the celestial emperor himself. The two plenipotentiaries, joined by a Russian and an American colleague, sailed to the Bay of Pecheli, and anchored in the mouth of the Peiho, at a point where a bank of mud barred the passage to all vessels except the gunboats. As these crossed the bar, the forts commanding it opened fire, and were silenced and taken with a loss to the allies of 11 killed and 77 wounded. The expedition, reinforced by more gunboats, advanced up the river to Tien-tsin, 70 miles below Peking; and the emperor, at length realizing the incredible approach of the "outside barbarians" to his sacred presence, sent two commissioners to meet them. After the usual evasion, the *Treaty of Tien-tsin*, which confirmed that of Nanking in 1842, provided for the first time for the representation of each power at the court of the other on a footing of equality; and for the toleration of Christianity, and the protection of its ministers in China. Foreigners were no longer to be designated by the degrading appellation *I*, that is, "barbarians." British subjects were made free to travel throughout the Chinese empire; additional ports were opened to their commerce; and British ships of war might enter any of the Chinese ports. The piracy which infested the Chinese seas was to be suppressed. Other clauses regulated the tariff and transit duties on merchandize; and China was bound to pay a large sum in instalments as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and a ransom for Canton, which was held meanwhile as a guarantee.

Lord Elgin now made a visit to *Japan*, where he was received with much honour, and obtained the treaty of Yeddo, opening the empire to British commerce (August 26, 1858). Since that time, with some interruptions that need not be dwelt on, there has been a growing intercourse between the two island states which lie off the extremeshores of Europe and of Asia, and are connected by other resemblances, in character and intelligence, which have caused the Japanese to be called the English of the East; and the bond of friendship has been strengthened by the sending of a number of young Japanese noblemen to study in England. While lord Elgin was thus engaged, the British fleet made vigorous efforts to carry out one most beneficial clause of the treaty by destroying no less than 130 piratical junks. On his return from Japan, lord Elgin sailed up the great Yang-tse-Kiang river to Nanking, which was then in the possession of the Taeping rebels, in the hope of helping to effect an agreement (January, 1859).

Scarcely had lord Elgin returned home (in May), when the obstinate bad faith of the Chinese made it necessary to do the work over again; and we may here follow the *Third War with China* to its end. Exactly a year

after the signature of the treaty, lord Elgin's brother, Mr. Bruce, her Majesty's envoy, who had been instructed to exchange the ratifications at Peking, was forcibly stopped at the mouth of the Peiho, and the attack of admiral Hope on the new forts at Taku was repulsed with considerable loss (June 25, 1859). Mr. Bruce's ultimatum, demanding an apology and indemnity for this outrage, and the execution of the treaty of Tien-tsin, was described by the imperial court as "insubordinate," and the English minister was admonished that, "for the future, he must not be so wanting in decorum!" (March, 1860). Meanwhile lord Elgin and baron Gros were sent to China on a new mission, enforced by an English and French armament, under generals sir Hope Grant and Montauban, who, after being shipwrecked on the coast of Ceylon, reached Shanghae at the end of June, 1860. Such was the disorganization of the empire, that one of the first tasks of the expedition was to save that city, which was now the great port for English commerce with the north of China, from an attack of the Taeping rebels (August 18th-20th). On the following day they sailed up the Peiho, and stormed the Taku forts with no small loss, the muddy banks making the landing very difficult. The Chinese Government now endeavoured to delay the advance on Peking by negotiation; and lord Elgin consented to send his secretaries, Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, with other officers, to meet the Chinese commissioners at Tuugchow, some 10 or 12 miles from Peking (September 18th). A quarrel, which broke out as they passed through the Chinese lines, was made the pretext for seizing the whole party of 38 persons, English and French, who were carried off to separate prisons and treated with barbarous cruelty, of which a large number of them died. Before their fate was known, all demands for their release having been evaded, the allied armies marched upon Peking, and on the march the French plundered the emperor's summer palace, called Yuen-ming-qua, a vast group of buildings scattered over an immense park, and filled with curiosities of art and antiquity. It was not till the siege-guns were in position and all was ready to blow in one of the gates, that the Chinese yielded and placed the gate in the hands of the allies, who entered the capital, the vastness of which had been compared, with great exaggeration, to that of Nineveh and Babylon (October 12th). Parkes and Loch, with other prisoners, had been released a week before; but now, on learning the fate of the rest, lord Elgin announced to Prince Kung, the emperor's brother, his resolve to inflict the punishment of the complete destruction of the summer palace, besides a large instant payment for the families of the murdered, as the only condition on which the capital itself would be spared. The burning of the palace took two days; and on the 24th of October a convention was signed at Peking, ratifying the treaty of Tien-tsin with new guarantees, among which was a large indemnity for the expenses of the war.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE INDIAN MUTINY (1857-1858)—Real Character of the Rising : Military, not National—Its partial extent—Signs of Warning—"India quiet throughout"—Smouldering Causes of Discontent—Native Feeling and Intrigue imperfectly understood—The Mohammedans—Watchful interest in European Affairs—Influence of the Crimean, Persian, and Chinese Wars—The Brahmins in the Native Army, especially from Oude—Lord Dalhousie's Government—His great Benefits to India—His Annexations and their Motives—Political Pensioners: *Nana Sahib*—Nagpoor—Treaty with Dost Mohammed—Annexation of Oude—Lord Dalhousie succeeded by Lord Canning—Effect of the Annexations : exaggerated—Fidelity of the Sikhs and many Native Princes—Signs of a widespread conspiracy : the *chupatties*—Proneness of natives to panic—The greased cartridges : rumours of a design to break down caste—Partial Mutinies suppressed—*The Outbreak at Meerut* (May 10th)—The Mutineers take DELHI, and proclaim the Mogul King Emperor—Montgomery disarms the Native Regiments at Lahore—Exertions of Sir John Lawrence—Energy and Firmness of Lord Canning—Troops for China landed at Calcutta—Lord Elgin's co-operation—Lord Canning's Proclamation—The Great Mutiny in Oude—Siege of the Residency at Lucknow—Death of Sir Henry Lawrence—Mutiny at Cawnpore—Nana Sahib and Azimoolah Khan—Brave Defence and Capitulation of the Europeans—Treachery of the Nana and Tantia Topce—The First Massacre of Cawnpore—March and Victories of Havelock—Massacre of the Women and Children : the *Well*—Havelock relieves Cawnpore—Defeat and Flight of Nana Sahib—Victory of Scalcote and recapture of Delhi—The King taken prisoner, and his son and grandson killed—Havelock and Outram reach Lucknow, and are besieged there—Measures taken in England—Reinforcements—Sir Colin Campbell Commander-in-Chief—He relieves Lucknow and defeats the revolted Gwalior Troops—Ultimate Capture of Lucknow—Sir Hugh Rose retakes Gwalior—Final Suppression of the Mutiny.

THE sadly memorable name of the INDIAN MUTINY* tends of itself to perpetuate an idea that the movement was *national* and not merely *military*. There are still those who hold that view, which was maintained by Mr. Disraeli in the debate of July 27th; nor can it be denied that an element of widespread native disaffection was among the causes of the outbreak. But, in its open manifestation, it was a *Military Mutiny*, not a *Popular Insurrection*; it affected only one of the three Presidencies; and it would be more accurately described as the great *Mutiny of the Native Army of Bengal*; though it spread beyond the army, and, in the case of Oude, the whole

* Once for all we must confess the difficulty of treating the history of British India, as it occurs in detached portions, as a part of the history of England. It can only be properly followed in its unbroken continuity, as an historical study in itself and in its connection with the whole history of India. The leading authority for the subject now before us is sir J. W. Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War."

province was in revolt. Roughly speaking, it was localized along the valley of the Ganges, in Upper and Middle Bengal, from Delhi to Allahabad. It fell upon India with signal suddenness, though not without warning signs; and it was the subsidence rather than the absence of anxiety which was testified by the announcement of the "Bombay Gazette," "*India is quiet throughout*" (May 1, 1857). These words were published on the tenth day before the great outburst, the news of which surprised England amidst preparations to commemorate the secure acquisition of her Indian Empire on the centenary of Clive's victory at Plassey (June 23rd). The English people, who were about to celebrate the wondrous imperial growth which had long captivated their imagination, little knew that the epoch marked the turning-point, at which a narrow escape from its utter loss would warn them to begin a new government of India, trusting its preservation to principles directly opposite to those by which Clive and his successors had acquired it.

In studying events both great and small, no confusion is more common, and no discrimination more difficult, than that between the *occasion* and the *cause*; and the historian, whose province is to deal with events outwardly and in action, must often be content to trace the former, instead of speculating on the latter. It would be ridiculous to talk of a principle of *nationality*, like that which was only growing into a great moving power in Europe, among the heterogeneous races and castes and religions of India, where the mass of the people had for ages known no government but the foreign yoke, from which our conquest was a deliverance. It seems to have been true then, as it certainly is now, that the sense of an improved condition, under juster laws and a purer administration, had created a general spirit of loyalty and contentment. But a foreign yoke, however benevolent, must always be resented by some of its subjects; and it must be confessed that, among the generally able and high-minded servants of the Company, both civil and military, with no sense of responsibility to public opinion at home, there were too many who made the yoke constantly galling by a habit of insolent contempt, reckless of its dangers to themselves and the government entrusted to them; while others did only less mischief by the absence of any sympathetic knowledge of the native character. As a writer who knows India well has said:—"Under the calm surface of Indian society there will always lurk elements of disorder, which require a vigilant attitude on the part of the authorities. It is very difficult for Englishmen to penetrate the inner mind of the people and fathom the depths of native intrigue. The Mutiny afforded many painful illustrations of the inability of foreigners to feel the pulse of the people, among whom they were living in the intimate relations of master and servant or officer and private."* The sense of grievance among a people naturally fickle, often disturbed by distresses and troubles—some of which they trace to the very efforts of their

* "Quarterly Review," July, 1881; vol. clii. p. 66; in a review of sir Richard Temple's "India in 1880," a work which, besides its great value with reference to the present state of India, throws great light on the period and events now before us.

rulers for their improvement—may at any time be fanned into a flame by crafty leaders, or even by the idle paucis to which the credulous natives are peculiarly liable.

There were, and still are, two classes with whom disaffection is a principle more or less deep-seated. The Mohammedans, with the constant grievance of having had the Empire wrested from them, are also moved by an ever-smouldering fire of religious fanaticism, ready to burst into a flame on provocation or opportunity. This intelligent and educated class looks abroad beyond the frontiers of India, scanning the varying policy and fortune of their rulers, with a keen sympathy for the interests of Islam in Europe as well as Asia. As in 1877 we know that the struggle of the Sultan and the Eastern policy of England were watched and canvassed in every bazaar and native palace, so in 1854-5 they learned the free teaching of our press about our military weakness in the Crimea,* and were more impressed by the nearer scenes of the war—the failure to defend Armenia—than the victories won in Europe. The departure of part of the Indian army to repel another danger from Russia by war with Persia—a Mohammedan power—and the detachment of another part to China, would naturally confirm the idea of England's being in trouble, and invite the use of the opportunity offered by the weakening of her force in India. The continued existence of the descendants of the Mogul Emperors at their old capital of Delhi offered, as we shall presently see, a rallying-point for insurrection.

But the first and chief source of the outbreak is to be traced in the second quarter referred to. The pride of race, the traditions of supremacy, and the religious exclusiveness of the Brahmin caste, who form no less than ten millions of the population of India, place them in almost irreconcilable antagonism with the Christian conquerors. Yet it was from this caste that the native army of Bengal was chiefly recruited; and, while the praises earned by the valour and fidelity of the Sepoys in many a hard-fought war had given them a dangerous sense of self-importance, they were all the more ready to resent their exclusion from any but the lowest commands. Like children spoilt by indulgence, they rebelled at its necessary limits; while, on the other hand, their past achievements went far to create a blind confidence in their loyalty, and to make the Government forget that, in case of a sudden conspiracy or panic, its sole sure dependence would be on its European force.† But this was not all: there were "wheels within wheels" in the dangerous machinery thus prepared. The greater number of the Brahmin recruits were from the province of Oude, the recent annexation of which had been a cause of bitter disaffection; and the working of this cause was shown by the peculiar violence and atrocity which marked the mutiny in that province.

* We shall presently have to notice the effect of the visit of Nana Sahib's envoy, Azimoolah Khan, to Constantinople and the Crimea.

† At this epoch, the total number of native troops in the British service in the three Presidencies was nearly 300,000: the total number of European troops was under 43,500, of whom 5,200 were in Persia. The native troops of the Bengal army amounted to 118,600; the European troops to 22,600, widely dispersed over northern and central Hindustan, and from the Punjab to the Eastern settlements.

We must here cast back a glance to the events of lord Dalhousie's eight years' administration of India, which has become famous as the last great period of annexations. But it is memorable for other and better manifestations of that Governor's bold and untiring energy. An historian most unfriendly to his imperial policy testifies that*—"Never was there in any country an administration of more successful activity than that of lord Dalhousie. He introduced cheap postage into India; he made railways; he set up lines of electric telegraph. Within fifteen months, according to one of his biographers, the telegraph was in operation from Calcutta to Agra, thence to Attock on the Indus, and again from Agra to Bombay and Madras. He devoted much of his attention to irrigation, to the making of great roads, to the work of the Ganges Canal. He was the founder of a comprehensive system of native education, especially female education, a matter so difficult and delicate in a country like India. He put down infanticide, the odious and extraordinary Thug system, and the Suttee or burning of widows on the funeral pile of their husbands. These are only some of the evidences of his unrelenting, all-conquering energy. They are but illustrative; they are far indeed from being exhaustive, even as a catalogue. But lord Dalhousie was not wholly engaged in such works as these. Indeed, his noble and glorious triumphs over material, intellectual, and moral obstacles, run some risk of being forgotten or overlooked by the casual reader of history in the storm of that fierce controversy which his other enterprizes called forth. During his few years of office he annexed the Punjab; he incorporated part of the Burmese territory in our dominions; he annexed Nagpore, Sattara, Jhansi, Berar, and Oudh. We are not called upon here to consider in detail the circumstances of each of these annexations, or to ask the reader to pass judgment on the motives and the policy of lord Dalhousie. It is fair to say that he was not by any means the mere imperial proconsul he is often represented to be, thirsting with the ardour of a Roman conqueror to enlarge the territory of his own state at any risk or any sacrifice of principle. There was reason enough to make out a plausible case for even the most questionable of his annexations, and in one or two instances he seems only to have resolved on annexation reluctantly and *because things had come to such a pass that he saw no other safe alternative left to him*. But his own general policy is properly expressed in his own words:—"We are lords-paramount of India, and our policy is to acquire as direct a dominion over the territories in possession of the native princes, as we already hold over the other half of India."

We have already related the events of the first two years of lord Dalhousie's government, which led to the annexation of the great country of the Punjab (1848-9), and the Burmese war of 1852, which resulted in the extension of the Indian Empire over Pegu, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. In 1851 a case arose, illustrating another standing difficulty and danger of our Indian Government. The absorption of native states from time to time, with compensation to the families and ministers of the

* McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," vol. iii. pp. 58-60.

princes, has created a large body of political pensioners, who, making no effort to provide for the future of their families on the cessation of their pensions, form a class of malcontents, hankering after their lost rights. This question, like that of succession to the native principalities, is complicated by the practice which prevails in India, as among the ancient Romans, of adopting heirs with the full rights of children. On the final subjugation of the Mahrattas—the bravest and most obstinate opponents of British rule—a pension of eight lacs of rupees (£80,000) was settled by treaty on the Peishwa, Bajee Rao (1817-18), who, having no heir, adopted his brother's eldest son, Sreemunt Narsee Punt, afterwards but too well known by the appellation of *Nana Sahib* of Bithoor. On the death of Bajee Rao at Bithoor in Oude (January 28, 1851), Nana Sahib's claim to the continuance of the pension was disallowed by the Supreme Government, whose decision was confirmed by the Court of Directors.

In December, 1853, the Rajah of Nagpoor, in Southern India, died without legal heirs, and his territories were annexed to British India. On the 31st of March, 1855, an important step was taken towards our security in the north-west by a treaty with Dost Mohammed, who had been reinstated on the throne of Cabul. We have now to turn to Oude (or Oudh), the great province of northern India on the middle Ganges and its tributary, formerly a viceroyalty held by the Vizier of the Great Mogul, and afterwards a kingdom under British protection. After the long series of vicissitudes and troubles, reformation and corruption, common to such states, the profligacy and misgovernment of the last king reached such a pitch, that the Governor-general proclaimed his deposition and the annexation of Oude to the British dominions (February 7, 1856).* Three weeks later lord Dalhousie gave up the government to viscount Canning (February 29th).

To represent the mutiny as the *Nemesis* of annexation is one of those short-sighted generalizations which impose on people by a show of justice and of repentance the most comfortable because it is vicarious. The idea that the mere substitution of British government for the grievous tyranny of dynasties, which were for the most part alien and founded on conquest, was a natural provocation to rebellion, is contradicted by the general history of British India, and notably by the fact that, in the first sweeping wave of mutiny, the salvation of our empire was chiefly due to the fidelity of our last and most hardly conquered subjects, the Sikhs of the Punjab. Nor did the attitude of the native states confirm the notion that India was panting to cast off the yoke of her Christian conquerors. There were cases, indeed, in which the loyalty of the reigning princes proved a reed which pierced the hand that leant on it; but many of them, taught by experience the benefit of our protection, stood as breakwaters against the rising tide of rebellion.† Their loyalty has since been rewarded and confirmed by our

* A pension of 12 lacs (£120,000) was settled on the ex-king, who was allowed to reside near Calcutta, and was imprisoned in Fort William at the outbreak of the Mutiny (1857). The queen and her son came to London to appeal against the annexation (August, 1856), and both died early in 1858—the queen at Paris and the prince at London.

† Conspicuous examples of fidelity were given by Scindiah, the maharajah of Gwalior,

solemn assurances of their safety from annexation ; and there can be no doubt that the opposite policy of lord Dalhousie caused a widespread feeling of distrust, which reached its climax in Oude, and moved the resentment of the Brahmins of that province who were serving in our army. Nor must it be forgotten that the disinherited Nana resided in that province. There were not wanting signs, though obscure, of a widespread conspiracy ; one of them being the rapid passing from one native village to another of small unleavened cakes (*chupatties*), like the fiery cross that summoned the Highland clans. The meaning of the emblem has been disputed ; but it clearly conveyed a warning of great moment, and its tendency is suggested by the fact, that the *chupatties* were distributed only through the British territory, and not in any of the native states.

The Brahmins and Mohammedans of India are alike subject to the influence of sudden waves of fanaticism, stirred by stories never too wild for popular belief. The new age of European war had taught the need of "arms of precision" ; and the new "Enfield rifle" * was supplied to some of the Indian Sepoys (1856). Rumours were spread (and in some cases traced to secret agents), not only that the cartridges were greased with a mixture of cow's fat and hog's lard, making them an "abomination" alike to the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, but that this was designed to make them violate their caste, as a step to the subversion of their religion. Acts of partial mutiny occurred at various stations in Bengal during the first four months of 1857 ; but the moderation with which they were suppressed showed how little the symptoms were understood. Measures were meanwhile taken to disabuse the Sepoys of their false impressions, and new cartridges were made to avoid all ground of offence. On the 6th of May some of these cartridges were served out to the native cavalry at Meerut, an important military station near Delhi ; when 85 of the troopers refused to receive them. Being condemned by a court-martial to long terms of imprisonment, they were put in irons and in prison, but under a guard of Sepoys only (May 9th).

The next day, from which dates the great outbreak of the mutiny, was Sunday. In the evening, when many of the Europeans were at church, the two regiments of native infantry (joined later by the cavalry) assembled tumultuously in arms on the parade-ground, shot down several of their English officers, set fire to the cantonments, released the prisoners, and began to massacre the Europeans in the cantonment, the women and children with the men. While the European troops were assembling, the mutineers marched off to Delhi, 38 miles distant, pursued with but little effect by the carabineers and rifles. The ancient capital of the Mogul Emperors was guarded by an *exclusively native* force of three regiments (3,144 men), and a company of artillery (157 men), under 48 European officers, in the cantonments a mile outside the walls of the city ; within which

and Holkar, the maharajah of Indore.—*Maharajah*, "great king," is the old title of an independent sovereign, as distinguished from a petty prince (*Rajah*, in the feminine, *Ranee*).

* So called from the Government factory at Enfield, Middlesex.

there was not a single European soldier, except two artillery officers, lieutenants Willoughby and Forrest, and three or four subalterns, who had charge of the magazine. Early on the morning of the 11th the rebel cavalry from Meerut crossed the bridge of boats across the Jumna, which joins the city at the king's palace, through which they were at once admitted, and began to massacre the European residents. Those who escaped carried the alarm to the cantonments, whence a native regiment was sent, with two guns, to quell the mutineers. But they were no sooner within the gate than they shot down their European officers; and the other two regiments joined likewise in the mutiny; some few of the officers and residents escaping to the cantonments, and thence to Meerut and other stations. By this time the two native infantry regiments from Meerut were entering the city and joining in the general plunder and massacre of the Europeans. Willoughby and Forrest, with their three or four subalterns, kept them off for some time by discharges of grape from their 6-pounders; but, as fresh numbers came swarming over the walls of the magazine, Willoughby gave the order to fire the train which he laid on the first alarm, and a tremendous explosion blew some hundreds of the mutineers into the air. The few artillerymen, with Forrest and some other Europeans, made their escape, but the heroic young Willoughby was not seen after leaving the city. The mutineers, now in full possession of Delhi, completed the massacre of the Europeans, with the active participation of the son and grandson of the aged king, whom they proclaimed as the Mogul Emperor of Hindustan.

The nearest force to be relied on—unless indeed they also should rise and complete the disaster—was stationed in the Punjab, in the neighbourhood of Lahore, whither the news was flashed on the 11th and 12th. On the latter evening, while a military ball was in progress, Mr. Montgomery, the judicial commissioner—who held the chief authority in the absence of sir John Lawrence* in the Upper Punjab—summoned the principal officers, military and civil—and proposed a plan which was readily adopted by brigadier Corbett, for disarming the native troops stationed under the latter officer at the large cantonment of Meeanmere, five or six miles distant. These troops were three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, numbering 4,000 men, the European force consisting of the 81st Queen's infantry and two troops of the Company's horse artillery, about 1,300 men in all. Almost before the ball was over, the whole of the troops were set in motion for the parade ground, where, by a manœuvre of the brigadier, the four columns of native troops found themselves confronted by 12 guns, charged with grape, behind which stood the 81st in line with muskets loaded and presented. The Sepoys, face to face with certain death, which their English officers were ready to share, piled their arms, which were carried off in carts by the European soldiers. It is not too much to call this decisive step the turning-point of the mutiny, not only saving its spreading to the Punjab, but securing a force for immediate action against Delhi, on the recapture

* Afterwards viceroy of India (1864-68); created, on his return home, baron Lawrence of the Punjab (1869): died in 1879.

of which city the fate of British India was staked. It was followed up with equal judgment, tact, and resolution, by sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner for the Punjab, and the officers who aided him in raising fresh troops among the Sikhs and hill tribes, and preparing for the advance on Delhi. These forces were concentrated at Umballa under the commander-in-chief, general Anson, who died of cholera on the march (May 27th). His successor, general sir H. Barnard,* was joined by brigadier Wilson from Meerut, and, after inflicting several defeats on the mutineers from Delhi, took possession of the cantonments outside the city, with a force of only 3,000 Europeans and a few Ghoorkas (June 8th).

Happily for India and for England, the new Governor-general, who was called suddenly to grapple with this awful crisis, proved a man made for the occasion, and worthy of the name borne by his father and his cousin. Lord Canning was both calm and firm, as well as active and full of resource, amidst a panic at Calcutta which prompted counsels of rage and violence that were re-echoed in England with far less excuse. While hastening the return of the army from Persia, and summoning troops from Madras and Bombay, from Burmah and the Eastern Settlements, from Ceylon and Mauritius, and demanding reinforcements from England, we have seen that he took on himself the responsibility of intercepting the troops on their way to China, which were landed at Calcutta.† At the same time he tried to calm the native mind by a proclamation (May 16th), warning the army of Bengal that they had been misled by malicious falsehoods, and adding, "The Government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The Governor-general in Council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically proclaims that the Government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their religion or caste, and that nothing has been or will be done by the Government to affect the free exercise of the observances of religion or caste by every class of the people."

The second and more tragic act of this historic drama had its scene at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, a city of 300,000 souls. Sir Henry Lawrence, an administrator as able and vigorous as his brother sir John, had arrived as chief commissioner at the end of March. On the 7th of May a mutiny of the 7th regiment of native infantry—on the cartridges being offered to them—was suppressed by the Queen's 32nd and the artillery, but the Sepoys were not disarmed. Sir Henry Lawrence began at once to make preparations for the defence of the residency, collecting large quantities of material and provisions. The whole native force consisted of three regiments of infantry (3,460 men), two companies of artillery (200 men), a regiment of light cavalry and some irregulars, with about 60 European officers. The only European troops were the Queen's 32nd infantry (740 men and officers) and 90 artillerymen.

* General Barnard also died of cholera (July 5th), and failing health forced his successor, general Reed, to resign the command (July 16th), which was conferred on general Wilson.

† See chap. xviii. p. 334.

Besides these, there were about 300 civilians and many women and children. The troops were in cantonments some distance from the city, and here, on the evening of May 30th, the native regiments broke out into mutiny, shooting their European officers and setting fire to the bungalows. This case, however, showed a rare exception in the fidelity of about 300 men of the 13th native infantry, who shared the perils of the siege that followed. The Queen's 32nd dispersed the mutineers, and sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the defence of the residency, into which the troops and European civilians were withdrawn on the approach of a large body of insurgents from Fyzabad (June 29th). The repulse of a force, with which sir Henry Lawrence marched out against these assailants on the next day, made the revolt of Lucknow universal, and the memorable siege of the residency began. On the 2nd of July, a shell burst in the room where sir Henry Lawrence was at work with his nephew and another officer. The latter, thrown to the ground by the explosion, called out "Sir Henry, are you hurt?" "I am killed!" was the faint answer; and on the 4th, after giving all possible instructions to his successor, major Banks, he died calmly, desiring his tomb to be inscribed only with the words, "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty."

Meanwhile the darkest scene of the whole mutiny had been enacted at *Cawnpore*, about 50 miles from Lucknow. This second city of Oude, commanding the bridge over the Ganges and the highroad to Lucknow, was a military station of first-rate consequence, held by three native infantry regiments and one of cavalry, in all 3,860 men. Besides the 115 British officers of these regiments, there were only 170 European soldiers, including a detachment of infantry and a company of artillery. The commander was sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, a general 75 years old. Besides these there were about 1,000 Europeans, including women and children: the native population of the town was estimated at 60,000. The army was in cantonments in a plain outside, near the river, without any defences; and, anticipating an outbreak, sir Hugh Wheeler enclosed the barrack hospital with a mud-wall some four feet high, instead of providing a better strength in the magazine within Cawnpore. Behind these miserable defences the Europeans took refuge when the mutiny broke out (June 5th); there being about 400 men able to fight, 280 married women and grown daughters, and about the same number of children. In an evil hour, general Wheeler bethought himself of the Nana Sahib, who was living—as we have seen—at Bithoor, about 10 miles higher up the Ganges. Sir Henry Lawrence had warned Wheeler against the Nana, who affected a great friendship for the English, and treated them with splendid hospitality. But he had an associate perhaps still more dangerous in Azimoolah Khan, a clever and handsome young Mohammedan, who had been a servant in an Anglo-Indian family. Despatched to London to plead the Nana's cause, Azimoolah had been received in society as an Indian prince. On his return he passed through Constantinople and the Crimea at the darkest period of the war; and his report of England's military decay doubtless encouraged the Nana to believe that his opportunity for vengeance was at hand. It was, beyond doubt,

with a deliberate purpose of treachery, that Nana Sahib responded to general Wheeler's appeal; and, having established himself in Cawnpore with two guns and some 300 men, he soon yielded to the pressure of the insurgents to become their chief, apparently with the hope, to which he was prompted by Azimoolah, of establishing for himself a principality over Oude. After summoning sir Hugh Wheeler to surrender, he made a general attack, which the little garrison heroically repulsed behind the poor wall which "might have been leaped over as easily as that of Romulus" (June 12th).* The repulse of a second attack made by reinforcements of the Oude soldiers, reputed the best in India, made a strong impression on minds not yet freed from their wonted awe of the British "Sahibs"; and they awaited the result of famine and exhaustion. Enfeebled as they were, the garrison had still the spirit to attempt sallies; † and Nana Sahib found his influence declining among the mutineers. With the advice and aid of his lieutenant, Tantia Topce, and Azimoolah Khan, he made an offer to the garrison, the very terms of which betrayed the source of his own relentless animosity:—"All those *who are in no way connected with the acts of lord Dalhousie*, and who are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad" (June 24th). There remained no other resource, and the history of Indian war gave no ground to suspect the treachery that enticed them on board the boats only to open on them a murderous fire. The few survivors—save *four* only who made good their escape—were carried back to Cawnpore, where the men were all shot, and the women were cast into prison, to await the more terrible fate for which the approach of their expected deliverers was the signal.

From now the tide was on the turn, and the memorable march had begun, which has immortalized the name of the Christian hero, GENERAL HAVELOCK, ‡ who had reached Bombay (May 29th) with the first portion of the regiments returning from Persia, who were at once sent round to Calcutta, whither Havelock preceded them with all speed, and was appointed to command the troops destined to the relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow; a little army of only 1,000 Europeans and a few Sikhs and irregular cavalry. Beginning his wonderful march up the Ganges from Calcutta, under the vertical sun of an Indian midsummer, on the 30th of June he reached the sacred city of Allahabad, only just recaptured from the rebels by general Neill, who had already sent forward 800 men towards Cawnpore under major Renaud. Leaving Allahabad on July 7th, Havelock came up with

* McCarthy, vol. iii. p. 91.

† General Wheeler died on June 21st of wounds received in a sally the day before.

‡ Henry Havelock, born at Bishopswearmouth in 1795, left his studies for the bar to enter the army in 1815, and sailed for India in 1823. He served in the first Burmese War, of which he published a history (1827); but in those days of promotion by purchase, he had to wait till 1833 for his company. His incessant service in the campaigns of Afghanistan and Kohistan, Gwalior, and the Punjab, broke down his health, and he came home in 1849. Returning to Bombay in 1851, and receiving the rank of brevet-colonel, he was appointed, as we have seen, to command the second division in the expedition to Persia (1856). It was with the rank of brigadier-general that he now led the relieving column from Calcutta.

Renaud on the 10th, and, though the one column had marched 19 miles and the other 24 that day, they gained in about ten minutes a complete victory over a lieutenant of the Nana with 3,500 men at Futtehpore, capturing all their 11 guns. Two more victories on the 15th brought Havelock nearly to Cawnpore; and then it was that, whether in mere panic, rage, or to silence the witnesses of the first treacherous massacre, the Nana perpetrated that slaughter of the women and children, which has made Cawnpore a byword in the annals of ferocious cruelty; but since redeemed by the touching memorial of the church, surrounded by a garden, built over the dry well into which, unless eye-witnesses spoke falsely, living children and perhaps some women, who had survived the butchery of the night, were thrown with their slaughtered mothers and sisters. It is time to let that "fair garden and peaceful shrine" cover the horrid details, which—intensified by rumours of nameless outrage afterwards disproved—roused in England a feeling of vengeance which Mr. Disraeli had the courage to withstand, protesting against British officers being asked to take pattern from Nana Sahib.

Even while this sacrifice to Moloch was being completed, Havelock, with about 1,000 British and 300 Sikhs, advanced to attack the Nana's army of some 5,000 men, strongly posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore, and won a complete victory with the loss of 100 killed and wounded—the number which sounds so small being a literal decimation of his force. The Nana galloped into the city on a bleeding and exhausted horse; and, after blowing up the magazine, retreated to Bithoor, where he took post with 5,000 men and many guns (July 17th). But when, after an indispensable rest, Havelock's army arrived two days later, the rebels had fled across the Ganges with most of their guns; the Nana's palace was in flames, and he himself was finally beyond the arm of justice and any certain knowledge of his fate. Tantia Topee was afterwards taken and hanged (1859).

Within ten days Havelock had won four battles and taken more than 40 guns; but the greater half of his work was still before him, amidst difficulties beyond human strength. The rainy season, now at its height, the intense heat, and the sufferings of his little force from cholera, baffled his repeated efforts to reach Lucknow, while he had to fight and win new battles not only on his way thither, but in turning back to secure his communications and save Cawnpore from recapture. It was during an inevitable pause in his operations, that the first and greatest object of contention was gained by the recapture of Delhi. General Nicholson, after winning a great victory at Sealcote (July 12th), had joined Wilson (August 8th), and the arrival of further reinforcements and a siege-train enabled them to open an effective fire on the 12th of September. On the 14th the assault was led by general Nicholson, who fell mortally wounded; the city walls were won; but the interior defences were not fully mastered till the 20th; and on the 21st general Wilson fixed his headquarters in the palace of the Great Mogul. The old king and his family had disappeared; but their discovery and capture was undertaken by lieutenant Hodson, a young officer known for his arbitrary temper, as well as for the daring and skill which had made the fame of the little force called "Hodson's horse." If he got

into the palace of Delhi, he had written to a friend, "the house of Timour will not be worth five minutes' purchase, I ween"; but general Wilson had insisted that the king's life should be spared. His retreat in the tomb of the emperor Humayun was betrayed by a spy to Hodson, who, entering with only a few troopers, ordered the host he found there to lay down their arms: his audacity secured obedience, and the king gave himself up as a prisoner. His son and grandson were captured next day by Hodson, who tried them on the spot as rebels taken in arms, and shot them with his own hand. Hodson's death in action soon after* prevented his being called to account for the deed, which cannot be excused. The old king was afterwards tried and transported to Rangoon.

Simultaneously with the capture of Delhi, the movement for the relief of Lucknow was resumed. General Outram, on landing at Calcutta from Persia, had been appointed chief commissioner in Oude and commander of the army; but, on reaching Cawnpore (September 16th), he generously placed himself as a volunteer under Havelock, who had now been reinforced; and, after driving the enemy from Alum Bagh,† they forced their way into the residency through a desperate resistance (September 25th), with a loss of 535 officers and men. "Our advance," wrote Havelock, "was through streets of houses, each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops." The relief saved the garrison from surrender and doubtless from massacre, but it was not deliverance from the siege, for it was found impossible to carry the women and children, sick and wounded, safe to Cawnpore. While Inglis, therefore, remained in the residency, Havelock took up a strong position in some buildings near it; Outram now assuming the command, and all awaiting a second relief.

The news of the mutiny at Meerut, received in England on the 29th of June, had quickened the intentions of the Ministry to strengthen the European army in India,‡ without rousing any serious alarm. But when, on Saturday, the 11th of July, tidings came that Delhi was besieged and the mutiny general throughout Bengal, the Cabinet decided to send out sir Colin Campbell as commander-in-chief; and on Monday lord Palmerston informed the admiring House of Commons and country:—"Upon being asked when he would be able to start, the gallant officer replied 'To-morrow!' and accordingly, the offer having been made on Saturday, he was off by the train next evening;" and he arrived at Calcutta on the 14th of August. On receiving news of the result of the operations in Oude, he started with reinforcements (October 27th); reached Cawnpore on November 3rd; and

* He was killed in the final capture of Lucknow, March 19, 1858.

† This was a cluster of isolated buildings, with gardens and an enclosure, south of Lucknow, four miles from the residency.

‡ Respecting the deliberations of the Cabinet and the views of the Queen on this subject, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. pp. 72, *fol.* The first vessel sailed with reinforcements on July 1st, and by the end of September about 80 ships had left for India, with 30,000 troops on board. These formed the reinforcements which enabled sir Colin Campbell finally to recapture Lucknow.

on the 12th his army, of only 4,550 men, with 32 guns, was established at Alum Bagh. His attack from without was seconded by the operations of the besieged garrison, and on the 17th Outram and Havelock had the joy of meeting sir Colin in the midst of the battle, and aiding him to complete the victory.

This second relief was a deliverance of the garrison from their six months' siege; but still not a reconquest of Lucknow. Sir Colin decided that the residency must be evacuated; and five days were occupied in clearing a safe passage through the insurgents who still held the city, carrying out the sick and wounded, the women and children, and preparing for the final evacuation. So well was this done that the last of the garrison, marching out at midnight on the 22nd, reached Alum Bagh without the loss of a single man.* But there they lost one who was well worth an army. SIR HENRY HAVELOCK † died of dysentery on the 25th of November. He was sixty-two years old, and had gone out to India thirty-four years before, and served in the Burmese war of 1824 and the Sikh war of 1845. His promotion had been slow, and the deeds which made his fame were crowded into the last six months of his life. His self-sacrificing heroism, and devotion to the English soldier's watchword "duty," had their root in the earnest religion, which his example and teaching commended to his followers; and "Havelock's saints" added to the many bright proofs furnished by both services, that a good Christian makes the best soldier.

But in this "never-ending, still-beginning" conflict of loyalty and discipline against numbers, while Lucknow was relieved, Cawnpore was almost lost again. Sir Colin Campbell, leaving Outram strongly posted at Alum Bagh to watch the host of rebels in Lucknow, retraced his march with general Hope Grant's division, escorting the women and children, and a helpless band of sick and wounded (November 27th). In their camp at Bunnee, after a march of 17 miles, heavy firing was heard from the direction of Cawnpore, where in fact a new enemy had appeared. At Gwalior, ‡ one of the strongest fortress-cities of Northern India, the loyal maharajah Scindiah had been expelled by a strong force of mutineers, joined by his own army (July 1st), who marched off to swell the flood of rebellion in Oude. General Wyndham, who had been left in charge at Cawnpore, went out to meet them on the Pandoo Nuddee (the scene of one of Havelock's victories); but he was driven back into his cantonments with heavy loss, the rebels taking possession of the city. Fortunately they had been prevented from destroying the bridge of boats, which enabled sir Colin, arriving by a forced march, to cross the Ganges and keep the foe in check, while the rescued

* Besides all the mounted artillery, they carried off with them treasure which had been buried, to the amount of £230,000, and a quantity of the jewels of the ex-king of Oude.

† He had received the news of his creation as a K.C.B. a few days before. Three days after his death the Queen signed his patent of baronetcy, which was renewed for his son, afterwards sir Henry Havelock-Allan, himself a distinguished soldier trained under his father.

‡ Situated on a tributary of the Jumna, 66 miles south of Agra, whither Scindiah escaped with his faithful body-guard. Scindiah was visited at Gwalior by the Prince of Wales in January, 1876.

sufferers were escorted safely on their way to Allahabad. This done, the Gwalior contingent was utterly routed in two battles by sir Colin Campbell (December 6th) and sir Hope Grant (December 8th); and a third victory at the bridge Kallee Nuddee (January 2, 1858) enabled sir Colin to establish a great depôt of stores, munitions, and means of transport for the recapture of Lucknow. On this enterprize he once more recrossed the Ganges on February 11th, and on the 1st of March he massed his whole force of 50,000 men and 100 guns some 7 miles in the rear of Alum Bagh, advancing the next day to the environs of Lucknow. The assault of the various fortified posts in the vast area of Lucknow occupied twelve days from the evening of the 8th to the 19th, when the whole city was won at a very small cost of life, the operations having been almost entirely by artillery. On the side of the rebels about 2,000 were killed; 117 guns were taken from them; and the great mass who formed the centre of the insurrection were effectually dispersed.

It remained to prevent the scattered fragments of the rebellion from reuniting, to quell the groups of marauders scattered over the country, and to crush the resistance still made at some strongholds in Central India and Rajpootana. In these final acts of the war sir Hugh Rose (afterwards lord Strathnairn) distinguished himself by capturing the strong fortresses of Calpee (May 23rd) and Gwalior (June 13th), where Scindiah was re-established. In this last battle fell a native princess, of whom sir Hugh Rose said, in his general order, that "the best man upon the side of the enemy was the woman found dead, the ranee of Jhansi," who had been made an inveterate enemy of the British by lord Dalhousie's act of annexation.

The rest of the campaign was like the last mutterings of a thunderstorm from the departing cloud enlightened with the rainbow of hope—a hope of which the first immediate fruits were prepared by legislation at home even before sir Colin Campbell announced to the Governor-general, in words significant of the new relation of India to the British crown:—" *The campaign is at an end*, there being no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oude. The last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents have been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepaul and HER MAJESTY'S EMPIRE OF HINDOSTAN" (December 20, 1858).*

* The progress of the great measure by which the Government of India was transferred to the crown is inseparably connected with the course of politics at home, to be related in the next chapter. Meanwhile it must not be forgotten that the full meaning and effect of the change, to which the mutiny gave occasion, was only made manifest in the crowning acts, in India and at home, by which the Queen's suzerainty over all India was recognized as a *real fact*, and indicated *in form* by the title of *Empress of India* (1876). The not unnatural reluctance to adopt the new title had an unfortunate tendency to obscure the reality and vast importance of the political relation which was already fully recognized in India.

CHAPTER XXX.

FALL OF LORD PALMERSTON'S FIRST MINISTRY—SECOND MINISTRY OF LORD DERBY—TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE CROWN (1858)—A Plain Course interrupted—Orsini's Attempt on the Life of Napoleon III.—French Excitement against England—Addresses of the Colonels—Walewski's Despatch—Course of the Government—Reassembling of Parliament—Votes of Thanks for India—Decisive Majority on the India Bill—Lord Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill—Ministerial victory on the First Reading—Milner Gibson's Amendment—Defeat and Resignation of Lord Palmerston—LORD DERBY'S *Second Ministry*—Its Personal Constitution—Mr. Disraeli—State of Parties—The Difficulty with France adjusted—The India Bill—The "clap-trap" clauses—Mr. Bright's Criticisms—The Bill withdrawn—Little-John to the Rescue—Resolutions and new Bill—Lord Canning's Oude Proclamation: censured by Lord Ellenborough and disapproved by Government—Great Party Attack—Resignation of Lord Ellenborough—Motions of Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Cardwell—Collapse of the Attack—Mr. Disraeli's Speech at Slough—Passage of the *Act for the better Government of India*—Opposition of the Company and Mr. Mill—Clause on the Employment of Indian Troops out of India—Political end (1858) and final Dissolution (1874) of the *East India Company*—Lord Canning the first Viceroy of India—The Queen's *own* Proclamation and its cordial welcome—"The People of India understand an EMPRESS"—Measures of the Session—British Columbia—Mr. Gladstone's Mission to the Ionian Islands—Montenegro—Jeddah—Intrigues of France and Russia—Napoleon and Cavour at Plombières—The Queen at Cherbourg—Anticipations of War—Change in Prussia: the Prince Regent—Marriage of Prince Napoleon to Princess Clothilde of Sardinia.

THE commercial panic of 1857 had subsided, and prosperity was stimulated by a bounteous harvest; the news from India gave hope that the worst crisis of the mutiny was past; and nothing could have seemed plainer than the work marked out for the year 1858 by the ripe convictions of a people enlightened by the terrible lesson of the mutiny, and prepared by an energetic and popular minister, lately invested with the power of a great majority in Parliament. But once more the lesson was taught, that "nothing is certain, save that which is unforeseen"; and a frantic blow for the liberation of Italy caused the settlement of India to devolve on a new Government. We have mentioned the escape from Mantua of Felice Orsini, one of those fanatics, maddened by oppression and misled by enthusiasm into the fatal belief that tyrannicide is either a lawful or effectual weapon in the cause of liberty. At once (so far as his motives can be analyzed) to punish the imperial usurper for his faithlessness to the vows of the *Carbonari*, and in that vague hope of the fruit of a stroke of terror which is the blind faith of such fanatics, he formed a conspiracy

against the life of the Emperor Napoleon. Hand bomb-shells, prepared in England and smuggled into France through Belgium, were filled with fulminating powder by Orsini at the risk of his life. On the 14th of January, 1858, three bombs were thrown in succession under the carriage in which the Emperor and Empress were going to the opera; but they escaped uninjured amidst the wounds dealt to numbers around them. The deed was confessed by Orsini on his arrest, and he was guillotined as a parricide, with Pierri an accomplice who had been arrested on the spot.

While it was left to the Emperor, in opening the Chambers (January 17th), to moralize on the profitless impotence of assassination, to felicitate France on his escape, and to "flatter himself that all the sovereigns of Europe regarded his existence as necessary to the maintenance of tranquility," the indignation of the French people was turned against England, and the old animosity which smouldered in the army blazed out in addresses presented to the Emperor by several regiments through their colonels, in language for which count Walewski deemed it necessary to apologize. At the same time, the Minister himself had already, in a most friendly and moderate tone, appealed to "the exalted reason of the English Cabinet" whether our laws should "continue to protect persons who place themselves by flagrant acts without the pale of the common law, and expose themselves to the law of humanity."* Refraining from any discussion of this despatch, the Government prepared to meet it with reasonable concessions as statesmen, strangely leaving popular feeling out of their reckoning.

The session of Parliament, which had been adjourned over Christmas, was resumed on the 4th of February. The Royal Speech, already delivered at the opening (December 5th), had indicated measures for the re-settlement of the affairs of India, and for further Parliamentary reform. After both Houses had voted addresses of congratulation to the Queen on the marriage of the Princess Royal, votes of thanks to the Governor-general, the civil and military officers, and the Queen's army in India, lord Palmerston proposed a bill for transferring the Government of the Queen's East Indian dominions from the East India Company to the crown, which was brought in, after two nights' debate, by 318 votes to 173 against an amendment which represented the powerful opposition of the East India Company (February 18th). But on the very next night the Government fell before a combination like that which had defeated it the year before; but with the vast difference, that public opinion was now altogether with the assailants. On the 9th of February lord Palmerston's bill for making conspiracy to commit murder abroad, which was now only a misdemeanour, a felony punishable by penal servitude, had been brought in by 299 to 99. On the motion for the second reading Mr. Milner Gibson proposed a skilfully-worded amendment, which was supported by a combination of the Peace Party, the Peelites, and lord John Russell, with the Conservative Opposition. The fact was that the storm which the Government had trusted would pass over, had been blown into fury by the addresses of the French colonels, and

* Count Walewski to count Persigny, January 20, 1858.

the House which had been chosen to support lord Palmerston only ten months ago left him in a minority of 19 (234 to 215). This was on Friday (February 19th), and on the following Monday, the resignation of the Ministry was announced in both Houses.

Lord Derby reluctantly accepted the commission to form a Ministry, pleading that his party had had no share in planning the attack. He hoped to have obtained the aid of lord Grey and the Peelites, as their former difference on Free Trade was now a question of the past. But the Peelites would give no confidence to their old enemies, and their adoption of liberal principles had now become more decided. For the second time, therefore, lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had to attempt the conduct of affairs with their former colleagues, who had acquired some experience in the brief administration of 1852. But it is unfair to call these men mere cyphers in the hands of the two chiefs.* As in 1852, the full stress of debate and management in an adverse House of Commons—in face of Palmerston and Russell, Gladstone and Graham, Cobden and Bright, with many only second to them, backed by the prevalent liberalism of the country—rested on the indomitable courage and patience, the imperturbable temper, the multifarious resource, and consummate tact, of MR. DISRAELI, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Ministry was formally constituted on the 27th of February.

Their first task was to compose the difference with France; and the conciliatory despatch of her Government was made doubly significant by the resignation of count Persigny and the appointment of marshal Pélissier as ambassador in his place. Mr. Disraeli's announcement, on the meeting of Parliament after the ministerial re-elections (March 12th), that the painful misconceptions between France and England had been terminated in a friendly and honourable spirit, was felt to be a point scored by the Government at starting.

But in dealing with India, they were hampered by their opposition to lord Palmerston's Bill. The principle accepted on both sides was that the home government of India, after its transfer to the crown, should be administered by a secretary of state assisted by a council, consisting (lord Palmerston proposed) of members nominated by the crown, with the qualification of experience gained by at least ten years' service in India. The new ministry, however, sought to replace the commercial element which had been strong in the court of directors, and invest the council with a popular character, by having half of its 18 members elected, four by constituents specially interested in India, and five by the parliamentary constituencies of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. This last device, which the Cabinet considered "absolutely necessary to ensure the passing of the Bill," was at once attacked by the very party they were meant to captivate. On the introduction of the measure (March 26th), Mr. Roebuck denounced the proposal as "a great sham from beginning to end," and Mr. Bright, in a speech the more effective from its freedom from

* See the List of Administrations.

party spirit, opposed his manly common-sense to the theoretical advantages of popular election, denouncing the clauses as "clap-trap."

The House adjourned for Easter on the same day, and, on the reassembling of Parliament, lord John Russell assumed the part of mediator by a suggestion that the Government should proceed by way of resolutions, so as to take free counsel with the House on the main provisions of the measure (April 12th). The success of this course was aided by a new crisis, which for a time threatened the fall of the Ministry.

On the 3rd of March, when sir Colin Campbell was starting for the final capture of Lucknow, lord Canning issued a proclamation to the chiefs and people of Oude, reproaching them for their support of the rebellion, and declaring it his first care to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance. Six talookdars (landowners) were named as the sole remaining proprietors of the lands they had held before the annexation: with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British Government, to be disposed of in such manner as might seem fitting. Safety of life and honour was promised to those who should make immediate submission, provided their hands were unstained by English blood murderously shed; but, it was added, "as to any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the conditions in which they may hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government." The proclamation was intended to be construed in the sense which was expressed by the following addition, made in deference to the earnest and even vehement remonstrances of sir James Outram, as chief commissioner:—"To those among them who shall promptly come forward and give to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, that indulgence will be large, and the Governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights."

The proclamation arrived in England without the explanations which lord Canning wrote that it would require, and at a time when the news of the severe executions of rebels in India had produced a reaction in the public mind from the first wild demands for vengeance. Its despotic severity was judged all the more hastily from its contrast to the opposite faults of which lord Canning had been accused; and lord Ellenborough (president of the board of control) yielded (as was his temper) to the double temptation of vigorous action and powerful writing in a rebuke pointed with an insulting taunt. Copies of this "secret despatch" were made public in England weeks before it could reach lord Canning himself; and, in laying it on the table of the House, Mr. Disraeli declared that the Government disapproved the policy of the proclamation "in every sense"—an announcement which was "carried by the telegraph over the length and breadth of India."

Lord Palmerston and his friends were quick to seize the opportunity, and motions of censure for the publication of the despatch were announced in both Houses. Lord Ellenborough at once declared in the House of Lords (May 10th) that the responsibility was solely his, and announced his

resignation. But the attack had been too well prepared to be renounced, and the debate began in both Houses (May 14th), when the censure moved by lord Shaftesbury was rejected by the narrow majority of nine. In the Commons the result was different, and not a little curious. A Peelite member was found to lead the attack, which was answered by lord John Russell in a hearty vindication of lord Canning and exposure of the wrong done not only to him, but to our cause in India by the publication of the despatch. The impression produced in lord Canning's favour was strengthened by the news and documents daily arriving from India, and rumours of desertions from the Liberal ranks were rife. On the 21st of May, more than 600 members had flocked together for the adjourned debate, when Mr. Cardwell, in response to reiterated appeals from the Liberal benches, at length took counsel with lord John and lord Palmerston, and the latter, amidst general cheers, announced that the motion would be withdrawn. This almost unexampled collapse* was commemorated a few days later in one of the most characteristic specimens of Mr. Disraeli's eloquence †:—"It was like a convulsion of nature, rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria or Peru: there was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder: no one knew whether it came from the top or bottom of the House. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground; and then a village disappeared; then a tall tower toppled down; and the whole of the Opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy."

The image was truthful in the result that followed: the great convulsion had cleared the air; the chance of another crisis was over for the session; and the House settled to the task of moulding the resolutions and bill, with India entrusted to a safer Minister than lord Ellenborough. ‡ The opposition of the Court of Directors, sustained by powerful advocates out of doors, § was defeated by an overwhelming majority in the House; for the question had become no longer of the transfer of the government of India to the crown, but the mode of constituting its future administration. One change made in the House of Lords is specially interesting from its practical results twenty years later. Mr. Gladstone had carried a clause which would have deprived the crown of the power to use the Indian army in war "except for repelling actual invasion of her Majesty's Indian possessions," thus—as the biographer of the Prince Consort truly says—"depriving the crown of one of its undoubted prerogatives. The objection to the clause on this

* The nearest parallel was presented in March, 1878, when Mr. Disraeli (lord Beaconsfield) was again in power, in the collapse of the attack of the Liberal Opposition on his Eastern policy (see chap. xxxv.).

† Speech at a banquet at Slough (May 26th).

‡ On the transfer of lord Stanley to the Board of Control, the Colonial Secretaryship was filled up by sir Edward Bulwer Lytton—almost as brilliant an orator as he was a novelist.

§ The distinguished philosopher and radical politician, JOHN STUART MILL—who, like his father, James Mill, the historian of British India, had spent his life in the service of the Company—was, to quote his own words, "the chief manager of the resistance which the Company made to their own political extinction."

ground was, curiously enough, strongly urged by several speakers among the advanced Liberals, but without effect. On having his attention called to it by the Queen, lord Derby felt the gravity of the oversight, and the clause (the 55th) was amended by providing that, except for the purposes above mentioned, *the revenues of India should not be applied without the consent of Parliament to defray the expense of military operations beyond the external frontier of our Indian possessions.* By this the prerogative of the crown and the control of Parliament were both saved.*

On the whole, the "*Act for the better government of India*," † which received the royal assent on the last day of the session, deserved the character of "a wise and well-digested measure, ripe with the experience of the last five months of discussion." In thus describing it to the Queen, Mr. Disraeli added words doubly significant in the light of subsequent events:—"But it is only *the ante-chamber of an imperial palace*, and your Majesty would do well to consider the steps which are now necessary to influence the opinions and affect the imaginations of the Indian populations. *The name of your Majesty ought to be impressed upon their native life.*" The Queen herself took an active part in framing the words of sympathy which were to proclaim her the real Sovereign of India.‡ In suggesting a remodelling of the proclamation, she insisted that "such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization." On that perpetual root of native distrust and contention among the rulers themselves—the religious faiths of the people—the proclamation, as recast by her Majesty's request, told all—whether Hindoo, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, or Christian converts of whatever denomination—that, "*Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion*, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure."

The Queen's proclamation, which has been well called "*the Magna Carta of Indian liberties*," was published through India on the 2nd of November; accompanied by an excellent proclamation by lord Canning,

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. p. 233.

† 21 and 22 Victoria, cap. 106; August 2, 1858. The political functions of the Court of Directors ceased on September 1st; but the Company still existed for the management of their "East India Stock," all its other property being vested in the crown for the purposes of the government of India. By an Act of 1873 (36 and 37 Vict. cap. 17) the dividends on the capital stock were redeemed, and the *East India Company* was dissolved on June 1, 1874.

‡ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. pp. 284, 285.

who now became the first *Viceroy of India*.* On the next day, at a public meeting in Calcutta to respond by a loyal address to the Queen, a native merchant of high intelligence spoke as follows:—"I have read the proclamation of her Majesty with great pleasure—with awakened feeling—with tears when I came to the last paragraph. A nobler production it has not been my lot ever to have met with in my life. The justest, the broadest principles are enunciated therein. Humanity, mercy, justice, breathe through every line, and we ought all to welcome it with the highest hope and the liveliest gratitude. Depend upon it, when our sovereign Queen tells us, 'In your prosperity is our strength, in your contentment our security, and in your gratitude our best reward,'—the future of India is full of encouragement and hope to her children. What could have been nobler or more beautiful, what could have better dignified the tongue of a Queen, than language such as that? Let us kneel down before her with every feeling of loyalty; let us welcome the new reign with the warmest sentiment of gratitude, the deepest feeling of devotion." † The reception given to the proclamation in all parts of India proved that these noble words expressed the general feeling of the people. The story of this great change cannot be more fitly concluded than in the Queen's words on hearing how it had been welcomed and approved:—"It is a source of great satisfaction and pride to her to feel in direct communication with that enormous empire, which is so bright a jewel of her crown, and which she would wish to see happy, contented, and peaceful. May the publication of her proclamation be the beginning of a new era, and may it draw a veil over the sad and bloody past." ‡

Notwithstanding the absorbing interest of this great question, and the ministerial crisis, the session of 1858, which ended on August 2nd, added some useful laws to the Statute Book. The Court of Probate and Matrimonial Causes, which came into operation with the new year, had its powers further defined and extended (21 and 22 Vict. cc. 95 and 108). The Metropolitan Board of Works was charged with increased duties, especially for the main drainage of London §; and the public health was further cared for by an act for the Local Government of Towns and Populous Districts, || and in another way by the appointment of a council to regulate the Qualifications of Medical Practitioners. ¶ The principle of Limited Liability was extended optionally, to Joint-Stock Banks (c. 91). The Act for the Government of

* The new title of her Majesty's representative in India was henceforth "Viceroy and Governor-general."

† In forwarding the report of this speech, the "Times" correspondent at Calcutta remarked:—"Genuineness of Asiatic feeling is always a problem, but I have little doubt it is in this instance tolerably sincere. *The people understand an 'EMPRESS,'* and did not understand the Company."

‡ Letter to lord Canning (December 2nd).

§ 21 and 22 Vict. c. 104. See p. 48, note. We have already mentioned the great acts removing Jewish disabilities and simplifying the Parliamentary oath (chapter iii. p. 24).

|| This act (c. 98) was a most important supplement and amendment of the Public Health Act of 1848.

¶ The "Medical Act," c. 90; amended and extended by several later acts.

British Columbia (c. 99) did credit to the Colonial administration of sir Bulwer Lytton. But he was less happy in the result of the mission entrusted Mr. Gladstone to compose the dissatisfaction long seething in the Ionian Islands (November). The qualification which sir Bulwer Lytton announced, and which is one of Mr. Gladstone's high titles to fame, as "a great Homeric scholar," however interesting to himself and the inhabitants of the islands of Ulysses and Alcinoüs, helped to raise sympathetic hopes which policy disappointed for the time; and Mr. Gladstone's office of Lord High Commissioner was handed over, at the beginning of the next year, to a military disciplinarian, sir Henry Storks. The chief interest which the English people took in the mission was as a supposed sign of Mr. Gladstone's approaching reconciliation with the Government, to whom, as he afterwards explained, to his own great honour, he felt bound to give a fair trial, seeing the part he had taken in the vote which brought them in. Other signs of trouble in the Levant were not wanting to threaten the settlement so lately made: disturbances in Montenegro, threats of rebellion in Crete, and a fanatical Mussulman outbreak at Jeddah on the Red Sea coast of Arabia, which was punished by an English ship of war.

We have already had occasion to notice the disturbance of the settlement of the Peace of Paris, in respect of the Danubian Principalities, by the intrigues of France and Russia; but the same fertile source of mischief raised a darker cloud in the heart of Europe. The autumn was rife with rumours of war which then caused more bewilderment than alarm, but which we are now able to trace to their sources. The affair of Orsini had not only endangered the Anglo-French alliance, but had left behind a rankling discontent on the one side, and a distrust but too well founded on the other. But the danger of a rupture had passed away, and the time was not yet ripe for seeking the next step of that adventure and aggrandizement, in which the imperial dynasty had its breath of life, upon the Rhine. Austria remained as an object of attack, and her government in Italy was as vulnerable as the fabled heel of Achilles. Ever since the Peace of Paris there had been a growing alienation between France and Austria, which was assiduously fomented by Russia, both from resentment for the part played by Austria in the war, and in the hope of severing England and France. As a part of what the Prince Consort happily called "the great continental policy of intrigue," by which the Emperor was always scheming to "reconstruct the Map of Europe," he plainly avowed to lord Cowley that he had gone into the war with Russia in the hope of resuscitating Poland with the help of Austria: "she failed me, and, after peace was made, I looked to the amelioration of Italy, and therefore drew more closely to Russia"; and the Czar had promised to give him no hindrance in the work.* This had been a cherished idea of his youth; and the bombs of Orsini were a first reminder, to be followed by others of the same kind, of what the Italian patriots expected from him who had been enrolled among the *Carbonari*. But this scare, enforced by the vehement appeal of Orsini from his prison,

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. p. 316.

was but the heating of the iron which the master-hand of Cavour knew how to strike; and their interview at the baths of Plombières ratified a treaty which was kept secret from the Emperor's own ministers (July).

Fresh from this conspiracy, the Emperor repaired to Cherbourg, for the double purpose (the epithet might well have an ironical significance) of inaugurating the works of the great naval arsenal which his uncle had planned to rival Portsmouth, and of receiving the new visit he had solicited from the Queen and Prince (August). No wonder that they marked a change, and found him "out of humour,"* while the fleets and fortifications amidst which they were received gave warning to look to our own defences. Though the interview at Plombières was a profound secret, the few who could discern the signs of the times knew that Austria was threatened in Italy, and that Russia was encouraging the enterprize.† The Germans foreboded that success in Italy would be a step towards the Rhine; but a fortunate change had come over the spirit of their leading power. Since the autumn of 1857, King Frederick William had been mentally incapacitated, and, at the end of a year, William, Prince of Prussia, wisely refused to govern any longer in his brother's name, unless with the full powers of a Regent. His investment with that office (October 7th) was followed by the resignation of the Manteuffel ministry, which had represented the old principles of the Holy Alliance and subserviency to Russia; and the new elections confirmed the beginning of a more liberal and patriotic policy, which had a great influence on the critical events of the following year.‡

Meanwhile the English Ministry were reposing in faith on the French Emperor's peaceful assurances, the more securely from his old friendship with the Foreign Secretary, lord Malmesbury. The Queen and Prince were more clear-sighted; § and it was an omen of the coming outburst, that her Majesty's letter of congratulation for the new year was crossed by one in the same cordial strain, *but* announcing the intended marriage of prince Napoleon to the princess Clothilde, || daughter of Victor Emmanuel. Before that letter could have been received, the signal of a new war was uttered at the Tuileries.

* For the details of the visit, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," chap. lxxxvi. *sub fin.*

† For all this, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," chap. xc.

‡ For the circumstances of this great change, and the hopes raised by it, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," chap. lxxxviii. Frederick William IV. survived little more than two years, when the Regent succeeded to the crown as WILLIAM I., being then in his 64th year (born March 22, 1797; succeeded, January 2, 1861).

§ See the Queen's warning letter to lord Malmesbury (December 9th), and the Prince's prognostication:—"I am very uneasy about the coming spring, for personally I have not a moment's doubt that the Emperor Napoleon contemplates war, and that it will be against Austria in Italy." ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. iv. p. 342.) For the New Year's letters of the Queen and Emperor, see *ibid.* pp. 342-3.

|| The marriage took place in January, 1859, with a haste ominous of coming events.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NEW YEAR'S DAY (1859): Napoleon and the Austrian Ambassador—Speech of Victor Emmanuel—Parliamentary Reform: Bright and Disraeli—Resignation of Henley and Walpole—*Parliament*—Reconstruction of the Navy—Reform Bill: defeat of Ministers, and Dissolution—The War in Italy—The Queen's *Sixth Parliament*—Vote of Want of Confidence—Lord Derby resigns—LORD PALMERSTON'S *Second Administration*—Cobden and Milner Gibson—Volunteers—Mr. Gladstone's Budget—The Year 1860 at home and abroad—The Long Annuities—Treaty of Commerce with France—The Queen's Speech—Reform: a Failure—The Budget: Wine Duties, etc.—The Paper Duty—Free Trade or Reciprocity?—Suspicion of French designs: Cession of Savoy and Nice—The Lords throw out the Bill for repealing the Paper Duty—Lord Lyndhurst—Lord Palmerston's Opinion—His Resolutions on the Rights of the Commons—Supplementary Budget—Chinese War—National Defences: Palmerston, Gladstone, and Cobden—Troubles in Syria: Joint Expedition with France—The Prince of Wales in America—Election of President Lincoln: Civil War of Secession.

THE organ which is supposed at once to represent public opinion, and to guide it by the best information, made this forecast of peace for the new year:—"The rumours of possible hostilities between France and Austria in the north of Italy are *probably without any solid foundation*, but they seem to indicate a diminished reliance on the prudence and moderation of the French Government."* Next day lord Cowley wrote from Paris (January 1, 1859):—"It is the custom of the Emperor, when the diplomatic body wait upon his Majesty on the occasion of the new year, to say a word or two to each of them individually. This afternoon, when his Majesty approached the Austrian ambassador, he said, with some severity of tone, that, although *the relations between the two Empires were not such as he could desire*, he begged to assure the Emperor of Austria that his personal feelings towards his Majesty remained unaltered." The words re-echoed through Europe like a thunderclap, and in England they recalled the First Consul's outburst to lord Whitworth, which precluded the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. The Emperor himself seemed to recoil, and strove to soften the effect of his words; but their true meaning was confirmed by Victor Emmanuel's speech to his Chambers (Jan. 10th):—"Our country," said the king, "small in territory, has acquired credit in the councils of Europe, because it is great through *the idea it represents and the sympathies it inspires*. This position is not exempt from perils, since, while we respect treaties, *we are not insensible to the cry of suffering which reaches us from so many parts of Italy*." Austria truly read these words as a defiance from the dwarf leagued with the giant, whose

* The "Times Summary" of 1858 (December 31st).

“sympathy” had been bound to a form which Cavour knew how to enforce on the vacillating resolution of Napoleon.

In England a far more genuine and disinterested sympathy with the “idea” of Italian liberty and unity was qualified by deep distrust of “the policy of intrigue” and all it might lead to; and the Queen and Ministry felt bound by the plain duty of that “respect for treaties” which Cavour and his master put aside so lightly. While thus satisfying their consciences with diplomatic efforts, like their predecessors five years before, they turned from the gathering storm to the exigencies of their domestic position. For the present, these were centred on the demand for further Parliamentary reform, to which a new impulse had been given by Mr. Bright’s reappearance as its advocate, after a retirement from public life through ill health. With Pitt’s example before him, Mr. Disraeli was the last man to allow that Reform was the prerogative of the Whigs, or to let lord John Russell use it as a fatal weapon—if he could help it. But, unfortunately, this condition was an insuperable difficulty. Even if Mr. Disraeli’s favourite idea of a Conservative democracy had yet passed from his novels into his practical policy, assuredly his party was not yet educated to its adoption. To the demand for a real lowering of the political centre of gravity, which the Act of 1832 had fixed in the middle classes, he could only offer the mock satisfaction of what was called a *lateral extension* of the suffrage. The impossibility of attempting more was proved, when even this provoked the secession of two of the most respected members of the Government and the party, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, on the eve of the meeting of Parliament (January 27th). Their straightforward reason for this step was that the measure was “one which we would all of us have stoutly opposed, if either lord Palmerston or lord John Russell had brought it forward.”*

The Queen’s Speech at the opening of the session (February 2nd), besides indicating the coming Reform Bill, directed special attention to the necessity of reconstructing the navy, as the result of the universal introduction of steam power into naval warfare (leaving *Cherbourg* to be “read between the lines”); and, from that day’s announcement to the time at which we write, the advance of science in the ever-shifting rivalry between the attack and the defence—monster guns and massive armour, broadsides and turrets—has kept that reconstruction in a state of never-ending progress.

The details of the Reform Bill, moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 28th of February, have lost nearly all their interest in the later progress of the question; except for the bold step of making the borough and county franchise identical, in order, as Mr. Disraeli said, to terminate the heartburnings caused by the famous “Chandos Clause,” to restore the county constituency to its natural state (the idea of Pitt), and to bring about a general content and sympathy between the different portions of the constituent body. The “lateral extensions” of the suffrage to fundholders, savings’ bank depositors, civil and military officers, members of the learned

* Mr. Walpole’s Speech in the House, March 1, 1859.

professions, graduates of universities, schoolmasters, and persons having other tests of respectability and education, were at once half-condemned by Mr. Bright's nickname of "fancy franchises"; and the general disposition of the country to regard the Bill with favour as an experiment was overborne by party spirit in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell, who regarded the question as his own by a sort of prescriptive right, gave notice of a resolution framed to suit all shades of liberal opinion. It contained two points: one affirming the necessity of a greater extension of the borough franchise than was contemplated in the Bill; while the other, condemning that principle of equalizing the county and borough franchise, which has since become a chief article of the Liberal programme, declared it neither just nor politic to interfere with the freehold franchise in counties. On the 31st of March, lord John's resolution was carried by a majority of 39 (330 to 291), and the Ministry resolved to appeal to the country.*

The result was an estimated return of 350 Liberals and 302 Conservatives to the Queen's *Sixth Parliament* (the eighteenth of the United Kingdom), which met on May 31st, when Mr. Evelyn Denison was unanimously re-elected Speaker. The Speech delivered by the Queen in person announced a strict neutrality in the war which had now begun in Italy,† and suggested the postponement of reform to another year, on account of the urgency of providing for the defence and financial condition of the country.

Having the day before composed their differences at a meeting at Willis's Rooms, the several sections of the Opposition at once met the address by an amendment, declaring want of confidence in the Ministry, in moving which the MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON made his first conspicuous appearance in politics. After three nights' debate (June 7th, 9th, and 10th), the amendment was carried by the narrow majority of 13 in a very full House (323 to 310); and lord Derby's Government of course resigned. On the 18th of June lord Palmerston, in his 75th year, entered on the second premiership which only ended with his life.‡ The peculiar character, which makes its course comparatively quiet for the historian, as it was for himself, cannot be better described than in the words of his biographer §:— "For six years he was accepted by the country as the minister of the nation, and almost occupied a position removed from the chances of party strife. Whatever difficulties he had to contend with did not consist either in wars abroad or in parliamentary defeats at home. Such as they may

* In this short session an Act was passed (22 Vict. cap. 2) repealing the Acts requiring the observance of the anniversaries on January 30th, May 29th, and November 5th, and (in Ireland) October 23rd (*i.e.* the massacre of 1641).

† The details of the war belong to the history of Europe.

‡ Lord John Russell's claim to the Foreign Office excluded lord Clarendon. Mr. Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The "Manchester School" was represented by Mr. Milner Gibson, as President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Cobden having declined that office.

§ Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 365, 2nd edition.—We call attention to the frank avowal of the last sentence in this extract as a sign of the imperfect materials on which contemporary history must needs rest.

have been, they were of a more hidden character. The events of this period are too recent to warrant either great detail in their history, or absence of reserve on the part of the historian."

Palmerston seemed placed at the helm on purpose to steer the vessel of state with a light touch through calm seas with favouring winds. The desire of the country for political repose was fostered by the long tide of prosperity, which at the same time found work for the restless energies of Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Foreign politics took a turn which excited keen public interest, while giving little temptation or opportunity for intervention. The anxieties into which the new Government was at once plunged, respecting the settlement of Italy and the preservation of peace in Europe, are too remotely connected with our own history to need more than the record, that the neutrality of England was perfectly maintained; while a lasting result of the alarm of war, following upon the threats of the preceding year, was the formation of those *Volunteer Corps*, which have become a vital part of our system of national defence. The same state of foreign affairs had its effect on the first budget of Mr. Gladstone's renewed administration of the exchequer (July 18th). After showing a favourable revenue and surplus for the past year, the increased estimate of expenditure—chiefly for national defence and the reconstruction of the navy—left a deficit of nearly five millions, the greatest part of which was to be met by an addition of 4*d.* in the pound to the tax on incomes above £150, making the rate 9*d.*

The year 1860 presents the most striking contrasts between the history of England and that of the outer world, both in Europe and America. While a series of romantic surprises at last realized the old dream of a United Italy; and whilst the great republic of the West had its balance of political power so disturbed as to threaten a disruption of the Union; the one great political event at home was the achievement of another great step in financial and commercial progress. The late change of government had placed Mr. Gladstone in the position to make use of the great opportunity to which we have seen him looking forward in 1853*; and even his disappointment in abolishing the Income Tax, which might have quelled the courage of a common financier, was brought to the aid of his great scheme for this epoch.

We have seen that the *Long Annuities*, created in the first year of George III., amounting to nearly £1,200,000, ceased at the beginning of this financial year; but, besides this, other terminable annuities fell in, making together £2,146,000 struck off at once from the annual charge of the debt. This was enough to mark a new epoch in finance, but this was not all. The new spirit of free trade was at work in France as well as in England, and its chief disciples saw in it a means (much needed at this time) of uniting the two nations by new bonds of peace as well as commerce. Mr. Bright is credited with the first idea of renewing the attempt made by

* See chap. xiv. p. 140.

Pitt's commercial treaty of 1786, which had been frustrated by the Revolution; and Mr. Cobden broached it in conversations with the Emperor of the French, whose leaning to free trade was more decidedly encouraged by his cousin prince Napoleon. Mr. Gladstone and lord John Russell entered warmly into the scheme; and, after long informal negotiations at Paris between Mr. Cobden and M. Michel Chevalier, the French apostle of free trade, in which the emperor took an active part, Mr. Cobden was appointed plenipotentiary to make a *Treaty of Commerce* with France, which was signed on the 23rd of February, and was announced by the Queen in opening Parliament on the following day.

But first a few words may dispose of the promised measure for placing the representation of the people "upon a broader and firmer basis." On the twenty-eighth anniversary of March 1, 1832 (a solar cycle), lord John Russell brought in his third Reform Bill, proposing to reduce the borough franchise to £6, with a redistribution of seats. It fell flat on a public who had lost faith in these repeated attempts, and whose minds were bent on Italy, the budget, and the French treaty. After languid debates, a long list of amendments and the late period of the session furnished the excuse for its withdrawal (June 11th).

The real business of the session was opened by Mr. Gladstone (February 10th) in a Budget speech of three hours, of which sir Bulwer Lytton said* :—"Whatever we may think of the Budget it introduced, the speech will remain among the monuments of English eloquence as long as the language lasts." Besides the gain from the lapsing annuities, and on the other side the readjustments needed to carry out the commercial treaty, the Income Tax and the war duties on tea and sugar all expired together; leaving an estimated income of £60,700,000 to meet an expenditure of £70,000,000. To fill up this huge void of 9½ millions, as well as the reduction of duties on wine and other articles under the French treaty, Mr. Gladstone proposed to renew the duties on tea and sugar at their present rate, and to impose a tax of 10*d.* and 7*d.* in the pound on incomes above £150 and £100 respectively—a vast change from the final cessation of the tax in this very year! In return for this sacrifice, the benefits offered to the consumer and to the commerce of the country were these:—France engaged to reduce duties and remove prohibitions on English coal, flax, and iron, and on various articles of manufacture; while England engaged to abolish (with a few exceptions) all duties on French manufactures, and reduce the duties on wine and brandy in such a manner as to remove the discouragement under which French and other foreign wines were placed by the Methuen Treaty in favour of those of Portugal.† Mr. Gladstone recommended this part of the scheme, not only on the broad ground of encouraging commerce by taking the special products of France in exchange

* Speech on the Reform Bill, April 26th.

† The wine duties were ultimately settled at 1*s.* per gallon below, and 2*s.* 6*d.* per gallon above, a certain alcoholic strength, the difference being made for the protection of the spirit duties.

for our manufactures, but also as an aid to temperance by putting light and cheap wines within reach of all classes. With this object the regulations for the sale of wine were relaxed, and it was allowed to be sold in single bottles by grocers and for consumption on the premises by other dealers in refreshments besides licensed victuallers.*

Mr. Gladstone treated the gain from the Long Annuities as a separate item, of which the people ought to have the advantage in some special reduction of taxation; and for this he chose the *Excise Duty on Paper*, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound on all qualities, which had been long since condemned, not only in public opinion, but by a resolution of the House. An impulse was now given to the question by the recent establishment of daily newspapers at the price of a penny, in consequence of the repeal of the advertisement duty in 1853 and the stamp duty in 1855; and such papers were now struggling for life under the incubus of the paper duty.

The wide range of Mr. Gladstone's scheme provoked strong opposition at all its various points,—political, economical, and financial. On the last point, the Opposition put forward an amendment condemning the increase of the Income Tax; but the rejection of this motion by a majority of 116 (339 to 223, or just over 3 to 2) in a large House decisively affirmed the main principles of the Budget. The French Treaty was opposed, not so much on the ground of Protection, as for the hampering effect of such engagements, on the one hand, on our power to claim new concessions from time to time, on the other as inconsistent with the pure doctrines of Free Trade. After an interesting debate, the address to the crown in its favour was carried by a majority of 282 to 56, many of the Conservatives leaving the House without voting. In later years the conspicuous failure of the negotiations with republican France for the renewal of the treaty which the imperial usurper cordially made, has tended to throw public opinion back on the doctrine that we are better without such treaties. Meanwhile the benefit of the treaty was reaped by both countries in a great and rapid increase of their commerce, one signal proof of which was soon given. When the civil war in America interrupted the course of our commerce with the United States, the loss was completely made good by the increase of our commerce with France.

The course of the debates in Parliament, and the feelings of the people towards the treaty, were greatly influenced by a growing distrust of the French emperor, which found true expression in the words of lord Lyndhurst: "If I am asked whether I cannot place reliance on the Emperor Napoleon, I reply with confidence that I cannot, because he is in a situation in which he cannot place reliance upon himself." This feeling was inflamed to indignation when it became known, soon after the beginning of the session, that in the interview at Plombières Cavour had purchased the emperor's help by the promised cession of Savoy and Nice to France, and that Napoleon was resolved to exact the price under the vain pretext of a vote of the provinces by universal suffrage for or against annexation. We now know,

* By the Act for "Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences," 23 Vict. c. 27 (June 14th).

on the highest authority, that the leaders of the English Cabinet were seriously alarmed at the information they received about the emperor's projects for the reconstruction of the Map of Europe; * and lord John Russell did not hesitate to declare, amidst the loud cheers of the House (March 26th), "that such an act as the annexation of Savoy is one that will lead a nation so warlike as the French to call upon its government from time to time to commit other acts of aggression"; and he urged that the best security against such schemes was to be found in a closer union with the Powers of Europe. The journals on both sides of the Channel exchanged bitter invectives, and the French ambassador, count Persigny, told lord Palmerston that, if things went on so, a war from mutual irritation would be inevitable. The firm and plain declaration of readiness to face such a war, which lord Palmerston made in friendly conversation with Persigny and another of the emperor's closest intimates, count Flahault, proved the true mode of averting the danger. † At the same time Russia, as bent on revising the treaty of 1856 as France was on disturbing the settlement of 1816, was renewing her complaints of Turkey and her intrigues in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina. ‡

This critical state of foreign affairs enhanced the growing doubts as to the prudence of the large reductions of revenue proposed by Mr. Gladstone: and the bill for repealing the duty on paper, supported by lessening majorities, only passed its third reading in the Commons by 219 to 209 (May 8th). After this, it was no wonder that the Lords rejected the bill on the motion of an habitual supporter of the Government, lord Monteagle. The debate was signalized by a speech in which lord Lyndhurst's unabated mental power was uttered with wonderful physical vigour on the day on which he entered his 89th year; § and, by a curious coincidence, the majority against the second reading was 89 (May 21st). The vote raised the constitutional question of the right of the Lords to deal in any way with the power of the Commons to vote supplies and impose taxation. It was agreed by all, on the one hand, that they might neither originate nor amend money bills, and on the other hand, that their consent, as well as that of the crown, was necessary to make such bills law. The fact was certain, that the Lords had rejected money bills in former cases; but was this a power which could now be exercised according to the established principles of the constitution? True, the rejection by the Lords of a part of the financial arrangements of the year was not a direct attempt to impose taxation, but might it not so affect the whole plan as to form a real interference with the principle, that the people are only to be taxed by the vote of their representatives in Parlia-

* "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. p. 59.—The whole chapter (c.) is very instructive, especially the Prince's correspondence with the Prince of Prussia.

† See the *extremely interesting* memorandum of lord Palmerston's conversation with count Flahault, who had come to him to complain of lord John's language, and his letters to count Persigny and lord Cowley, in the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. pp. 72, f.; and Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 190-192.

‡ For the details, see the "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. pp. 83-5.

§ He died in his 92nd year, on October 12, 1863.

ment? Lord Palmerston, while holding that, in this case, the Lords "had done a wise and useful thing,"* held that the constitutional question ought to be decided, and both sides of the House concurred in the resolutions which he moved (July 5th), affirming (1) Not only the general right of the Commons in granting supplies to the crown, but further that "the limitation of all such grants, as to the *matter, manner, measure, and time*, is only in them." (2) Admitting the fact that the Lords had, *but rarely*, rejected money bills, the exercise of that power "*is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy.*" (3) That its undue exercise should be guarded against for the future. In the following year this last object was practically effected by including all the financial measures of each year's Budget in one bill, leaving the Lords no choice between passing it or the alternative, constitutionally impossible, of rejecting the whole plan of finance proposed by the responsible Government and approved by the Commons.

The question of financial policy received two remarkable illustrations during this same month of July. On the 16th, Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to propose a supplementary budget for the cost of the war with China.† Of the four millions required, he had to thank the Lords for providing him with about a million and a-half; the rest was to be raised by an increase of the Spirit Duties, and by the oft-denounced expedient of borrowing, in the form of renewing the Exchequer Bonds due in the coming November. A week later Lord Palmerston laid before the House a comprehensive plan of National Defence, demanding another £2,000,000 for the current year, as part of a system recommended in the report of the committee appointed the year before for fortifying our great arsenals and other points on the coast. The proposal was most distasteful to the extreme advocates of peace and economy, and the duke of Newcastle had told Lord Palmerston that Mr. Gladstone intended to resign if the works were to be done by loan; on which Lord Palmerston informed the Queen‡ that he hoped "to be able to overcome his objection, but if that should prove impossible, however great the loss to the Government by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, it would be better to lose Mr. Gladstone than to run the risk of losing Portsmouth or Plymouth." The chancellor's objections were overcome by a plan for meeting the estimated total cost of nine millions, spread over a series of years, by an annuity expiring in 1885; and the resolution was affirmed by 268 votes to 39 of the extreme "peace party." Mr. Cobden renewed the attack on this measure in successive years, charging Lord Palmerston with being to a great extent responsible for the invasion panics which periodically disturbed the country. The bitter passages of debate are best forgotten; but not so Lord Palmerston's well-reasoned defence of his policy.§

The year did not end without further warnings to be on our guard.

* Letter to the Queen, May 22nd.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. p. 100. See his reasons in a previous letter.—*Ibid.*

† See chap. xxviii. p. 336.

‡ Letter of May 24th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. p. 99.

§ In letters to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Gladstone.—Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. pp. 221, *f.*

Besides the startling current of revolution in Italy, acute signs of the disaffection always smouldering in Poland opened new chances of disturbance; but the autumnal meeting of the Austrian and Russian emperors with the Regent of Prussia proved that the Holy Alliance was past reviving. Another episode of the Eastern Question broke out in Mount Lebanon, where the fanatical Mohammedan Druses perpetrated horrible massacres on the Christian Maronites, with the connivance of the authorities, though the honour of Turkey was in part redeemed by Fuad Pasha's vigour (May-June). Under a convention signed at Paris between the Five Powers and the Porte (after rejecting the Emperor Napoleon's insidious proposal of Egyptian intervention), an English fleet and French army restored order, with the able aid of Lord Dufferin as commissioner to Damascus. To get the French force out of Syria again in the following year was an achievement that required all Lord Palmerston's tact and firmness.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States, in the autumn, calling forth warm demonstrations of loyalty in our North American colonies, and in the States of personal respect for the Queen and Prince and regard for "the old country," was peculiarly well timed on the eve of the great civil war which threatened to involve Canada and Great Britain in its consequences. The causes and history of that terrible struggle lie beyond our subject. It is enough to say that the long ascendancy of the "Democratic" party in the executive government was broken by the election of the "Republican" candidate, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, to the presidency (November 6th), which brought to a climax differences between the Northern and Southern States, which had existed and grown from their first colonization—differences of sentiment, political principles, commercial policy, and, above all, the burning question of slavery. The open resistance of the South was begun by the secession of South Carolina (December 20, 1860); and the signal shot of the "Civil War" of Secession was fired at Charleston upon a vessel bringing reinforcements for Fort Sumter at the entrance of the harbour (January 9, 1861).*

* The following were the eleven seceding states, in the order of their secession:—South Carolina (December, 1860); Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana (January, 1861); Texas (February 1st); Virginia (April 17th); Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina (in May). Their free population was above $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions; slaves, above $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions; total, above 9 millions. The four slave states which adhered to the Union were Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, with a free population above $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions; slaves, under half a million; total, above 3 millions. The 19 free states (including Columbia) had a population of just as many (19) millions, besides 7 territories, with an aggregate of 220,000. The grand total of the population, by the census of 1860, was just upon $31\frac{1}{2}$ millions; which may be said to have been divided in the proportion of $22\frac{1}{2}$ to 9, or considerably more than 2 to 1.—The title of *Confederate States* was assumed on February 9th by the 7 states which had then seceded, and Mr. Jefferson Davis was elected provisional president, by a convocation at Montgomery, Alabama. The seceders called the rest the "Federal States."

CHAPTER XXXII.

A LUSTRE OF CALM AND PROSPERITY (1861-1865)—Troubles abroad—Peculiar State of Parties: Lord Palmerston's Power—Parliament—Post Office Savings' Bank—The Budget: Reductions of Taxation—Tea or Paper?—Sir James Graham—Census of 1861—Feeling between America and England—Affair of the *Trent*—DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT—The *Colton Famine*—Expedition to Mexico—*Parliament (1862)*—The Budget; Fortifications, etc.—Prussia and Bismarck—Revolution in Greece—Marriage of the Prince of Wales (1863)—*Parliament*—Mr. Gladstone's Finance: Debt reduced by Terminable Annuities—Large Surplus and Remissions—End of Slavery in America and Russia—Insurrection in Poland: vain Efforts of Diplomacy—Affair of Schleswig-Hoistein—Birth of Prince ALBERT VICTOR (1864)—*Parliament*: the Address—The Budget: Growth of Commerce and Remissions of Taxation—Post Office Annuities and Life Insurance—Debate on Denmark—Last Year of Parliament and Palmerston (1865)—Mr. Bright on Reform—Death of Cobden—End of the Civil War in America: Assassination of President Lincoln—Mr. Gladstone's last great Budget—Financial Results of Seven Years—Mr. Gladstone on the Irish Church—Parliamentary Reform—Dissolution and Elections—*Death of Lord Palmerston*—Earl Russell's Second Ministry—Losses of Statesmen by Death.

THE first half of the new decade (1861-5), forming the last five years of Palmerston's government and life, approached as nearly to a season of halcyon days in our internal history, as the vicissitudes of human affairs can ever allow; while both the new world and the old were convulsed by war and the causes of wars to come. Political calm was promoted by material prosperity; for the pressure of a bad harvest, caused by a summer of almost unexampled cold and wet,* was relieved by abundant supplies of foreign corn. The general disposition to repose under lord Palmerston's liberal-conservatism was aided by the curious dead-lock of parties.†

In the new session opened by the Queen in person (February 5th), one of the first measures laid before Parliament, which has since produced wide and most excellent results in the promotion of thrift among the people, was that for the Post Office Savings' Bank, introduced by Mr. Gladstone in the form of a resolution (February 8th), the bill founded on which was speedily passed through both Houses.‡ “Home politics”—wrote the Prince

* The deficiency in the harvest was reckoned as a loss of £20,000,000. The ungenial summer of 1860 was followed by a winter of singular severity, setting in with an intense frost at Christmas.

† See Ashley's “Life of Lord Palmerston,” vol. ii. p. 205. Compare Mr. Disraeli's account of the state of parties and the views of the Opposition, when on a visit to Windsor Castle.—“Life of the Prince Consort,” vol. v. p. 286.

‡ 24 Vict. cap. 14, May 17th. The bank began its operations on the 16th of September. For its great results we must be content to refer to the Postmaster-general's annual reports.

Consort * on April 15th—"have quite gone to sleep"; but on the same day the interest in them was revived by Mr. Gladstone's Budget, the first of a new series which, during five successive years, showed a prosperity advancing—to use a phrase which he afterwards made famous—not by steps only, but "by leaps and bounds." The bold experiments of the preceding year had resulted in a decrease of £806,000 in the revenue, balanced by a saving of about the same amount on the estimated expenditure. For the coming year, the estimate of revenue was £71,823,000, being the largest sum raised in any one year since the peace of 1816. The estimate of expenditure was 70 millions; and Mr. Gladstone proposed to devote the surplus to the repeal of the Paper Duty and the reduction of the Income Tax by 1*l.* in the pound, while the duties on tea and sugar were to be retained on the old war scale for another year. The Opposition claimed a reduction of the Tea Duty in preference to that on paper, and the Government proposal was only carried by narrow majorities of 18 and 15 in full committees.†

A few days before Parliament rose, lord John Russell had been called up to the House of Lords, with the title of EARL RUSSELL (July 30th). The Decennial Census of the United Kingdom, taken on the 8th of April, showed a total population of 29,334,788, made up as follows:—(1) England and Wales, 20,061,725; (2) Scotland, 3,061,329; (3) Ireland, 5,764,543; (4) Islands in the British Seas, 143,779; (5) Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen, 303,412.

We have seen that this year witnessed the creation of the kingdom of Italy, and the division of the United States of America, for a time, into two hostile camps. While both these astonishing events were watched with deep interest, the latter appealed to our feelings of kindred and other familiar sentiments; and it soon came to affect our material well-being, and to threaten disturbance of our peace. While all viewed the conflict with the regret expressed by her Majesty from the throne, there was a division of sympathies which illustrated new as well as old forms of English sentiment. Besides our native disposition to espouse the weaker side in any quarrel, the great division of English parties was to a great degree reflected in the origin and traditions of the Northern and Southern States; and even the zeal against slavery, which had so lately moved all English hearts, seemed to have died out from a great part of the younger generation. To this source of bitterness was added the aid given to the belligerents of either side by the private ventures of our merchants in smuggling in arms and munitions of war, running the blockade of the Confederate ports, and supplying vessels which were used as privateers, with a result to the country which we shall have to notice in its place. By the middle of this first year of the war, a feeling was shown in the North, which made the despatch of reinforcements to Canada an act of necessary prudence.

* "Life," vol. v. p. 341.

† The resolution for the Tea Duty was carried by 299 to 281 (May 3rd); the clause repealing the Paper Duty in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill was carried by 296 to 281 (May 30th); the minority being identical in the two divisions, and the aggregate vote nearly so, viz., 580 and 577. In this debate sir James Graham made his last great speech. He died on the 25th of October, aged 64.

It was precisely the case, so common in history, when one rash person has the power of throwing the spark into the magazine. In order to represent their cause to the ministers of England and France, the Confederate States appointed two commissioners, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who, having escaped the vessels blockading Charleston, arrived at Cuba, and took passage in the royal mail steamer *Trent* from the West Indies for England. On the 8th of November, the *Trent* was brought to by a shot from the United States ship of war *Jacinto*, whose captain, commodore Wilkes, boarded the English vessel and carried off Messrs. Slidell and Mason, with their secretaries, in spite of the protests both of her commander and the agent of our government in charge of the mails. The arrival of the *Trent* at Southampton with the news of the outrage caused a storm of indignation, and on the next day the Cabinet came to the decision, that her Majesty "should be advised to demand reparation and redress"; for which a good opening seemed left by the reported statement of commodore Wilkes, that he had acted on his own responsibility.* At the same time the Government determined to despatch the Guards and other troops to Canada; and the preparations were so prompt, that the transports entered the St. Lawrence before the navigation was stopped by ice.

The sequel is inseparably interwoven with the most mournful event in the history of Queen Victoria. The Prince Consort was ill from what seemed a cold, when lord Russell's drafts of the despatches for lord Lyons reached Windsor Castle on the evening of November 30th. After a sleepless night, the Prince rose at his usual early hour, and before eight he had finished a memorandum for the Queen, the last he ever wrote, † "while"—says his biographer—"it was at the same time inferior to none of them in the importance of its results." For, as lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen when all was over (January 12th):—"There can be no doubt that, as your Majesty observes, the alterations made in the despatch to lord Lyons contributed essentially to the satisfactory settlement of the dispute. But these alterations were only one of innumerable instances of the tact and judgment, and the power of nice discrimination, which excited lord Palmerston's constant and unbounded admiration." ‡ Of that "satisfactory settlement" it is enough to say that the Confederate envoys were restored to our ambassador and embarked again for England before the end of the year.

The closing scene of life which had meanwhile been accomplished at Windsor ought to be told in no other words than those published under the

* Lord Palmerston to the Queen, November 29th.—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. p. 420.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. v. p. 421.—The facsimile there given shows traces of his weakness, which was such that he told the Queen he could scarcely hold his pen while writing it. "It shows, like most of his memorandums, by the corrections in the Queen's hand, how the minds of both were continually brought to bear upon the subjects with which they dealt."

‡ For the despatch itself, and the alterations that made it acceptable to the American Government, and all the further details of the affair, the reader is referred to the "Life of the Prince Consort," chap. cxvi.

sanction of the Queen, and for the most part from her own diary. The Prince's disease proved to be gastric fever, and, after a fortnight's suspense between sad fears and intervals of reviving hope, the sufferer passed to the eternal Sabbath on the evening of Saturday, the 14th of December. The Queen, called back to the room she had lately left to give way to her grief, "took the Prince's left hand, which was already cold, though the breathing was quite gentle, and knelt down by his side. On the other side of the bed was the Princess Alice, while at its foot knelt the Prince of Wales and the Princess Helena. . . . In the solemn hush of that mournful chamber there was such grief as had rarely hallowed any death-bed. A great light, which had blessed the world, and which the mourners had but yesterday hoped might long bless it, was waning fast away. A husband, a father, a friend, a master, endeared by every quality by which man in such relations can win the love of his fellow man, was passing into the Silent Land, and his loving glance, his wise counsels, his firm manly thought, should be known among them no more. The castle clock chimed the third quarter after ten. Calm and peaceful grew the beloved form; the features settled into the beauty of a perfectly serene repose; two or three long but gentle breaths were drawn; and that great soul had fled, to seek a nobler scope for its aspirations in the world within the veil, for which it had often yearned, where there is rest for the weary, and where 'the spirits of the just are made perfect.'" Amidst the unutterable grief of the nation for his loss and sympathy with their beloved Queen, it seems mere formality to record the funeral pomp with which his remains were laid in the entrance of the royal vault in St. George's Chapel (December 23rd), till their deposit, a year later, in the mausoleum which the Queen erected for him in the grounds of Frogmore; awaiting the time when she should be laid beside him, and meanwhile returning to those labours for her subjects, which were never interrupted in her time of deepest sorrow. Another twenty years of that course of life and government, pursued after his loss in the same spirit in which he had aided and upheld her, has engraved in history the best eulogy of both; and, of the many monuments raised to

"The silent father of our kings to be,"

the most expressive and enduring is that record of his life, which has taught all who read it to enshrine his memory deeper and deeper in their hearts.*

The death of the Prince took place only nine months after the Queen had lost her excellent mother, the duchess of Kent, who died on the 16th of March, at the age of 75.

In the new year (1862) the truce of political parties was made still quieter

* Besides the value of the "Life of the Prince Consort" as the biography of so great and good a man, the historian who has followed it thus far feels keenly the want of the like information for the next twenty years. But may it be long before the fit time comes for giving to the world the sequel which will doubtless be one day supplied from the same source of truth, candour, and sound discretion.

by the nation's grief and the desire of the leaders to spare the Queen every needless burden in her overwhelming sorrow. To these motives were added the occupation of the public mind with the contest in America, and the more pressing anxiety of its result in that interruption of the supply of material for one of our greatest manufactures, which was expressively called the "*Cotton Famine*." The distress from this cause reached its climax before the end of the year, after which it began to subside. At the same time we had a small war of our own in America. A prolonged state of confusion and civil war in the republic of Mexico had caused acts of spoliation and other injuries to the subjects of European states, for which England, France, and Spain, felt compelled to seek redress by arms. A joint expedition, which arrived at Vera Cruz in January, obtained the satisfaction required, and the forces of Spain and Britain retired in May; but that of France remained to prosecute a war designed for the glory of the imperial dynasty which its disastrous issue helped to shake to its foundation. But this new example of the "policy of adventure," and the tragic fate of the young and accomplished Austrian archduke, Maximilian, who was induced to accept the imperial crown offered him by the weaker party in Mexico, lie beyond the province of English history.*

Parliament was opened by Commission on the 6th of February, when the touching reference in the Royal Message to the topic which filled all hearts found a worthy response in the speeches of lord Dufferin (who moved the address in the Lords) and lord Derby, and of Mr. Disraeli and lord Palmerston in the Commons. Mr. Gladstone's Budget (April 3rd) showed nearly equal estimates of revenue and expenditure (a little over 70 millions), and, besides a further regulation of the wine duties, proposed no change except the abolition of the duty on hops, compensated for by a system of brewers' licences. The only debates marked by any strong feeling were those on the vote for fortifications, which gave rise to the passage of arms, already referred to, between Mr. Cobden and lord Palmerston. This uneventful but not unfruitful session was closed on the 6th of August. Europe was full of commotions and signs of the greater coming troubles, for which Prussia's great part was being prepared by the high-handed determination of King William and his new minister, BISMARCK.† In Greece, a peaceful revolution put an end to the misgovernment of King Otho I, who had long been the mere instrument of foreign intrigue (September 22nd); and the popular vote was given for Prince Alfred, the second son of Queen Victoria, as his successor; but the great powers had agreed that no prince of their houses should accept the throne. The choice fell next on Prince William George of Denmark, who was proclaimed as *George I. King of the Hellenes*

* It is enough to say that the French troops were withdrawn, under pressure from the United States, early in 1867; and the deserted emperor was tried as a leader of rebellion and shot by the dictator Juarez on the 19th of June.

† Count (afterwards Prince) Otto von Bismarck Schönhausen, became Prime Minister on the 23rd of September, 1862. The events referred to belong to the history of Germany.

(March 30, 1863).* The cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, which formed part of the agreement among the powers, was accomplished in the following year.

Another year of political calm at home, with civil war raging fiercely in America, and growing commotions on the continent of Europe, is the general character of 1863. The Prince of Wales, who had just completed his 21st year, took his seat as a peer at the opening of Parliament on the 5th of February, when the Royal Message announced his intended marriage to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. The first act of the House of Commons was to vote annuities of £40,000 a year to the Prince and £10,000 to the Princess, on whom £30,000 a year was settled in the event of her being left a widow before the Prince's accession to the throne. The Princess landed at Gravesend on March 7th, and the marriage took place on the 10th, amidst hearty rejoicings which were an earnest of her deserved popularity.

Mr. Gladstone again signalized his fertile inventive energy in finance. A Budget of remarkable boldness (April 16th) was accompanied by an ingenious scheme for making an impression on the National Debt. The advantages of Terminable Annuities were familiar to financiers, and had been lately illustrated by the falling in of the Long Annuities; but it was found in practice that they were a very unpopular form of investment. Now it occurred to Mr. Gladstone that the Government might convert a considerable amount of the permanent debt into Terminable Annuities independently of the operations of the ordinary holders of stock.† He proposed to make a sum of £24,000,000 of capital stock, standing to the credit of Savings Banks, a charge on the Consolidated Fund, guaranteeing the interest at 3 per cent. The depositors being thus secured, the Treasury was empowered to cancel any part of the aforesaid stock, not more than £5,000,000, and to create Terminable Annuities in its stead. The annual proceeds of these annuities, received by the Commissioners of the National Debt, were to be invested in securities having a parliamentary guarantee for the interest; forming, in fact, a sinking fund to replace the converted capital. The operation is really a mere transfer of the name of the stock; and the Consolidated Fund becomes liable for any deficiency arising from any change in the price of stocks at the time of investment. As the annual value of a terminable annuity must evidently be greater than that of an equivalent permanent annuity, the difference arising from the conversion of the latter into the former becomes an increase on the annual charge of the debt, which is met by annual taxation. The substitution of a terminable for a perpetual annuity, therefore, is a concealed means of raising an annual contribution towards the extinction of the capital of the debt under the name of interest.

* He was the son of Prince Christian, who succeeded to the throne of Denmark in the following year on the death of Frederick II. The Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince Christian, had already been betrothed to the Prince of Wales (November, 1862).

† The plan was embodied in the Act 26 Vict. cap. 25; June 8, 1863.

Mr. Gladstone's financial statement showed a state of marvellous prosperity in spite of increased armaments and the pressure of the Cotton Famine. Not to speak of minor changes, or of some proposals which proved in advance of public opinion, the surplus of three millions was applied to the remission of 2*d.* in the pound on the Income Tax (besides allowing £60 to be struck off the assessment of incomes under £200); the reduction of the tea duty by 5*d.* in the pound, and some minor remissions.

The Royal Message at the prorogation referred to another of those outbreaks of the native Maoris, which troubled New Zealand during the whole of this decade, till the duty of self-defence was thrown upon the colonists.* The most animated debates of the session had been provoked by the critical state of foreign affairs. The same year which saw slavery abolished in North America † was signalized by the emancipation of the twelve millions of serfs throughout the Russian Empire ‡ (March 3, 1863). But this great deed, which is a lasting honour to the memory of the Emperor Alexander II., was overclouded by a new insurrection in Poland, wantonly provoked and cruelly suppressed. English sympathy with the Poles was expressed in great public meetings; but the remonstrances of the Foreign Secretary only exposed him to a keen rebuff from prince Gortchakoy, who set aside with equal nonchalance the "six points" of amelioration for Poland, which Austria, England, and France united in presenting. If England had been disposed to plunge into a new war with Russia for the hopeless purpose of liberating Poland, she would have been withheld by the consideration that the alliance of France could only have been purchased on the terms of connivance at his ambitious schemes.§

And here, too, we have the keynote of the unpopular policy of our Government, with reference to the aggression of Germany in the Danish peninsula, which, after Denmark's gallant resistance against Austria and Prussia, ended in her cession of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg to those powers (1864); whose division of the spoil was soon annulled by the war, which gave all three duchies to Prussia alone (1866). Besides the repulsive complication of the question, which belongs to the annals of Europe rather than of England, it is quite certain that *the time has not yet come to write its true diplomatic history*. The proposal of the Emperor Napoleon for a congress on the affairs of Europe was declined by England on grounds set forth by lord Palmerston with irrefragable cogency.||

* The British troops were finally withdrawn in 1870; the colonies were united in one political body in the same year, and the rapid growth of their prosperity begins from that epoch.

† On the 1st of January, 1863, President Lincoln proclaimed the abolition of slavery in the states which he named as being in rebellion. The full legal abolition took place at the end of the war.

‡ This was in accordance with a ukase, issued on January 1, 1861, proclaiming the abolition of serfdom in two years.

§ This is confirmed and illustrated by lord Palmerston's letter to the king of the Belgians (March 13; "Life," vol. ii. p. 232).

|| See his letters to the king of the Belgians and earl Russell.—"Life of Lord Palmerston," pp. 236-244.

The beginning of another year was marked by the birth of a second heir apparent to the crown, the prince ALBERT VICTOR of Wales (January 8, 1864); an event to which lord Derby made a felicitous allusion at the opening of the new session of Parliament (February 4th). In response to the Royal Message he uttered in the name of the whole House the prayer, that "long after the youngest of your lordships have passed away from this scene, the throne of these realms may be occupied by the descendants of the illustrious prince and his new-born heir. *Et nati natorum, et qui naseuntur ab illis.*" It was in the same speech that he fastened on lord Russell's administration of affairs the famous phrase of "*a meddle and muddle policy.*"

The message referred to the distress in the manufacturing districts as already beginning to abate, and to the prospect of new sources of the supply of cotton; and the Queen's congratulations on the general prosperity, notwithstanding this drawback, were fully confirmed by Mr. Gladstone's financial statement (April 7th). His eloquent exposition gave an ideal charm to the enormous figures by which he illustrated the expansion of British commerce since the new era begun by sir Robert Peel. Our gross import and exports were valued at 444 millions sterling, being three times as great as in 1842, and representing as nearly as possible a million and a-half for every working day of the year,—“a magnitude of industry, or of operations connected with industry, so vast that, if it did not stand on incontrovertible figures, it could hardly receive belief.” The nearly-balanced estimate of 70 millions on both sides of last year's account had been improved by an economy of expenditure, which was now to be further reduced below 67 millions against a studiously moderate estimate of revenue below 69½ millions. The surplus was to be applied to the remission of another penny of the Income Tax (making it 6*d.* in the pound), and to the long-desired, but at present only partial, reduction of the duty on fire insurance (viz., from 3*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* on stock-in-trade). Mr. Gladstone declared himself decidedly against the repeal of the Malt Tax; but he made a concession to the farming interest by a reduction of the duty on malt used in feeding stock. Besides these financial measures, Mr. Gladstone carried an important act for a system of small government annuities and life insurances in connection with the Post Office.*

The even tenour of lord Palmerston's Government (at least to the public eye) was disturbed by two ministerial resignations. That of Mr. Stansfeld (then a Lord of the Admiralty) was caused by an ungenerous attack for his relations with Mazzini. The more important retirement of Mr. Lowe was due to the offence he gave to the school inspectors, whose reports he was charged with mutilating, and the censure of his conduct by lord Robert Cecil's resolution, which was carried by 101 to 93 (April 12th). Lord Palmerston, always loyal to his colleagues, obtained the rescinding of the resolution, on the report of a Committee of Enquiry, but Mr. Lowe remained below the gangway, waiting the opportunity which soon came to his hands.

The last great conflict of the session was joined on the conduct of the

* 27 and 28 Vict. cap. 43; extended by an act carried by Mr. Fawcett in 1832.

Ministry with respect to the war in Denmark. When the conference of the Great Powers in London had failed (June 25th), Mr. Disraeli moved an address of censure on the Government, as having "lowered the just influence of the country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities of peace." A brilliant debate of four nights, fought—as we have intimated—in darkness as to information, amidst which Mr. Gladstone might have echoed the famous prayer of Ajax, ended in the close division of 313 to 295; a majority of 18 approving the policy of neutrality (July 8th). Parliament was prorogued on July 28th.

The last year of a parliament doomed to constitutional extinction, and fated also to coincide with the departure of the statesman who had governed while it lasted, was marked by signs of reviving agitation in prospect of the elections. Mr. Bright opened the year with a vigorous speech at Birmingham in favour of parliamentary reform (January 18th). He described the working classes without the franchise as needing but a spark to kindle a revolution, and asked, "If these five or six millions of people once unitedly fix their eyes with an intense look on the doors of the House of Commons, who shall say them nay?" No one expected a response to such an appeal in the Royal Message at the opening of the *Seventh Session* of Parliament (February 7th), which lord Derby described as one "very proper to be addressed by an aged minister to a moribund Parliament."

Early in the session the House lost one of its most distinguished members by the death of RICHARD COBDEN, at the age of 61 (April 2nd). The leaders of parties vied in heartfelt tributes to his memory; lord Palmerston recording the disinterestedness with which he had refused the honours offered for his services in negotiating the French treaty; and Mr. Disraeli anticipated "the verdict of posterity, that he was without doubt the greatest politician that the upper middle class of this country has as yet produced"; but these eulogies were less eloquent than Mr. Bright's almost inexpressive emotion for the loss of his friend. By a remarkable coincidence, the close of Mr. Cobden's life coincided with the victory of the cause on which his last desires were fixed. On the day he died the Confederates retired from their capital of Richmond, after a close siege of just four years, and on that day week the capitulation of the army in Northern Virginia, under general Lee, to general Grant, marked *the End of the Civil War in America* (April 9th). But the hour of triumph was terribly darkened by the assassination of President Lincoln by Wilkes Booth, whose fanaticism may be fairly called madness (April 14th). An official recognition of the end of the war was made by earl Russell (June 2nd).

On the 27th of April, Mr. Gladstone opened the seventh Budget of this Ministry and Parliament, with the evident resolve to make it a crowning triumph of his finance. Out of the last year's estimated expenditure of 67 millions, above £600,000 had been saved, while all branches of the revenue had exceeded the calculation, leaving a surplus of nearly 3¼ millions, which was to be made above 4 millions in the coming year by a revenue and expenditure a little over 70 and 64 millions respectively. Relying on the

continued expansion of the revenue, Mr. Gladstone proposed to remit nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of taxation, of which, however, only about $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions would fall within the current year. From the Income Tax, $2d.$ in the pound was struck off, leaving it at $4d.$, the lowest sum yet reached,* the estimated loss being £2,600,000; the $1s.$ duty on tea was reduced to $6d.$, at a loss of £2,300,000; and, in both cases, Mr. Gladstone seemed to think that he had reached something like a permanent settlement, in which the balance was fairly adjusted between these important items of direct and indirect taxation. The reduction of the duty on fire insurance to $1s. 6d.$, granted the year before to stock-in-trade, was now extended to household goods, at a loss of £520,000. During the seven years (1859-1865) the total remission of taxation was about 15 millions, while, notwithstanding the renewal of the navy, the partial reorganization of the army, the establishment of reserved forces, and the loans raised for coast defences, the National Debt was reduced by about 20 millions.

In the last session, especially of a long-lived Parliament, "coming events cast their shadows before." A growing agitation in Ireland added force to the resolution moved by Mr. Dillwyn (March 28th):—"That the present position of the Irish Church Establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of her Majesty's Government." The debate is chiefly memorable for Mr. Gladstone's speech, giving up the principle of the Irish Church Establishment, followed by the explanation (in a letter to a clergyman) that the question was "remote, and *out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day.* . . . One thing, however, I may add, because I think it a clear landmark. In any measure dealing with the Irish Church, I think (*though I could scarcely expect ever to be called on to share in such a measure*) the Act of Union must be recognized and must have important consequences, especially with reference to the position of the hierarchy."

There were still clearer signs that the question of reform was coming to a head, and that its first effect would be a division between the moderate and advanced Liberals. The second reading of Mr. Baines's annual bill for lowering the borough franchise to £6 was thrown out by a majority of 74 (288 to 214) on the "previous question" moved by two Whig members, lord Elcho and Mr. Adam Black (May 8th). The debate was signalized by the first of that series of speeches against a democratic reform of our constitution, which raised Mr. Lowe's reputation to its highest point.

This was one of the main issues submitted to the people, when Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of July, and dissolved on the same day. Amidst the various vicissitudes of the elections,† the verdict of the country

* Since then it has fluctuated between a *minimum* of $3d.$ in 1876, and a *maximum* of $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 1882. We shall see presently how another great financial design of Mr. Gladstone's was frustrated in 1874; and the description of the scheme of 1865 as his "*last great Budget*" is emphasized by his retirement from the Exchequer at the moment of passing this page through the press (December, 1882).

† One of the most conspicuous, not only in itself, but for its political consequences, was Mr. Gladstone's rejection at Oxford by a majority of 180 votes for Mr. Gathorne Hardy. He found a new seat for South Lancashire, where he announced the new freedom which the change gave him:—"At last, my friends, I am come among you; and I am come to use

had one clear meaning, as a vote of confidence in lord Palmerston. In some places Whigs were supplanted by Radicals; but the Liberal party as a whole gained 57 seats against a loss of 33, and the doubtful balance of 20 votes, with which lord Palmerston had had to work for seven years, was converted into what was esteemed an assured majority of 80; but whether to support the further postponement of reform, or to effect its moderate settlement, remained to be seen. While every one was asking, "What will he do with it?" the veteran Prime Minister expired at Brocket Hall, within two days of completing his 81st year (October 18, 1865). "The half-opened cabinet-box on his table, and the unfinished letter on his desk, testified that he was at his post to the last." * He was laid to rest in the Abbey near the graves of Pitt and Fox.

In EARL RUSSELL'S *Second* † *Administration* (Nov. 6, 1865), lord Clarendon returned to the Foreign Office in succession to the new Prime Minister. The dignity of Lord Chancellor had already (in July) been resigned by lord Westbury, ‡ who was succeeded by a former Chancellor, lord Cranworth. These were the only changes of importance; § but Mr. Gladstone took an affecting retrospect of those inroads made by death in the past seven years, especially among his own personal and political friends || :—"Lord Elgin and lord Dalhousie—lord Canning, lord Herbert, sir George Cornwall Lewis, and the duke of Newcastle—by some singular dispensation of Providence, have been swept away in the full maturity of their faculties, and in the early stages of middle life; a body of men strong enough in themselves in all the gifts of wisdom and knowledge, of experience and eloquence, to have equipped a Cabinet for the service of the country."

A cloud of troubles was already gathering for the new ministry; but these will be best related under the coming year. The record of this may be closed with the death of the Queen's uncle, the sage King of the Belgians, LEOPOLD I. (December 10th), and the commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the dedication of Westminster Abbey in the last days of Edward the Confessor (December 28th). ¶

an expression which has become very famous—I am come among you *unmuzzled*." He was returned third on the poll after two Conservative colleagues. Another memorable incident of the election was the return of Mr. John Stuart Mill at the head of the poll for Westminster.

* Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. ii. p. 273.—The biographer gives an able summary of his career and character, with some striking tributes of other statesmen to his great qualities.

† Sometimes inaccurately called the *Third*, counting the temporary resignation and return in 1851.

‡ The scandal which caused this resignation need not be recorded here.

§ Early in next year Mr. Goschen joined the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; sir Charles Wood (removed to the Upper House as viscount Halifax) was succeeded at the India Office by earl de Grey (afterwards marquis of Ripon), in whose place lord Hartington became Secretary for War.

|| Speech at Glasgow, November 1st.

¶ See Dean Stanley's "Sermons on Special Occasions," p. 16.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A NEW EPOCH—"A gloomy, eventful, and ominous Year" (1866)—The Queen's *Seventh Parliament*—Rising in Jamaica: Governor Eyre—The Cattle Plague—Ireland: the *Fenians*: Suspension of *Habeas Corpus*—Raids on Canada—Monetary Crisis: "Black Friday"—Mr. Bright on Reform—The Government Bill—Speeches of Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright—The "Adullamites"—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—LORD DERBY'S *Third Ministry*—Austria, Prussia, and Germany: the "Seven Weeks' War"—Peace of Prague—Italy and Venetia—French Designs frustrated—Luxemburg—The Atlantic Telegraph—Parliament (1867)—Resolutions on Reform—The "Ten Minutes' Bill"—Mr. Disraeli's Policy—Lord Derby's Motives—Ministerial Resignations—Mr. Disraeli's Bill—Acts for Scotland and Ireland (1868)—Effects of the Measure—Mr. Disraeli's Budget (1867)—Acts of Parliament: Trades Unions, etc.—*Fenianism*: Chester Castle: The Manchester Murder: The Clerkenwell Explosion—Last Public Execution—The Autumn Session—Expedition to Abyssinia—Parliament (1868)—Lord Derby's Resignation—MR. DISRAELI'S *First Government*—Remedies for Ireland—Opposition to "concurrent Endowment"—Mr. Maguire's Motion on the State of Ireland—Lord Mayo's declaration of Policy—Proposed Catholic University—The Irish Church—Mr. Gladstone's declaration for Disestablishment—Mr. Disraeli on Establishments—Mr. Gladstone's Three Resolutions: Great Debate—Mr. Ward Hunt's Budget—Defeat of the Ministry on the Irish Church Question—The Queen's Decision—The Suspension Bill—Dissolution and New Elections—Resignation of the Ministry—MR. GLADSTONE'S *First Government*—The Queen's *Eighth Parliament*—Death of Lord Brougham.

WE have now reached an epoch marking a decisive turn from prosperity to a long series of adverse events, both at home and abroad; and at the same time a point of time too near our own for an historical treatment that can be quite satisfactory. We want the perspective given by distance and the information which awaits disclosure; while even the most impartial discussion—a task most difficult in itself—is sure to offend one or other, or both, of the parties to political strifes still recent and continuing in their effects. It must therefore be our humble aim to sketch an outline of facts, leaving to our successors both their correction, and the lights and shades which make a true historic picture.

A contemporary record* at the end of 1866 thus summed up the year:—"A gloomy, eventful, and ominous year closes to-day in England. A long series of prosperous tranquillity has been interrupted by political agitation, by commercial disturbance, and by consciousness of the relative inefficiency

* The "Times Summary," December 31st.

of the national armaments, and of a proportionately declining or suspended influence in the councils of the world." Even before the former year ended the clouds were quickly rising,* and dark shades were thrown into the speech, with which the Queen, for the first time since her bereavement, opened the new Parliament in person.† It referred with satisfaction to the end of civil war in America, the settlement of a quarrel with Brazil, the conclusion of commercial treaties with Austria and Japan, and the withdrawal of British troops from New Zealand. Among the few measures suggested, the chief was Parliamentary Reform. The darker shades were, a local revolt of negroes in Jamaica (in October), the alleged cruel suppression of which had roused great excitement; the outbreak and spread of a destructive plague among our cattle; and the existence of a serious treasonable conspiracy in Ireland.

The Jamaica question was examined by a special Commission sent out to the island, whose report testified to the reality of the danger, and the vigour and general good judgment with which it had been suppressed, but also confirmed some of the worst accounts of cruel floggings and other severities inflicted by a few British officers. But we have no call to dwell on the details and the excitement they roused, or the attempt to make governor Eyre and two of his subordinates criminally responsible.

The *Cattle Plague* was chiefly, if not entirely, imported from abroad, where it had raged in 1857, and had been kept out of England by stringent measures. It had now broken out in a dairy at Islington at midsummer; and its spread caused the appointment of a Royal Commission (October), whose recommendations for "stamping out" the disease by the slaughter of infected animals, and putting restrictions on the importation of cattle and their movement from place to place, were carried out by Orders in Council and Acts of Parliament passed from time to time as their renewal has been unfortunately required.‡

The new trouble in Ireland sprang from a conspiracy which had a native origin from the remains of the rising of 1848, but was brought to maturity among the American Irish who had taken part in the civil war. The conspirators, who called themselves the *Fenian Brotherhood*, from the name which is said to have belonged to the ancient militia of Ireland, were bound by an oath to "obey the laws of the society F. B., and to free and regenerate Ireland from the yoke of England." The society "was ingeniously arranged on a system by which all authority converged towards one centre, and those farthest away from the seat of direction knew proportionately less and less about the nature of the plans. They had to obey instructions only, and it was hoped that by this means weak or doubtful men would not have

* The Bank rate of discount, which had been as low as 3 per cent. in June, was 7 per cent. at the end of the year, and was raised to 8 per cent. on January 4th.

† Her Majesty's *Seventh Parliament*, the *Nineteenth* of the United Kingdom, met on February 1st, when Mr. Evelyn Denison was re-elected Speaker. On the 6th, the Queen drove to the House only "in private state," and sat on the throne while her Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor.

‡ For the visitation of cholera this year, see chapter vi. p. 49.

it in their power prematurely to reveal, to betray, or to thwart, the purposes of their leaders."* The society had a complete organization in America, their first Convention having been held at Chicago in November, 1863. After the end of the civil war, in 1865, their emissaries came over to Liverpool and Ireland, where the Government, kept informed of their plans by traitorous members and spies (the safeguards of society against secret plots), made numerous arrests. The "head centre," James Stephens, was seized in Dublin, but escaped from prison a few days later, doubtless through the connivance of gaolers, and returned to America (November 11th and 24th). A special commission, which sat for two months at Dublin for the trial of the prisoners under the "Treason-Felony Act" of 1848, brought the whole scheme to light through the evidence of informers; and out of forty-one tried, thirty-six were convicted and sentenced to various terms of penal servitude (November 30th to February 2nd). But, only a few days later (February 14th), the Lord-lieutenant was informed that the police knew of 500 Irish-American Fenians, who were ready to take the command of an insurrection, besides hundreds of hireling members; and he demanded power to seize the leaders. On Saturday, February 17th, a Bill for suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act* in Ireland was passed through both Houses, which sat till past midnight on Sunday morning to receive the Royal Assent from Osborne. The instant arrest of 250 persons proved a great but temporary check to Fenianism in Ireland; and the raids which were soon organized against Canada were repressed by the good faith of the American Government. It was a vital part of the conspiracy to take advantage of the ill-feeling between England and the United States, in the hope that a war between the two countries, which was more than once imminent, would be the signal for invasions both of Ireland and Canada. We shall presently see the new acts of audacious outrage which were perpetrated in England as well as Ireland.

The spring of this year witnessed the greatest financial catastrophe which had befallen the commercial world since the great bank failures of 1825-6; and from the same chief cause, an inflation of speculation and credit, the result of a long period of prosperity. An appalling series of failures culminated in the stoppage of the great bill-broking house of Overend, Gurney, and Co., with the enormous liabilities of eleven millions sterling (May 10th); and the crash of falling firms and run upon the banks made the following day long memorable as the Black Friday in the city. The Government interposed by the suspension of the Bank Charter Act, a measure which, as in 1857, at once restored confidence, with scarcely any actual use of the power given to the Bank to issue extra notes, proving that the crisis was in truth a *panic*, that is, an *unreal and unreasoning* alarm.† But the *real* effect of the previous inflation remained, in one of the longest and severest periods of commercial depression upon record.

* McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," vol. iv. p. 129. The whole chapter (liii.) on the Fenians is especially valuable from the author's intimate knowledge of Ireland.

† See a valuable article on "Commercial Panics," in the "Companion to the Almanack" for 1867.

Amidst these disasters, the Government were engaged in a political struggle for life and death. Mr. Bright* had again opened the new year with a vehement call to the new Government to boldness in assailing "the fort of selfishness and monopoly" and "the walls of privilege"; and his support of their Reform Bill marked the change from Palmerston to Russell and Gladstone. The fate of the measure, brought in by Mr. Gladstone on the 12th of March, renders now superfluous any full detail of its proposals, or of the animated debates, in which the speeches of Mr. Lowe against the scheme, and Mr. Bright in its defence, bore off the palm of eloquence. "Much has happened since then" to make the present generation wonder at the figure of rhetoric by which a franchise of £7 in boroughs and £14 in counties was foretold to bring an armed democracy within the walls of the constitution, like "the fatal engine" that betrayed Troy to its fall. The Whig malcontents, who joined the Opposition, and on whom Mr. Bright fastened the nickname of "the Cave" or "Adullamites," † turned the scale against the Government. The second reading was carried, amidst a scene of wild excitement, by the bare majority of 5 (318 to 313: April 27th); and, after several close divisions, the decisive vote was taken on the question of whether the £7 franchise should be reckoned *on the clear annual value*, or, as was proposed by the amendment of the Whig lord Dunkellin, on the *rating*, making the value considerably higher. The defeat of Government by 315 to 304, though not fatal in itself, was accepted as a confession that the new Palmerstonian Parliament had already got beyond the control of his successors; and they resigned next day (June 19th).

The circumstances of their retirement bound them to special forbearance with lord Derby's third attempt to carry on the Government without a majority in the Commons; especially as the Queen had not sent for lord Derby till after an attempt to induce the late Government to reconsider their decision to resign on a mere point of detail. The moderate Liberals, to whom the crisis was really due, declined the overtures of lord Derby. It was not till the 6th of July that the new Ministry was sworn in; ‡ and, after the re-elections, little time was left for more than winding up the necessary business of the Session, which closed on the 10th of August. The dissatisfaction of the Radical party at the defeat and resignation of the late Ministry was expressed in several Reform meetings; and the attempt of the Government to prevent the holding of one of these in Hyde Park resulted in a riot, in which the park palings were torn down (July 23rd).

* Speech at Rochdale, January 3rd.

† With reference to I. Sam. xxii. 1, 2.

‡ See the Table of Administrations. The chief differences from lord Derby's former Governments were these:—LORD STANLEY for the first time took the seals of the Foreign Office; VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (afterwards marquis of Salisbury) was Secretary for India; the EARL OF CARNARVON Colonial Secretary; and SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE President of the Board of Trade. In consequence of the resignations next year, on the question of Reform (see p. 385), MR. GATHORNE HARDY (afterwards viscount Cranbrook) became Home Secretary, and SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE Secretary for India.

Just at the time of the ministerial crisis in England, the question of Austrian or Prussian supremacy in Germany was decided by the short but sharp conflict, which has been called the *Seven Weeks' War*. Its deep-seated causes belong to the history of Germany and Europe: its occasion was the attempt of the German diet, under the leadership of Austria, to check Prussia's appropriation of the spoil lately won from Denmark. Italy seized the renewed opportunity for wresting the Venetian territory from Austria by a league, offensive and defensive, with Prussia. The German states which sided with Austria were defeated in a series of battles, the most gallant stand being that made by the Hanoverians at Langensalza (June 27th). A masterly movement of the Prussian armies into Bohemia led to their decisive victory over the Austrians in the battle of *Königgratz* or *Sadowa* (July 3rd); and Austria, having already defeated Victor Emmanuel on the same field of *Custoza* where his father was beaten in 1848, avoided the humiliation of giving up Venetia to Italy by ceding it to the Emperor of the French (July 5th). Attempting still to win the province by their own arms, the Italians advanced into Venetia, while their fleet sustained a disastrous defeat at *Lissa* in the Adriatic (July 20th). The war, which had begun in the middle of June, was ended at the beginning of August, on terms which were ratified by the *Peace of Prague* (August 23rd). The German confederacy, as constituted by the treaties of Vienna, was dissolved, and Austria ceased to be a German power. The states north of the Main were united into the *North German Confederation*, a league both offensive and defensive under the leadership of Prussia, which kingdom was aggrandized, and her provinces hitherto severed were united into a great compact state, by the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the city of Frankfurt, besides the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the possession of which gave her an excellent naval station at *Wilhelmshafen*, on the German Ocean, as well as the fine harbour of *Kiel* on the Baltic. The kingdom of Saxony escaped annexation, but was obliged to put her army at the disposal of Prussia. The treaty recognized the cession of the Venetian territory, which had been presented to Italy by Louis Napoleon, who now began to make demands on Prussia for compensations to redress the balance of power. These overtures were met (in the following year) by the publication of the secret treaties, concluded simultaneously with the Peace of Prague, by which the South German States placed their armies at the disposal of Prussia in case of invasion; thus in effect uniting Germany into one imperial power for the purpose of defence. The Emperor Napoleon, who had anticipated the success of Austria, and waited to gain his own ends by coming in as a mediator, now saw his cherished designs on the Rhine much further removed than before, and never rested till the attempt to assert his demands by force caused his destruction.*

A memorable event of this year was the first *permanently successful*

* His attempt, in the following year, to obtain Luxemburg by sale from the king of Holland, led to the conference of London, at which the great powers guaranteed the neutrality of the duchy, from which the Prussian garrison retired (June, 1867).

attempt* to lay an electric telegraph cable between Ireland and America, made more signal by the achievement of picking up from the bed of the Atlantic the cable broken the year before, and completing it; so that there were now two lines of instant communication between the old and new worlds.

In the new Ministry Mr. Disraeli was the real head. His genius was more than ever deferred to by Lord Derby, always indifferent to office, and now feeling the effects of age and frequent illness; and the Prime Minister consented (in his own phrase) to "dish the Whigs" by gratifying his colleague's ambition to settle the question of reform. For the activity of a new Reform League and the great meetings held in London and through the country proved that, whatever the indifference of the middle classes who had the franchise, those excluded from it were now thoroughly resolved to obtain their admission. The speech, with which the Queen opened Parliament in person (February 5, 1867), commended the subject to its attention in terms that virtually claimed forbearance for the peculiar position of the Government in the attempt to pass "measures which, *without unduly disturbing the balance of political power*, shall freely extend the elective franchise"; but the *condition* was soon found to be incompatible with the design. The speech touched on some grave matters to be noticed presently, and evinced the desire of the Ministry to effect large measures of practical improvement.

To reconcile the opinions of colleagues opposed to all reform with satisfaction to the popular demand, and to carry with him a House in which his opponents formed the majority, was a task hard enough for Mr. Disraeli's versatile genius. To test the feeling of the House, he proposed, in an eloquent constitutional speech, to proceed by way of resolutions (February 11th). But such were his difficulties in the Cabinet, that the subsequent revelations of seceding members about the hurry with which they came to some sort of agreement fixed on the plan laid before the House (February 25th) the nickname of the "Ten Minutes' Bill." It proposed a *rating* franchise of £6 in boroughs and £20 in counties—that is, a higher standard in both than the bill of last session—with various "fancy franchises," and a large readjustment of seats. But the demand, on the one hand, for a plain bill, instead of resolutions, and, on the other, for larger concessions to the working classes, determined a majority of the Cabinet to introduce a "real and satisfactory" Reform Bill, based on the principle of *Household Suffrage*, qualified by the payment of rates, in *boroughs*, and a £12 franchise in counties. Mr. Disraeli described this as a "return to the original policy of the Cabinet," that is, the policy prompted by his own daring genius. Its root lay in his faith in the conservative spirit and loyalty to the traditions of England in the heart of the masses of the nation; and its application was guided by the resolve to reach the bottom of the question—to place the representation of the people on a firm foundation, instead of the uncertain

* A cable laid in 1858 had failed, after transmitting a few messages.

test of a pound of rent more or less. That this was good policy for the party, as well as the country, was frankly avowed by lord Derby.* Twice he had attempted to govern with a minority and had failed; and now, under the peculiar circumstances by which he was called to repeat the experiment, he had "*determined that he would take such a course as would convert, if possible, an existing majority into a practical minority.*" His party agreed to follow him in his "leap in the dark," to use his own expressive phrase:—all but a few Abdiels of the party, as in the case of former concessions to the spirit of the age. The example of Mr. Henley and Mr. Walpole in 1858 was now followed by the three Secretaries for the Colonies, India, and War—lords Carnarvon and Cranborne, and general Peel (March 2nd).

The bill, which Mr. Disraeli at length brought in on the 18th of March, surrounded the rate-paying household franchise with a number of safeguards ("fancy franchises" among the rest), which were abandoned on its passage through the House. The one principle avowed by Mr. Disraeli was, "that we have no other wish at the present moment than, with the co-operation of the House, to bring the question of Parliamentary Reform to a settlement." The response of the House was given in the one great party division just before Easter, when a series of amendments moved by Mr. Gladstone were rejected by a majority of 21 for the Government in a House of 599 members (April 11th). As amended by the Lords,† and completed by the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills passed in the following year (1868),‡ the whole plan of representation was as follows:—

I. IN ENGLAND AND WALES.—(A) *The Franchise* was given to "every man of full age, and not subject to legal incapacity," coming within the following classes, and duly registered:—

1. *In Boroughs*:—(1) *Householders*, having occupied in the same or different dwelling-houses within the borough for a year, and paid poor's rates up to a certain time. (2) *Lodgers*, occupying for a year unfurnished apartments of £10 annual value, and upwards.—II. *In Counties*:—(1) *Freeholders*, *Copyholders* (or on tenure for any lives), and *Leaseholders* for a term of 60 years of the annual value of £5. (2) *Tenants* of lands or tenements, to the annual value of £12, on the same conditions as in boroughs.—III. In places returning 3 members, no elector can vote for more than 2, and, in the City of London (which returns 4), for 3 only. This step towards *the representations of minorities* was one of the Lords' Amendments.

B. REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.—*i. Seats taken away*: (1) Four boroughs disfranchised for corruption; 7 seats. (2) Seven boroughs, of less than 5,000 inhabitants; 10 seats. (3) All other boroughs, of less than 10,000, and heretofore returning 2 members, lost 1 member each; 35 seats, making a total deduction of 52 seats.—*ii. Seats added*: 1. *Boroughs*: (1) Increased from 2 members to 3; Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds; 4 seats. (2) Increased from 1 member to 2; Merthyr Tydfil and Salford; 2 seats. (3) Two new metropolitan boroughs, with 2 members each: Hackney (separated from the Tower Hamlets), and Chelsea (with Kensington); 4 seats. (4) Nine new boroughs, with one member each; 9 seats. Total of new seats, 19; nett decrease in boroughs, 33 seats.—II. *Counties*: *Seats added*, chiefly by subdivision; 25 seats.—III. *The University of London*, 1 seat. The balance of 7 lost seats (33—26) was transferred to Scotland, leaving England and Wales 493 members instead of 500.

* Speech on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords.

† 30 and 31 Vict. c. 102; August 15, 1857.

‡ 31 and 32 Vict. cc. 48, 49.

II. SCOTLAND.—*A. Franchises* as in England.

B. DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.—I. *Boroughs*:—Glasgow increased from 2 to 3; Dundee from 1 to 2; a new group of border boroughs, 1: total new seats, 3.—II. *Counties*:—3 new seats added by division, and 1 deducted by union: nett increase, 2 seats.—III. *Universities*:—Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, 1 seat; Glasgow and Aberdeen, 1 seat; 2. Thus Scotland had 60 members instead of 53.

III. IRELAND.—In *Boroughs*, the *Occupation Franchise* was reduced from £8 to £4, with the same *Lodger Franchise* as in England.—No change was made in the distribution of seats.

The annexed table shows the comparative state of the representation at the *three elections*; of 1831 (before the *First Reform Acts*, of 1832), of 1865 (the last under those Acts), and of 1868 (after the *Second Reform Acts*):—

	1831.	1865.	1868.
ENGLISH SEATS	489	471	463
<i>Viz.</i> :—for Counties.....	82	147	172
Cities and Boroughs.....	403	320	286
Universities	4	4	5
WELSH SEATS	24	29	30
<i>Viz.</i> :—for Counties.....	12	15	15
Cities and Boroughs.....	12	14	15
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	513	500	493
SCOTCH SEATS.....	45	53	60
<i>Viz.</i> :—for Counties.....	30	30	32
Cities and Boroughs.....	15	23	26
Universities	0	0	2
IRISH SEATS.....	100	105	105
<i>Viz.</i> :—for Counties.....	64	64	64
Cities and Boroughs.....	35	39	39
University	1	2	2
GRAND TOTAL.....	658	658	658

On the 4th of April, Mr. Disraeli introduced a modest Budget, which showed a prosperous state of the public finances, notwithstanding the late commercial panic. The only change he proposed was to reduce and make uniform the Duty on Marine Insurances, applying the surplus to the reduction of the debt on the plan propounded the year before by Mr. Gladstone. The occupation of Parliament with the Reform Bill did not prevent a large amount of useful legislation. The great scheme for uniting the colonies of British North America in the *Dominion of Canada*, with a Parliament, under a viceroy, was carried into effect,* and has since been extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Act for the Revision of the Statute Law, as the result of the labours of a commission, repealed no less than 1,410 obsolete Acts. The Railway Act (c. 127) facilitated the settlement of the embarrassments in which several important railways were involved through the late commercial crisis. The relations between capital and labour were brought into discussion by the increasing action of trades unions and strikes. Besides a general commission appointed the year before, a special enquiry revealed a system of appalling outrages perpetrated at Sheffield to enforce obedience to the orders of the union, from "rattening"—that is, violent measures of preventing men from working—to organized murder. An Act was passed to enable Masters and Workmen to establish *Councils of Conciliation* to adjust differences about labour and wages (c. 105). Another amended the law of Master and Servant (c. 141). Women and young persons were further protected from oppressive hours of labour both in factories (c. 103) and in workshops (c. 146), and regulations were prescribed to abate the demoralizing abuses of agricultural gangs (c. 130). We have already had occasion to notice the substitution of one simple oath (or affirmation) of loyalty for the official oaths formerly required.† Parliament was prorogued on August 21st.

At the same ceremony a year before, the new Ministry had caused the Queen to congratulate the Houses on the extinction of Fenianism, and they had opened this year's session with a prospect of being able to restore the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, when the illusion was dispelled by a daring attempt to seize Chester Castle, fortunately disclosed in good time by an accomplice (February 11th). On the same and following days arrests were made in Dublin of some scores of Fenians who had crossed over from Liverpool, having landed from America; a series of open risings broke out in Ireland; police barracks were attacked, dépôts of arms seized or attempted; and the proclamation of an Irish republic was sent to the leading papers for publication. The firmness of the Government, and the conviction of numerous prisoners by special commissions, seemed to have nearly crushed the conspiracy, when an open attack was made in broad day on a police van at Manchester, to rescue two Fenian prisoners, and the assailants

* 30 Vict. c. 3.—The first viceroy, lord Monck, was sworn in at Ottawa, on July 2nd. The subsequent viceroys have been sir John Young (1868), lord Dufferin (1872), and the marquis of Lorne (1878).

† See chap. iii. p. 24.

shot the constable, Brett, who refused to give up the keys (September 18th). Five of the murderers were condemned to death, besides lesser sentences on several accomplices; and the memory of the three who were executed has since been celebrated in Ireland as that of martyrs! But this outrage was presently surpassed in London itself. The reprieved "captain" Burke was confined in the Clerkenwell House of Detention, the high wall of which formed one side of a street, lined on the other side by houses thickly inhabited. A cask of gunpowder was fired in this street to blow down the wall dividing it from the yard where two leading Fenian prisoners were supposed to be exercising at the time; though, in fact, the detection of signs of communication from without had caused them to be kept to their cells. The explosion wrecked a great number of the houses, killing near a score of victims, and wounding 120 more, besides lifelong effects from fright (December 13th). For this wanton massacre several persons were tried, but only one, Michael Barrett, was convicted; and his death is memorable as the last public execution at the Old Bailey, or elsewhere in the kingdom* (May 26, 1868).

On November 19th Parliament was called together to make provision for a hostile expedition to ABYSSINIA, to rescue certain "helpless captives." That highland region, containing the eastern sources of the Nile, and interesting as an ancient seat of Christianity, was divided into four independent provinces, which the young king of Amhara, Theodore, aspired to unite under himself as *Negus*, or "king of kings" (February, 1855). A treaty had been made with his father, and a British consulate established at Massowah, on the Red Sea (1849). After hostilities and acts of cruelty against his neighbours, Theodore sent through consul Cameron a letter to the Queen, desiring an alliance against Turkey, doubtless with a view to an attack on Egypt (1853). *Why* earl Russell, then Foreign Secretary, decided that this letter should not even be answered, was never satisfactorily explained; but (not to dwell on details), partly on this and other grounds of offence, and partly in wanton tyranny, Theodore seized the consul and other British subjects, and sent them in chains to his hill-fortress of Magdala (1864). After fruitless negotiations, complicated by letters and summonses despatched to Theodore, but never received by him, it was decided to send a force from India, which landed in Abyssinia in October, followed by their general, sir Robert Napier (January, 1868), whose skilful conduct of the campaign, in a most difficult country, was none the less praiseworthy from the remarkable fact, that not one British soldier fell in battle. A decisive victory on Good Friday (April 11th) was followed by the storm of Magdala three days later, when Theodore shot himself in despair. The fortress was burnt, and our troops retired, bringing away Theodore's young son, who was sent to India for education, and afterwards died in England. The commander was created lord Napier of Magdala, and

* The execution happened to take place on the day before that on which the royal assent was given to the Act "to provide for the carrying out of Capital Punishment within Prisons" (31 Vict. c. 24).

the rescued captives were compensated for their sufferings. A civil war between the Abyssinian chiefs ended in the supremacy of Kassa, king of Tigré, who was crowned at Axum as the Negus John II.

The cost of the war, which ultimately reached about 11 millions, was at first estimated at only 2 millions, to be provided for by adding 1*d.* in the pound to the Income Tax. The proposal that the Indian revenue should bear the charge of the Indian troops employed, was carried against the strong protest of a small minority. The session was suspended for Christmas on December 7th.

The session was resumed (February 13, 1868), amidst the shock of the events which recalled sir Robert Peel's words in assuming office—"Ireland is the great difficulty"—which sir Robert's former follower was soon to convert into a fatal sentence on his most strenuous opponent. The first necessary measure was to continue the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in Ireland. The next was to complete the measure of Parliamentary Reform, before the new elections under it, not only by the bills for Scotland and Ireland,* and the settlement of certain points of detail; † but also by a very important measure for checking corruption and securing a more impartial decision on election petitions, by transferring the trial of them from select committees of the House, to judges of the realm, selected from the bench as the occasion required, and confined for the time to this one function. Though opposed by Chief Justice Cockburn in the name of the judges, it was carried through both Houses, and has been found to work excellently well (c. 125).

Attention was drawn for a time from the beginning of these measures to a change which made a strong appeal to men's feelings and imagination. Lord Derby was seriously ill; and on his recovery he placed his resignation in the hands of her Majesty, who commissioned Mr. Disraeli to form a new Government. The feeling which doubtless governed this choice was in perfect sympathy with that of the people, irrespective of party, at seeing the real leader and reorganizer of his party achieve the life-long purpose which, in his latest work, he put into the mouth of the boy Endymion.

Mr. DISRAELI became First Lord of the Treasury on the 29th of February, handing over the somewhat uncongenial duties of the Exchequer to Mr. Ward Hunt, a country gentleman of sound good sense. The only considerable change in the Cabinet was the substitution of the Attorney-general, sir Hugh Cairns (now created lord Cairns), a representative of Ulster Protestantism, for lord Chelmsford, in the office of Lord High Chancellor. The motive of this change was stated to be, to obtain a higher debating power in the House of Lords, where Mr. Disraeli had to entrust the leadership to the earl of Malmesbury (Lord Privy Seal).

One effect of Mr. Disraeli's new position was to put him openly in the

* See above, p. 386.

† Namely, a Boundary Act (31 and 32 Vict. c. 46), a Registration Act, to suit the circumstances of the coming election (c. 58), and an Act for regulating the use of voting papers at University elections (c. 65).

forefront of the party battle, face to face with the antagonist who waited the opportunity for a decisive trial of strength before the general election; and the ground of conflict was already prepared by the cogeny of events which had marked out Ireland as its arena. Her unhappy state called for measures more statesmanlike than mere coercion, and the leaders of different parties were pressing their various remedies. Now that all political and religious disabilities were removed, and all public burdens equalized (except, indeed, that Ireland bore the lighter share), the questions at issue were grouped under the three heads, which Mr. Gladstone afterwards called the three branches of the upas-tree that overshadowed Ireland, the *land*, the *Church*, and *education*, to which must be added the remedy sought in *emigration*. As to the first, Mr. Bright, whose deep feeling for Ireland is one chief honour of his life, had propounded to a meeting at Manchester the scheme of peasant proprietorship, which he has always consistently advocated (February 4th). As to the second, lord Russell declared in favour of the plan advocated alike by Pitt and his followers and by the Whigs, the endowment both of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches in Ireland, which he now coupled with the reduction of the Protestant Episcopal Church to one-eighth of its revenues.* But the policy which Pitt might easily have carried out as an essential part of the Union, if the king's conscience had not forbidden, was now opposed by the threefold forces—of Protestants, who abhorred the endowment of Romanism, Dissenters, among whom the "voluntary principle" had now become almost an article of religious faith, and Radicals, who regarded the supremacy of a Church alien to the religion of the majority, and its support by what they held to be national property, as the greatest practical grievance of Ireland. It was the policy of the Government to pursue a gradual and tentative course: that of the Opposition was, to "force their hand" in view of the coming elections.

The decisive contest was brought on by Mr. Maguire's motion, "that the House resolve itself into a Committee, to take the condition of Ireland into immediate consideration" (March 10th). This drew from lord Mayo (Secretary for Ireland) an announcement of the policy of the Government on the three great branches of the question. As to the *land*, a Commission was to be appointed to enquire into the whole relations between landlord and tenant; and meanwhile a bill would be introduced to give tenants compensation for their improvements, and another to make the Irish railways more efficient. The question of higher *education* was to be solved without interference with the College and University of Dublin or the Queen's Colleges and University—by granting a charter to a new Roman Catholic University, with a moderate endowment for the building and necessary expenses. With regard to the *Church*, no immediate action was proposed, as it was not thought desirable to legislate till the result of the enquiry now going on should be known; † but the key-note of resistance to disestablishment was clearly sounded by lord Mayo.

* Letter to Mr. Chichester Fortescue, February 17th.

† In the session of 1867 earl Russell's motion for a Royal Commission with a view to

After the interval afforded by two adjournments, Mr. Gladstone came forward with the new policy, which was to heal all the woes of Ireland, and meanwhile to be the watchword of the appeal of the reunited Liberal party to the people. The hour, which he had thought immeasurably distant three years before, was now struck by the opportunity of uniting all the various opponents of concurrent endowment, or (as it was called) "levelling up," mild as was the measure of it now proposed by the Government. In a great speech, dealing with education, the land laws, and the Church, he declared that appeals to Irish loyalty were mocking words, unless sustained by a corresponding substance. "That substance can be supplied only by the unreserved devotion of our efforts now, in this, perhaps the last, stage of the Irish crisis, to remove the scandal and the mischief which have so long weakened and afflicted the empire":—and the head and front of that scandal and mischief he now proclaimed to be the Irish Church establishment.

To the wider range of questions discussed by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli replied, that the Government had declared its intention to deal with every one of them when the proper time came. He protested against treating their modest educational measure as a new Roman Catholic endowment. But these subjects were now thrown into the shade by Mr. Gladstone's new position, against which Mr. Disraeli took his stand on the broad principle of religious establishments. Having protested against any settlement of the question without an appeal to the enlarged constituencies, the Minister concluded:—"No one pretends that the material effect of endowments is not advantageous to Ireland, and there is no doubt that their abolition would be injurious. It would deprive a country which complains of an absentee proprietary of many residents who are men of character, with some affluence, and whose social action is admitted to be beneficial. It strikes me as a general principle, that *our mission in Ireland should be to create, not to destroy*. If the Church in Ireland is violently abolished, I should say you would add immensely to the elements of discord, violence, and confiscation."

This preliminary debate was ended on March 16th, and on that day week Mr. Gladstone, now assured of the support of the Liberal party in the House and country, gave notice of his three famous resolutions for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. (1) The first affirmed the principle, qualified by due regard to all personal interests, and rights of property. (2) The second proposed to suspend the creation of any new personal interests, and so forth, pending the decision of Parliament. (3) The third provided against a constitutional obstacle, by an Address praying her Majesty to place her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church at the disposal of Parliament. The Government replied by an amendment in lord Stanley's name, "That this House, while admitting that

carry out the old and famous "appropriation" principle was thrown out in favour of one praying simply for a Commission, which was issued (November 5th) "to enquire into and report upon the Irish Church, its revenues and incumbrances, as well as their management, administration, and distribution."

considerable modifications in the temporalities of the United Church in Ireland may, after pending enquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament." The great debate, which occupied four nights, was wound up by Mr Disraeli's speech in the defiant tone of inevitable defeat; and his position was not improved by the announcement of a confederacy between Romanists, Ritualists, and Dissenters against the Church and the Crown itself. The division, taken in the dawn of April 4th, showed the decisive majority of 61 against Ministers in a House of 606 members; and Parliament adjourned for Easter.

As this division was taken only on the preliminary question of going into Committee, it was not *formally* decisive; and before the final struggle Mr. Ward Hunt brought in his Budget, which gave a curious example of the frequent change of fortune with a change of Government (April 23rd). The revenue, so lately advancing "by leaps and bounds," showed a deficiency of £370,000 on the past year; and the new estimates, of £71,350,000 revenue against an expenditure of £70,428,000, were independent of the Abyssinian war. To meet the demand of 3 millions over and above the 2 already voted, the Income Tax was raised to *6d.* in the pound, its produce being anticipated by borrowing £1,000,000 on Exchequer Bills. Another three nights' debate in Committee ended in the carrying of Mr. Gladstone's first resolution by nearly the same numbers as before (330 to 265) in the early morning of Friday, May 1st; upon which Mr. Disraeli moved an adjournment to give Ministers time to consider their new relation to the House. On the following Monday he announced that, having tendered his resignation rather than ask for an immediate dissolution, her Majesty had declined to accept it at present, but had left the time of appealing to the new constituencies to him. It remained, therefore, to wind up the business of the session, while Mr. Gladstone gave effect to the first stage of his work:—a curious relation between the Ministry and the Opposition. The second and third resolutions having been carried without a division, as well as a fourth, affirming the fair consequence, that the grant to Maynooth College and the *Regium Donum* to poor Nonconformist ministers ought to be discontinued, Mr. Gladstone brought in a bill suspending the exercise of patronage in the Irish Church for a limited time. Its second reading was carried by 312 against 258 (May 22nd); but the Lords threw it out, after a two nights' debate, by 192 to 97; one of its strongest opponents being earl Grey.

This eventful session was closed on July 31st; but, to give time for the new registrations, and for other reasons of convenience, the dissolution was not proclaimed till November 11th, the writs being made returnable on the 10th of December. The most striking incident of the new elections was the campaign of Mr. Gladstone in South-west Lancashire, where his marvellous energy and eloquence failed to avert his defeat by 260 votes; but meanwhile the electors of Greenwich had spontaneously returned him at the head of the poll. It was at this juncture that he put forth "A Chapter of Autobiography," in answer to the contrasts drawn between his present

position and his argument for establishments in his early work on "The State in its Relations to the Church," which was best known by the criticism of Macaulay in the "Edinburgh Review." In North Lancashire also the popularity of the Cavendishes failed to avert lord Hartington's defeat by 1,500 votes; and the whole verdict of that great manufacturing county, as well as that of Durham, was signally against the new Liberal policy. In Westminster, Mr. John Stuart Mill, whose success had been a striking incident of the last election, was rejected for Mr. William Henry Smith, then only known as a man of business. The English counties sided with the Government by above 2 to 1; but that proportion was more than reversed in the far more numerous boroughs, where the Dissenters and newly enfranchised voters declared decisively for Mr. Gladstone. The feeling of Scotland was evinced by the return of *not a single* Conservative for a borough, and only seven for the counties, where the loss of Midlothian to the Buccleugh interest set a precedent repeated more signally in 1880. The Irish returns gave just 2 to 1 in favour of the Liberals. On the last day of November, the almost complete returns gave an estimated majority of 120 for the policy of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party. In face of this result, to give his successors time to prepare their measures for the usual time of the session, Mr. Disraeli set the new precedent of resigning without waiting for the decision of Parliament (December 2nd); and MR. GLADSTONE'S *First Ministry* was sworn in on that day week.* Mr. Bright's entrance into the Cabinet, as President of the Board of Trade, not only recognized the principle that responsibility should be associated with power, but gave a pledge of what would be done for the land question in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone had work enough before him without the duties of the Exchequer, which he entrusted to Mr. Lowe. The new Parliament—the *Eighth* of Victoria, and *Twentieth* of the United Kingdom, met on the 9th of December; re-elected Mr. Denison Speaker; and, after the swearing-in of Members and allowing time for the re-elections of the Ministers, adjourned on what happened to be Mr. Gladstone's 59th birthday (December 29th), till the formal opening of the session on the 16th of February.

Two parting words remain for the record of this eventful year. A summer of unprecedented heat and duration verified by its wonderful harvest the saying, that "drought never bred dearth in England," and renewed the lesson we seem still so unable to learn, of storing water in our seasons of superfluous rain. One of the foremost—in some respects the very foremost—of the great men of the age departed from the scene of his marvellous energy at the age of 90. HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM AND VAUX, was found dead in his bed after a day of quiet exercise in his garden at Cannes (May 7th). We have not space to recount his life or discuss his character; and perhaps a fitter season for the task will come, when a new generation, calmly reviewing the history of our time, shall pronounce on him the verdict with which Bolingbroke put to shame the detractors of Marlborough, "*He was a GREAT MAN; and we have forgotten all his faults.*"

* See the List of Administrations.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION (end of 1868 to the beginning of 1874)—Difficulties of Contemporary History: the special case of IRELAND—Parliament (1869)—Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church—Application of the Surplus—Other Acts—Mr. Lowe's First Budget—Death of Lord Derby—Opening of the Suez Canal—The Hudson's Bay Territory—(1870) New Year's Day at Paris—Parliament—Irish Land Act—National Education—School Boards and Board Schools—The Budget—Army Reorganization—The *Franco-German War*—Treaties guaranteeing Belgium—Difficulties of Neutrality: English Sympathies—The New German Empire—The Black Sea Conference—Parliament (1871)—Abolition of Purchase by Royal Warrant—A Budget *fasco*: the Match Tax, etc.—Local Government Board—Religious Tests in Universities abolished—Bank Holiday Act—Illness and Recovery of the Prince of Wales—A new confirmation of Loyalty—Parliament (1872)—New Speaker, MR. BRAND—Ballot Act—The Budget—Strikes and Trades Unions—A wet season and high prices—Settlement of the *Alabama Claims* and the San Juan arbitration—Parliament (1873)—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill—Resignation and Return of the Ministry—Abolition of Tests in the University of Dublin—The Judicature Act: Supreme Court: Court of Appeal: New Law Courts—Mr. Lowe's Last Budget: Income Tax at 3*d.*—Result of Five Years' Financial Administration—Ministerial Changes: Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer—Reaction against Government—Mr. Disraeli's "Eath Letter"—Stroud Election—Sudden Dissolution of Parliament (1874)—Addresses of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli—New Elections—Resignation of the Government—MR. DISRAELI'S Second Administration—Asbantee War—Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—Census.

WE now feel ourselves coming closer and closer to the point at which the difficulties of contemporary history become almost insurmountable. The exact line may be hard to define clearly; but in the case of IRELAND, and her relations to the United Kingdom, of which she forms a part so inseparable as to make it inconceivable that the body politic can be moved by any pain or shame to submit to her amputation, we feel an overpowering consciousness that we have reached the point whence her history must be developed before its real significance can be estimated; and our present duty is simply to record the facts as they occurred.

The resumed session was formally opened by commission on the 16th of February, and, on the 1st of March, Mr. Gladstone rose in a crowded House to bring in a Bill "to put an end to the Establishment of the Church in Ireland, and to make provision in respect of the temporalities thereof, in respect and of the Royal College of Maynooth." * Starting from the declared

* This is the title of the Act passed on the 26th of July (32 and 33 Vict. c. 42).

will of the country to have the question dealt with promptly, he announced the determination of the Cabinet to settle it also thoroughly, by putting an end to the whole system of *public* ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland. Never did Mr. Gladstone show a more perfect command of the complicated details, to recite which is needless here. The great outline of the plan was this. From the 1st of January, 1871, the Irish Church, preserving of course its episcopal constitution, was to become a self-governed body, free to make its own rules of doctrine and ritual, discipline and patronage. The bishops would retain their titles and rank of courtesy, like those of the Roman Church in Ireland, but they would no longer sit in the House of Lords. The disestablished Church was to retain its ecclesiastical buildings and burial-grounds; but all its other property was to be vested in three commissioners appointed by the crown for ten years; to be applied, first, to the satisfaction of all existing life-interests, including those connected with Maynooth and the Regium Donum, or, to use the exact language of the Act, "satisfying, so far as possible, upon principles of equity as between the several religious denominations in Ireland, all just and equitable claims." These objects, speaking roughly, would absorb just half the estimated property of the Church;* and the use of the other moiety was (in the final shape of the Act) left so far open, that it was simply declared "expedient" that the ultimate trust of surplus of Irish Church property should be "appropriated mainly to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering, in such manner as Parliament shall hereafter direct."† A debate of four nights on the second reading ended in the majority of 118 (368 to 250) for the measure in a House of 623 members (March 23rd); and the Lords confirmed the decision by 179 to 146, after the most unusual event of a four nights' debate (June 18th).

Among other important measures of this session were Acts for the reorganization of Endowed Schools (c. 56); for abolishing Imprisonment for Debt, except as a means of enforcing the judgments of County Courts (c. 62); a new Bankruptcy Act (c. 71); an amendment of the Law of Evidence, removing the disqualification of witnesses who avowed religious disbelief (c. 68); and one for the furtherance of a measure begun in the preceding session for the acquisition and working by the Post Office of all the electric telegraphs of the kingdom. Mr. Lowe's first Budget (April 8th), exhibiting a prosperous revenue with an expenditure reduced by large

* The property was valued at 16 millions; of which the life-interests of incumbents would amount to £4,900,000; compensation to curates, £800,000; other compensations, £900,000; Maynooth, £1,100,000, valuing the annual Parliamentary grant at 14 years' purchase, like the clerical incumbencies; the college retaining its buildings. These calculations, however, were greatly affected by amendments during the passage of the Bill, especially in the House of Lords.

† The last great example of such application (last in time, and final as estimated to absorb what remained of the surplus) was in aid of the settlement of arrears of rent in Ireland, under the Arrears' Act of 1882 (45 and 46 Vict. c. 47). The application of £1,000,000 from the fund to middle-class education in Ireland was authorized by the Act of 1878 "to promote Intermediate Education in Ireland" (41 and 42 Vict. c. 66).

savings, chiefly in the army and navy, was remarkable for the new scheme of collecting the Income Tax and House Duty of the financial year (April 1st to March 31st) in a single payment, due on the 1st of January, instead of two half-yearly payments in April and October; and the first payment was arranged in such a way as to throw five quarters into the current year, in other words, to mulct the tax-payer by an increase of 25 per cent. At the same time the Assessed Taxes were to be converted (from April 1, 1870) into excise licences, payable at the beginning of each year, making a great saving in the cost of collection. These changes were estimated to produce an increased revenue of £3,350,000, restoring the large surplus, which was all but absorbed by the cost of the Abyssinian war, to £3,382,000. With this Mr. Lowe proposed to take 1*d.* off the Income Tax (making it 5*d.* in the pound); to remove the 1*s.* duty which sir Robert Peel had left on corn, and which—intended as it was to be merely nominal—now produced not much less than a million sterling; to abolish the duty on fire insurance; and to readjust the Assessed Taxes, with considerable reductions. The remission of 3 millions of taxation smoothed the passage of a scheme, which was felt to be more ingenious than convenient or equitable to the payers of the Property Tax and House Duty. Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August; and on the 23rd of October the fourteenth EARL OF DERBY died at Knowsley at the age of 71. The close of the year was signalized by the opening of the *Suez Canal* (November 17th) from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, a great work due to the perseverance and energy of M. de Lesseps, and destined to bring its greatest advantage to the British people, who had at first looked on it with suspicion, as a channel for their commerce and a chief element in the security of our Indian Empire. The Dominion of Canada received a most important accession by the purchase of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company over its vast territory. The resistance of the settlers on the Red River was put down by the skill and moderation of colonel (afterwards lord) Wolseley (1870); and the region, known henceforth by its Indian name of *Manitoba*, became a most promising field of colonization.

The French Emperor's new year's reception (1870) offered a contrast with the famous one eleven years before, which was destined to be a signal example of the irony of history. Concord with all Foreign Powers and the "crowning of the edifice" by adding liberty to order, formed the bright picture which was so soon to vanish in blood and ruin.

Meanwhile the session of Parliament, which opened on February 8th, was signalized by two great measures; but subsequent events have rendered the one of these on Irish Land, which Mr. Gladstone introduced in one of his ablest speeches (February 15th), almost as obsolete as his fond hope, that it would tend "to unite Ireland to England and Scotland by the ties of free will and free affection." Its main objects were to secure to tenants the value of their improvements; to legalize the Ulster custom of tenant-right and similar customs in other parts of Ireland; to aid improvements by Government loans to landlords and tenants; and, by means of the "Bright clauses" (as they were called from their author), to facilitate the

creation of a peasant proprietary. It would now be useless to describe or discuss the details of the measure apart from the Land Act of 1881.

An equal absence of party feeling was shown in the settlement of the great question of National Education by the Bill which Mr. W. E. FORSTER conducted through the House of Commons with consummate tact and temper. He declared its object to be a "primary popular education, affecting the moral as well as the intellectual training of a vast proportion of the population of this country"; but he added a limit—which afterwards became important—that "the middle class should not step into its provisions, pleading the precedent of America." Rejecting the extreme proposal to supersede the existing voluntary schools by a compulsory system of purely secular education, and preserving the liberty to teach the elements of religion, free from all special creeds and formularies, and with a "conscience clause" for exempting the children of dissentients,—he referred all else to *School Boards*, elected triennially by the rate-payers by ballot, with power to levy an education-rate for the building and support of *Board Schools*, and to enforce the attendance of children whose education is not otherwise provided for. The experience of twelve years has attested, not also the good-working of the system, but its harmonious co-operation with the Voluntary Schools.*

Mr. Lowe's second Budget (April 11th) showed on the last year the marvellous surplus over *ordinary* revenue and expenditure of £7,869,000, out of which £4,300,000 had been applied to the Abyssinian war, and £1,134,000 to the extinction of floating debt; while £7,000,000 consols had been created to pay for the telegraphs, and, on the other hand, £7,884,000 of debt had been paid off by the operation of the Sinking Fund and Terminable Annuities. The estimated surplus for 1870-1 was £4,337,000, which Mr. Lowe proposed to divide between direct and indirect burdens by taking another 1*d.* off the Income Tax (making it 4*d.*), and reducing the sugar duties one-half, besides some lesser remissions. The very wise substitution of a licence of £1, to be taken out by every person carrying a gun, for the existing game certificates, would bring in a small gain.

Mr. Cardwell, Secretary for War, carried an Act for the reorganization of the army on a system of short service, with a further period of enrolment in the Reserve (33 and 34 Vict. c. 67).

Amidst this useful legislation, the country was startled by the sudden outbreak of the long-foreseen struggle between France and Prussia,—or rather, as it proved from the moment it began, between the French empire and united Germany,—at the time when it had been least expected, and from a cause so remote as hardly to give a pretext. The fatal story of the war begun by the Emperor of the French on the 15th of July forms no part of English history.

The British Government † took up the attitude of strict neutrality; and the House of Commons voted two millions of money for an addition of

* The Act is the 33 and 34 Vict. c. 75. A similar Act was passed for Scotland in 1872.

† Just at this crisis the duties of the Foreign Secretaryship devolved on earl Granville, by the death of lord Clarendon, at the age of 70 (June 27th).

20,000 men to the army and navy by way of precaution. Our concern for the safety of Belgium was inflamed by prince Bismarck's adroit publication of the draft of a secret treaty, proposed to him the year before by the French ambassador, offering to guarantee the gains of Prussia in the late war and to aid her in effecting the union of Germany, in return for which Prussia was to facilitate or even support the acquisition of Luxemburg and Belgium by France. Upon this our Government concluded two separate treaties with Prussia and France, engaging that, if either belligerent violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain would unite with the other in its defence, but without taking any part in the general operations of the war (August 9th and 11th).

The prorogation of Parliament was followed in quick succession by the news of the tremendous battles around Metz (August 16th-18th), the catastrophe of Sedan, the captivity of Napoleon III., and the fall of the second empire (September 4th). As the prospect darkened for France, the feelings which were at first all against her as the aggressor, and in sympathy with the cause of German unity, became more and more divided, through compassion for her disasters, indignation at the severity with which the Germans enforced the harsh usages of war, and distrust of Prussian ambition. Lord Granville had to exercise firmness in repelling the demand of count Bernstorff for a "benevolent" neutrality by prohibiting the export of arms, ammunition, and coal to France (Sept. 15th). But all such dangers were happily avoided, and the only share taken by England in the terrible drama was by contributing to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded, and relieving the distress resulting from the siege of Paris. It belongs to the history of Europe to record the terms on which preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles (March 1, 1871), after Paris had surrendered, and WILLIAM I. had been proclaimed Emperor of United Germany in the great hall of Louis XIV., amidst the pictures of Napoleon's victories (January 18th).^{*} But one result touched our own policy. The "benevolent neutrality" of Russia was rewarded by Prince Bismarck's support to her denunciation of the Black Sea clauses of the Peace of Paris (January 1st). A conference held in London abrogated the neutralization of the sea, but declared by a special protocol, that no nation should liberate itself from the obligations of a treaty without the consent of its co-signatories: a pledge soon proved to be worthless.

Another result of the war was the lesson, so often needed and forgotten, to look to the state of our defences; and among the measures suggested to Parliament by the Royal Message (February 9th), was one to regulate the army and auxiliary land forces by a change "from a less to a more effective and elastic system of defensive military preparation." The elaborate

^{*} A passing word is due to the effect of the war in the withdrawal of the French garrison from ROME, which was incorporated with the kingdom of Italy (October 9, 1870), and made the capital (January 28, 1871); and also to the consolation which the Pope obtained for the loss of his temporal power by the declaration of his *infallibility* by the 21st General Council at the Vatican (July 28, 1870), the first since that of Trent three centuries before.

scheme for this purpose, introduced by Mr. Cardwell, to complete the work begun the year before, was, after repeated debates, resolved into a bill for the abolition of the purchase of commissions, which, after passing the third reading by a majority of only 8 votes (239 to 231), was thrown out by the Lords by 155 to 130 (July 17th). To this decision Mr. Gladstone instantly replied by an act of prerogative, abolishing the system of purchase by Royal Warrant (July 20th); and a bill to compensate the holders of commissions, which might have become the object of purchase, was passed without opposition, but not without vehement remark.

This measure entailed an increase of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions on the coming year's expenditure for the army, and compelled Mr. Lowe to present a Budget showing a deficiency of £2,713,000 (April 20th). As if on purpose to add worry to dissatisfaction, the Chancellor complicated an increase of the Income Tax by a plan for its assessment by percentage instead of poundage; he enlisted natural feeling against him by proposing to raise the rate of Succession Duty in the case of near relations; and his Match Tax would have died of mere ridicule, if it had not also provoked a small riot among the London match-sellers. All had to be taken back, and replaced by an increased Income Tax of *2d.* in the pound. An important administrative change was made by the constitution of a *Local Government Board*, charged with the functions of the old Poor Law Board, as well as those hitherto discharged by the Secretary of State and the Privy Council concerning the Public Health and Local Government.* Religious Tests for degrees and offices in the Universities were at length abolished, under certain restrictions affecting degrees in divinity and clerical offices (c. 26); and sir John Lubbock carried his popular Bank Holiday Act (c. 17). Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of August. The Eighth Decennial Census, taken on the 3rd of April, showed a population of 31,817,108 in the United Kingdom; being an increase of 2,624,689 in the last ten years (*See the Tables at the end of this Chapter*, p. 405).

The close of the year was darkened by the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales, from the same disease which had carried off his father; and a nation held in deep suspense hailed the merciful coincidence by which the crisis took a favourable turn on the very anniversary of the Prince Consort's death (December 14th). By another coincidence, the event, happening at a time when some juvenile enthusiasts of ability and influence were promulgating abstract notions of republicanism, called forth a signal proof of loyalty to the Crown, as the living head and permanent centre in which the life of the nation finds a personal expression. No public solemnity was ever more heartfelt than that in which the Queen and people, without distinction of religion, joined in thanksgiving to God in St. Paul's Cathedral (February 27, 1872).

The quiet epoch of a Parliament entering on its fourth session (February 6, 1872) was chosen by Mr. Evelyn Denison to retire from the Speakership

* 34 and 35 Vict. c. 70.

on account of failing health, at the same time declining the usual pension. He was created vis-count Ossington, and was most worthily succeeded by Mr. (afterwards sir) HENRY BRAND, member for Cambridgeshire. This session at length saw the carrying of another item in the old Radical programme of Reform, the vote by ballot at Parliamentary and Municipal Elections. The other chief measures were a new Public Health Act (c. 79); one, long greatly needed, to check the adulteration of food, drink, and drugs (c. 74); a licensing act for the regulation of public-houses (c. 95); and one for autumn manœuvres of the army (c. 64), which were carried out with excellent effect. Mr. Lowe was consoled for his last year's fiasco by another prosperous Budget (March 25th), showing large surpluses both for the current and the coming year, which enabled him to reduce the Income Tax from 6*d.* to 4*d.*, and to halve the duty on coffee and chicory, besides some minor remissions. But a season of rain and floods, producing a bad harvest, and a general rise in prices, threatened a check to the tide of prosperity. Trade was hampered by a growing resort to strikes; and the spirit of trades' unionism found its way among the agricultural population in the Labourers' Union.

This year saw the closing of the long and irritating dispute with the United States, known by the general name of the *Alabama Claims*, from the too famous cruiser, which was built at Birkenhead for the Confederates just two years before, escaped from the Mersey the very day before lord Russell telegraphed to detain her (July 28, 1862), and, after preying for two years on the commerce of the Federal States, was sunk by the war-ship *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg (June 19, 1864). For the losses inflicted by her and some cruisers of less note, as well as for other alleged breaches of neutrality, the American Government had claimed damages, swollen to an amazing number of millions for "indirect losses," which last claims the British Government stedfastly rejected. After long and dangerous disputes, a joint commission framed the *Treaty of Washington* (May 8, 1871), for the settlement of all the claims and counter-claims of the two countries. Accordingly, a tribunal of arbitrators met at Geneva, and ended by adjudging a balance of £3,200,000 (in round numbers) to be paid by Great Britain. The general dissatisfaction at the judgment, from which sir A. Cockburn dissented, was the stronger that it was based on an *ex-post-facto* rule of neutrality, which we had conceded by the Washington Treaty; and it was aggravated by the adverse judgment of the German Emperor in another arbitration referred to him under the treaty. This long-standing dispute respecting the boundary of the two states in the mouth of the Columbia river, is known as the *San Juan* question, the point being, on which side of that island the boundary ran, as defined by the former "Ashburton" treaty of 1846.

The Parliament which reassembled for a *Fifth* session (February 6, 1873) seemed destined, with the Government it had brought into power, to emulate the duration of its predecessors. But Mr. Gladstone had undertaken to lay his axe to the third branch of the Irish "upas-tree"; and he

at once brought in the measure on University Education foreshadowed in the Royal Message. The result makes any account of its proposals superfluous. Received at first with favour as a fair compromise, it was soon found to share the fate of such measures by offending all parties concerned, Catholics, Protestant Churchmen, the interests of Trinity College, Dublin, and the advocates of free secular education; and Mr. Vernon Harcourt, while announcing his intention to support the bill, testified that it had been received in Ireland with "a unanimity of disapprobation." The rejection of the second reading by 3 votes (287 to 284) gave rise to a ministerial crisis, with the result of some sharp controversy between the leaders, on Mr. Disraeli's declining to undertake the Government with the existing House of Commons; and the Ministry, having resigned on March 13th, stood as before on the 20th. The attempted legislation was abandoned for the session; but MR. HENRY FAWCETT—who had some time since begun a distinguished political career made doubly remarkable by his blindness—carried a bill for abolishing religious tests (except for divinity degrees and clerical offices) in the University of Dublin (36 and 37 Vict. c. 21).

The great measure of the session was Lord Chancellor Selborne's *Judicature Act*, by which the administration of justice in England was centred in one "*Supreme Court*," of which the old courts of law and equity became divisions, these two systems of judicature being no longer severed; and the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal was further regulated.* The attempt to replace the ancient appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords by a new court was successfully resisted; and some time later a compromise was effected by the appointment of "law lords" with life peerages to reinforce that tribunal.

Another prosperous financial statement (April 4th) showed an estimated revenue of £76,617,000 to meet an expenditure of £71,871,000. From the surplus of £4,746,000, Mr. Lowe proposed to pay the award of the Geneva tribunal; to remit one-half of the duty on sugar, "the delight of the young and the solace of the old"; and to take off another penny from the Income Tax, leaving it at 3*d.*, the lowest rate at which it had ever stood. During the five years of Mr. Lowe's administration of the Exchequer, taxes to the amount of 12½ millions had been remitted, and the National Debt had been reduced by more than 20 millions. This was Mr. Lowe's last financial achievement; for, no sooner had Parliament been prorogued, than Mr. Gladstone announced his intention to take the Exchequer into his own hands, Mr. Lowe being transferred to the Home Secretaryship, and some other cabinet offices being redistributed. How far these changes denoted instability or dissension is one of the unsolved problems of contemporary history; but the chief one was a clear sign that the Prime Minister was

* 36 and 37 Vict. c. 66, amended by the Act of 1875 (38 and 39 Vict. c. 77), which further constituted the Court of Appeal. The Act came into operation on November 1, 1875; an attempt to extend the Act to Scotland and Ireland having been made and abandoned in the session of 1874. We happen to be writing this on the very day on which the measure has been crowned by the Queen's opening of the new Law Courts in the Strand (December 11, 1882).

meditating another of his brilliant strokes of finance. Besides the opportunity offered by the steadily expanding revenue, and the importance of signaling the approaching end of another Parliament by popular measures, signs had begun to gather of an adverse current of opinion, which it was necessary to reconcile and turn. The licensing bill of last session, and still more the bolder scheme at first proposed for selling public-house licences to the highest bidder, had offended an interest which had great influence in elections; while other measures of reform had provoked a conservative reaction. The Alabama award was resented as a national humiliation, without nicely weighing the responsibility of the present Government; and the high-handed procedure of the Royal Warrant had been followed by acts which the Prime Minister's opponents ascribed to inordinate self-will. The surest test of a declining Government was afforded by a series of losses in by-elections;* and the keen adversary, watching the turn of the tide, seized one of these as the opportunity to fulminate the bitter indictment, famous as his "Bath letter." † "For nearly five years" (wrote Mr. Disraeli) "the present Ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country. Occasionally they have varied this state of civil warfare by perpetrating some job which outraged public opinion, or by stumbling into mistakes which have been always discreditable, and sometimes ruinous. All this they call a policy, and seem quite proud of it; but the country has, I think, made up its mind to close this career of plundering and blundering."

The new year (1874) had begun without any sign of an intention to reverse the presumption of the by-elections by an appeal to the country, when a signal defeat at Stroud was supposed to be "the last drop that made the cup run o'er." Parliament had been summoned for the despatch of business on the 5th of February, when all the world was startled, on January 24th, by a letter from Mr. Gladstone to his constituents at Greenwich, announcing its immediate dissolution,‡ as the result of a Cabinet meeting held the day before. "That authority"—he said—"which was in 1868 amply confided by the nation to the Liberal party and its leaders, if it has now sunk below the point necessary for the due defence and prosecution of the public interests, can be in no way so legitimately and effectually restored as by an appeal to the people, who, by their reply to such an appeal, may place beyond all challenge two great questions: the first, what they think of the manner in which the commission granted in 1868

* The general result of the elections since 1868 to January, 1874, was estimated to have been a Liberal loss of 32 seats against only 9 lost by the Conservatives, and a reduction of the ministerial majority from 116 to 70.

† The letter was written to Lord Grey de Wilton (October 3rd), with reference to a contest for Bath, in which the Liberal candidate was successful, but by so small a majority as really to give another blow to the Government.

‡ The proclamation was issued on the 26th, the writs being made returnable on the 5th of March.

has been executed; the second, what further commission they now think fit to give to their representatives, and in what hands its fulfilment and the administration of the Government are to be entrusted." The special measures he went on to foreshadow were: a removal of the difficulties in the education question by "the wisdom of the renovated legislature," an assimilation of the county to the borough franchise, and, above all, the long-desired and despaired-of cessation of the Income Tax. The current year showed a probable surplus of at least 5 millions; and with this basis, and certain readjustments of taxation (*what* these were to be—has remained his secret to the time we write), not only might the 5 or 6 millions produced by the tax be spared, but the landed interest were promised a payment out of the national exchequer in relief of local rates. To this tempting offer Mr. Disraeli's address made the rejoinder, that he found in Mr. Gladstone's "prolix narrative" nothing definite as to the policy he would pursue except this—that, having the prospect of a large surplus, he will, if retained in power, devote that surplus to the remission of taxation, which would be the course of any party or any ministry. The rejection of Mr. Gladstone's magnificent offer is perhaps the best measure of the Conservative reaction which had set in. The elections gave a Conservative majority, estimated at more than 50; and Mr. Gladstone followed the precedent set by Mr. Disraeli in 1868, of resigning without meeting the new Parliament (February 17th).

MR. DISRAELI'S *Second Ministry*, formed on the 20th, was remarkable (as compared with recent practice) for the small number of the Cabinet, which was composed of 12 peers and 12 commoners. In addition to most of his late colleagues, the two who had so conspicuously seceded on the question of reform, returned to the Cabinet, the marquis of Salisbury as Secretary for India, and the earl of Carnarvon as Secretary for the Colonies. The Exchequer was entrusted to sir Stafford Northcote, who had been trained under Mr. Gladstone, as his private secretary, Mr. Ward Hunt going to the Admiralty;* and the new appointment of Mr. Cross (afterwards sir Richard) to the Home Office proved a success.

Just at this time another of our "little wars" was happily finished. The *Ashantee* tribe had long been troublesome neighbours to our settlements on the West Coast of Africa, especially by their attacks on the friendly tribe of Fantees bordering on Cape Coast Castle. There had been an Ashantee War in 1824 and the following years, ended by a treaty of peace and commerce in 1831. New aggressions in 1863 had forced the Governor of Cape Coast Castle into military operations, which were suspended through the sickness of our troops. In 1872, Elmina and the Dutch settlements on the Guinea Coast were transferred by a treaty to Great Britain, and consolidated with our former possessions as the *Gold Coast Colony*. Upon this, the king of Ashantee, Koffee Kalcalli, a ferocious tyrant and perpetrator of human sacrifices, pretending some rights to Elmina, attacked our

* Mr. Ward Hunt died in July, 1877, and was succeeded by Mr. W. H. Smith, who had made his reputation as Secretary to the Treasury.

allies, the Fantees (April, 1873). Our inadequate naval force suffered a reverse in operating on the river Prah; and the war was entrusted to sir GARNET WOLSELEY, who had proved his bravery in the Crimea and India, and his skill in the Red River rebellion.* By prudent strategy in a difficult country, with a very moderate force, he defeated the Ashantees and advanced through the bush to their capital, Coomassie, which was burnt in order to bring King Koffee to make terms. A treaty, signed at Fommarab on February 13, 1874, stipulated for free trade and the abolition of human sacrifices; King Koffee renouncing his claims of sovereignty over certain districts, and promising to pay an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold. The cost of the war, £900,000, was paid out of the surplus revenue of the year. A more pleasing episode of this time was the marriage of her Majesty's second son, prince ALFRED, duke of Edinburgh, to the grand-duchess Marie, daughter of the Emperor of Russia, at St. Petersburg (January 23rd); a suitable provision having been made in the preceding session.†

* See above, p. 398. Associated with sir Garnet were other officers who shared with him the honours of the Egyptian campaign in 1882—sir Archibald Alison (son of the historian), and commodore Hewitt, whose decision in occupying Suez secured the Canal.

† It seems convenient here to record the other royal marriages:—of her Majesty's third and fourth daughters, the princess HELENA to prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg (July 5, 1866), and the princess LOUISE to the marquis of Lorne, eldest son of the duke of Argyll (March 21, 1871); and of her Majesty's third and fourth sons, prince ARTHUR, duke of Connaught, to the princess Louise, daughter of prince Frederick Charles (the famous "Red Prince") of Prussia (March 13, 1879), and prince LEOPOLD, duke of Albany, to the princess Hélène, daughter of prince Waldeck (April 27, 1882).

NOTE.—CENSUS OF POPULATION.

	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.
England and Wales.....	15,914,148	17,927,609	20,066,224	22,712,266	25,968,286
Scotland	2,620,184	2,888,742	3,062,294	3,360,018	3,734,441
Ireland	8,175,124	6,574,278	5,798,967	5,411,416	5,159,839
Islands	124,040	143,126	143,447	144,638	141,223
Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen Abroad...	202,954	212,194	250,356	229,000	242,844
United Kingdom	27,036,450	27,745,949	29,321,288	31,857,338	35,246,633

CHAPTER XXXV.

MR. DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY (1874-1880)—Mr. Gladstone's Retirement—Lords Hartington and Granville—The Queen's *Ninth Parliament*—Home Rule—Sir Stafford Northcote's First Budget—Public Worship Act—The Fiji Islands annexed—Acts of Parliament (1875)—Sir S. Northcote's Sinking Fund—The Prince of Wales in India—The Queen, *Empress of India* (1876)—Mr. Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield—The Eastern Question again—State of Turkey—Rising in the Herzegovina and Bosnia—Bulgarian Insurrection and Atrocities—The Fleet sent to Besika Bay—Russian Policy in the Balkan Peninsula—The Servian and Montenegrin Wars—Agitation in England—Conference at Constantinople—*War of Russia against Turkey (1877)*—Parliament—University Reform—Obstruction—Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions—Early Session of 1878—Victory and Advance of Russia—Armistice of Adrianople—Vote of Credit for £6,000,000—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—Mr. Gladstone at Oxford—Feeling of the People—Collapse of the Opposition—The Fleet in the Sea of Marmora—*Peace of San Stefano*—Resignation of Lord Derby—Lord Salisbury's Circular—The Army Reserves and Troops from India—The Salisbury-Shouvalov Agreement—Anglo-Turkish Convention: Occupation of Cyprus—The TREATY OF BERLIN—Greece—"Peace with Honour"—The Budget—Turning of the Political Tide—Shere Ali and Russia: Invasion of Afghanistan: Treaty of *Gandamak*—The December Session—Death of the Princess Alice—The Transvaal and Zululand—War with Cetewayo (1879)—Parliament—Renewed War in Afghanistan—Agitation against the Government: Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian—Seventh Session of Parliament (1880)—Dissolution and Great Liberal Victory—MR. GLADSTONE'S *Second Ministry*: New Epoch—Death of Lord Beaconsfield—Conclusion.

THE *Ninth Parliament* of Queen Victoria, the *Twenty-first* of the United Kingdom, met on the 5th of March, when Mr. Brand was unanimously re-elected Speaker.* After an adjournment for the ministerial re-elections, the session was formally opened by a Royal Message, which indicated the intention of ministers to base their reputation on the accomplishment of moderate practical reforms. The foretaste of another Irish trouble was given by an Amendment on the Address, in favour of "Home Rule," moved by Mr. Isaac Butt, who, from a Conservative, had become the leader of the new party, and supported by 50 votes. Lord Salisbury had to make the painful announcement of a terrible famine in Bengal, and to ask for a large loan, to be expended in direct relief and public works.

* One word must suffice to record Mr. Gladstone's temporary retirement from the leadership of the Liberal Party, which took place virtually now, and decidedly from the beginning of the next year, when Lord Hartington was chosen as their leader in the Commons, with Lord Granville in the Lords.

The question of greatest interest was that of the promised surplus, and "what will he do with it." The Budget opened by sir Stafford Northcote (April 16th) showed that Mr. Gladstone's expectations had even been exceeded. The expenditure and liabilities of the past year, estimated at less than 72 millions, had been swollen to $76\frac{1}{2}$ by the Alabama and Ashantee affairs, against an estimated revenue (after remissions of taxation) of $73\frac{3}{4}$ millions, but the latter had in fact been $77\frac{1}{3}$; and the estimate of revenue for the new year was nearly 78 millions, against an expenditure of $72\frac{1}{2}$, leaving the unprecedented surplus of just upon $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions! Surely the time was come at last to throw off the incubus of the hated tax, as Sindbad cast off the relaxing legs of the old man and then dashed out his brains. Had not the Prime Minister capped his predecessor's promise with the scornful rejoinder, that it was only borrowing an old item of Conservative policy? But, to use Mr. Disraeli's phrase, "a great deal had happened since then." In rejecting the late Ministry, in spite of so magnificent an offer, the people might be held to have set little store, or little reliance, on the offer itself; and, besides, its practical fulfilment was only promised by means which the great master had kept in his own counsel; and was sir Stafford Northcote to go forth in quest of Prospero's buried wand? He had other claims to satisfy, foremost among which was the proposal, long since made by Mr. Disraeli, and just now offered by Mr. Gladstone himself to the county electors, of a grant from the consolidated fund in aid of local taxation. To this purpose the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to apply $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the surplus, besides removing the duty on horses and horse-dealers' licences. As to the Income Tax, he maintained the policy of keeping its machinery in action to meet emergencies—an argument against which may be set the dangerous facility of resorting to it, which has been exemplified both before and since. Instead therefore of attempting the promised repeal of the impost, he divided his remissions about equally between direct and indirect taxation, taking off *1d.* so as to reduce the Income Tax to *2d.*, the lowest point it has ever reached, and totally abolishing the sugar duties. The Budget was accepted as a fair and prudent dealing with existing circumstances. The other Acts of the session, though not unimportant, are hardly now of much general interest, with the exception of the *Public Worship Regulation Act*,* introduced by the archbishop of Canterbury, and defined by Mr. Disraeli as a Bill "to put down Ritualism," in which—not to enter on thorny questions—it is enough to say that it has not succeeded. The prosperity due to a brilliant summer and a bountiful harvest was somewhat checked by the dullness of trade. The annexation of the Fiji Islands, at the request of the inhabitants, supplied—with other advantages—an important station on the great ocean route between our Australasian colonies and San Francisco, and thence by railway across America and by the many lines of steam-vessels to England.

* 37 and 38 Vict. c. 85.—As we write these lines, archbishop Tait has passed away (December 3, 1882), leaving a memory of goodness and wisdom in his high office, which may compare with the best of his predecessors.

The session of 1875, opened on the 5th of February, was again occupied with practical rather than political legislation. The Home Secretary, Mr. Cross, carried an important measure for the improvement of the dwellings of the working classes in London and other great towns, by enabling the local authorities to clear away dilapidated and squalid tenements, and to procure the erection of suitable houses in their place.* The strenuous efforts of Mr. Plimsoll, the member for Derby, to correct the abuses in the building and loading of ships, to which he ascribed countless wrecks and loss of life, bore some partial fruit in the Merchant Shipping Act of the Government (c. 88).

A further decline in trade, marked by heavy failures, told its tale in the Budget (April 15th), which for the first time for several years showed but a slight balance of revenue over expenditure. In spite of this unfavourable opportunity, sir Stafford Northcote took in hand a serious attempt to reduce the National Debt by a new form of Sinking Fund, which was adopted against some opposition from Mr. Gladstone. The plan, which would come into full operation in 1877, was to apply each year to the Debt a fixed sum of 28 millions, which, over and above the annual charge for interest and management, would extinguish a portion of the capital, progressively increasing, of course, with the progressive diminution of the residue. Sir Stafford Northcote calculated that, by the operation of this scheme, £6,800,000 would be paid off the debt by 1885, and no less than 213 millions in thirty years. The measure has been justified by the experience of seven years, amidst no small temptations to that weakness of sinking funds, their suspension in times of pressure.

The efforts to relieve the famine in India, the prosperity now prevailing there, and other circumstances, had revived a new interest in the Queen's Eastern Empire, which gave Mr. Disraeli an opportunity to carry out large views he had long meditated for its still closer attachment to the Crown. Parliament voted £60,000 for the expenses of a visit to India by the Prince of Wales, which proved a brilliant success (October, 1875, to March, 1876). The enthusiastic respect with which the heir to the throne was honoured by the native Princes, whom he received in his new year's Chapter of the Star of India at Calcutta, proved the truth of what had been said in 1858, that *they understood an Empress*,† and that they recognized the reality of her Empire over all India. In fact they understood and recognized it better than many at home, as was proved by the lively, though numerically small, opposition to the proposal, made at the opening of the next session, to commemorate the Prince's visit by declaring the Queen of England to be by title, what she was in reality, EMPRESS OF INDIA. The patriotic aversion to any substitution of a title linked with despotism and military ambition, from the age of Rome to that of modern Europe, for the honoured name of

* 38 and 39 Vict. c. 36. Mr. Disraeli's well-intended Agricultural Holdings Act (c. 92) was of little effect in settling the question of compensation for improvements, owing to its being optional.

† See chap. xxx. p. 357.

King or Queen, was guarded by the provision that the title should not be used within the United Kingdom. The Bill passed through Parliament after animated debates; and the title was proclaimed in London on April 28, 1876, and in India, with great solemnities, on the 1st of January, 1877. Closely connected with the policy of securing and strengthening our Indian Empire, was Mr. Disraeli's happy stroke of purchasing the shares of Egypt held by the Khedive of Egypt in the Suez Canal; but the events passing as we write warn us that our connection with Egypt belongs to future history.

The session which opened on the 8th of February, and closed on the 15th of August, 1876, added to the Statute Book several useful acts, the details of which need not detain us. The Budget again proved that the tide of financial prosperity had turned, by an estimated deficit of £774,000 to meet an expenditure which had risen to 78 millions. The Income Tax was raised again from its *one year's minimum* of 2*d.* to 3*d.* in the pound; but sir Stafford Northcote proposed further concessions, raising the limit of total exemption from £100 to £150, and allowing a deduction of £120 to be made from the assessment of incomes under £400. A cold wet summer and bad harvest aggravated the depression of trade, which was shown by heavy commercial failures. The close of the session witnessed the retirement of the leader, who found quiet for his advancing years in the House of Lords, by the title of EARL OF BEACONSFIELD (August 18th). Addressing his late constituents, he said that "he would never have left the House of Commons but for physical warning that he could no longer do his duty there. He therefore proposed to her Majesty that he should altogether retire from her service. Her Majesty was pleased to suggest, however, that he should retain office and accept a peerage, and, as his colleagues unanimously concurred in the suggestion, he had felt it his duty to concur in it." But, before he left the old familiar scene, the quiet of the last three sessions had been broken by the new storm from the East, which was soon to rouse a party conflict of almost unexampled vehemence. How the Eastern Question was revived, must be presently told with suitable brevity. From the first it roused a state of feeling very different from that which had moved the British nation twenty years before. The old distrust of Russia, and resolve to resist her aggression, was for the time* overshadowed by a deep sense of the corruption and misgovernment of Turkey, and by sympathy with her oppressed Christian subjects. But this state of feeling was as yet only partially declared. It found expression in a motion by Mr. Bruce, when the policy of the Crimean war was reviewed and defended by Mr. Gladstone, with expressions of satisfaction at the moral and political results that had followed from it (July 31st).

Ten days later, Mr. Evelyn Ashley seized the Appropriation Bill as an opportunity of censuring the temporizing policy of lord Derby and sir Henry Elliot, our ambassador at Constantinople; and sir William Harcourt struck the key-note which was soon to swell to a diapason, in an eloquent

* The reason of this qualification will appear presently.

denunciation of the Turks, and eulogium on the moderation of Russia. When Mr. Disraeli rose to reply, none knew, save himself and his immediate friends, that it was his last speech in the House of Commons. After repelling his assailants with the old familiar arms of sarcasm, he went to the heart of the question in the same spirit in which Palmerston and Russell had been used to vindicate the fixed policy of the English people and the Liberal party. "What may be the fate of the eastern part of Europe it may be arrogant for me to speculate upon. . . . But I am sure that, as long as England is ruled by English parties who understand the principles on which our empire is founded, and who are resolved to maintain that empire, our influence in that part of the world can never be looked upon with indifference. . . . But those who suppose that England ever would uphold, or at this particular moment is upholding, Turkey from blind superstition or from a want of sympathy with the highest interests of humanity, are deceived. What our duty is at this critical moment, is to maintain the empire of England. Nor will we ever agree to any step, though it may obtain for a moment comparative quiet and a false prosperity, that hazards the existence of that empire." The crisis that called forth this declaration of a purely English policy must now be reviewed, but only so far as it bears on our own history.

During the twenty years that had passed since the Crimean War, England had never ceased to urge Turkey to internal reformation and justice to her Christian subjects, and that with far more effect than it soon became the fashion to represent. But the mighty influence of lord Stratford de Redcliffe was no longer present to overawe a body of corrupt pashas, to control and guide a weak and sensual sovereign,* and especially to counteract the intrigues of the power that encouraged the vices which were destroying her destined prey. Such was the deliberate policy of the Russian ambassador, general Ignatiev, who obtained over the young sultan Abd-ul-Aziz an ascendancy so complete, that his deposition alone prevented his calling the Russian armies to Constantinople.

Corruption and misgovernment had long become intolerable in all the provinces of the Turkish empire. The first sign of the great crisis was given in 1875 by a new insurrection in the Herzegovina, which quickly spread to Bosnia, and was encouraged by Montenegro. Just when Turkey

* When our ally in the war of 1854, the Sultan ABD-UL-MEJID (son of the great Mahmoud II.), died at the age of 38 (1861), lord Palmerston described him as "a good-hearted and weak-headed man, who was riding two horses to the goal of perdition—his own life and that of his empire:—luckily for the empire his own life won the race." His brother ABD-UL-AZIZ, who succeeded him at the age of 31, gave better promise at first, but his enormous expenditure on the army and navy, as well as the establishments of the palace, laid the most oppressive imposts on his subjects, and brought ruin on himself. He was deposed, May 30, 1876, in favour of his nephew MURAD V. (son of Abd-ul-Mejid), and died within a week (whether by suicide or murder is still doubtful). Murad was deposed as mentally incapable (August 31st), and succeeded by his brother ABD-UL-HAMID II., of whom lord Beaconsfield said, "He is not a tyrant; he is not dissolute; he is not a bigot, or corrupt": but he has since shown a will often more strong than wise.

most needed help, she forfeited the sympathy of England by a virtual repudiation of her debt (October). The northern powers had united to press reforms upon the Porte, in a Note named from its author, count Andrassy, in which the English Government concurred with some hesitation; and the Porte accepted the five leading points of the Note (February, 1876). But this prospect of pacification was terribly dispelled by a new insurrection in *Bulgaria*, long prepared under the instigation of foreign emissaries.* Its outbreak by the massacre of the Turks at the village of Avrat-Alan (May 1st) threw the unprepared authorities into a panic, which spread far and wide among the Turks. The troops, which could easily have put down the rising, were kept back by the influence of general Ignatiev; upon which the governor of Bulgaria let loose the irregular troops, called *Bashi-Bazouks*, and the Circassians, who had entered the Turkish service as refugees, bringing with them the ruthless habits which had been practised on both sides in their internecine war with their Russian conquerors.† The horrible atrocities of these irregulars in suppressing the rebellion soon proved the make-weight which turned the scale of English feeling against Turkey; but they were at once denounced by the British Ambassador, and by lord Derby, as soon as he received his report. Meanwhile the state of panic at Constantinople was so threatening to the European residents, that sir Henry Elliot telegraphed for the Mediterranean fleet, which the Government sent, first to Smyrna, and afterwards to Besika Bay.‡ Necessary as this step was for the first object, which it at once effected by putting a stop to the panic at Constantinople, it was not taken without a view also to the Russian intrigues, which were only frustrated by the deposition of the Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz (May 30th).§ When questioned in the House, Mr. Disraeli declared:—"The Mediterranean fleet is a symbol and guarantee of our power. We have never concealed that we have in that part of the world great interests which we must protect; and we determined that, whatever happened, there should not be any change in the distribution of the world in that part without our knowledge. . . . It is said we sent the fleet to the Dardanelles to maintain the Turkish Empire. I entirely deny it: *we sent the fleet to maintain the interests of the British Empire.*" ||

* The true history of the Bulgarian insurrection, as well as of the atrocities perpetrated in suppressing it, must be sought, not in party pamphlets and speeches, but in the report by Mr. Baring, H.M. Consul, who was sent on a special mission to investigate the facts (published September, 1876).

† What a Russian general meant by massacring a Turkoman tribe "*in the Circassian style*," may be learnt by the impartial testimony of Mr. Schuyler, the American consul, who was also one of the first to expose the Bulgarian atrocities to the indignation of Europe. (See Schuyler's "*Turkistan*," vol. ii. pp. 359, 360.)—The first account of the atrocities published in England appeared in the "*Daily News*" of June 23rd, from its correspondent at Constantinople.

‡ For the importance of this station with reference to an entrance into the Dardanelles in case of necessity, see chap. xvii. p. 189.

§ See above, p. 410, n.

|| A perfect historical parallel may here be noted. Six years later the Prime Minister said repeatedly in substance:—"It has been said that we sent the fleet to Alexandria to

In speaking of the designs of Russia, the distinction must be borne in mind, between what Mr. Forster—who published the observations made in a visit to the East, with his usual candour, called the “Two Russias”: namely, schemes of dynastic ambition on the one hand, and, on the other, the aspirations of Slavonian nationality, both among the Russian people and the Southern Slavs of the Balkan peninsula, which are expressed by the general name of *Panslavism*. This movement has sometimes been used as a pretext by Russian imperial policy, which at other times has been forced into action by the Panslavic agitation; but the notion of a strong independent South Slavonic state, which was now rising into favour in England, was as distasteful to the policy of Russia as that revived Greek Empire at Constantinople, which Nicholas had declared that he would spend his last man and his last rouble to prevent. Meanwhile, the movement was to be fostered, in order to weaken and disintegrate the state which was to fall the easier prey; but the elements of disorder could not always be kept in hand. Foremost among these was the desire both of Servia and Montenegro for independence, and the hope of the former even to revive the old Servian kingdom in south-eastern Europe. We have the remarkable testimony of the patriotic Servian bishop Strossmayer, that, in the preceding year, “Prince Gortchakov informed Prince Milan that Russia was *unprepared*; that only *within three years* did she count on taking Constantinople, and that only then would she call on the Slavs of the south to plant the Greek cross on the dome of St. Sophia.” But, as the insurrection in the Herzegovina was prematurely commenced against the advice of Russia, so now—we still follow the bishop’s statement—Servia and Montenegro went to war of their own accord; a war, it must be added, for which Servia had not the least pretence of a grievance to allege. The two principalities declared war on the 1st and 2nd of July; and Servia was presently flooded with that host of Russian volunteers, which made what was truly called an “unofficial war.” The deaths of some who were known through Russia as Panslavic leaders raised a demand for war, which became almost irresistible when the Servians were utterly defeated at the end of October. But the Czar, who preferred the attempt to obtain his present objects * by the “concert of Europe” to the risk of a European war, was content to demand an armistice.

In truth, however, the danger of the alternative had been averted by the turn of popular feeling in England, through indignation at the atrocities in Bulgaria, which scarcely needed the fervid eloquence with which Mr. Gladstone rushed back into the arena of politics, † or the speeches

uphold the Khedive Tewfik. I entirely deny it. We sent the fleet, and after it an army, to maintain the interests of the British Empire.” The only difference, that the one minister secured peace without actual hostilities, while the other made war in the interests of peace, does not affect the common motive, equally honourable to each as (to borrow Lord John Russell’s famous saying) the Minister—not of Turkey, nor of Russia, nor of Egypt—but *the Minister of England*.

* Let the great distinction be remembered between the steadfast aim of Russian policy towards Turkey, and the particular object proposed at any one time.

† Mr. Gladstone’s pamphlet, entitled “Bulgarian Atrocities,” was published on the 6th of September.

of other chiefs of the Opposition, to bear down all thought of going to war for Turkey, whether for her sake or our own. It would serve no good purpose to follow the autumnal agitation, an impartial narrative of which would probably displease both parties. Enough to say, the old policy of maintaining the "independence and integrity" of Turkey became a byword of scorn, and, when lord Salisbury went as plenipotentiary to the Conference of the Great Powers at Constantinople, the Turks regarded him as little better than an enemy. Their rejection of the terms proposed brought the conference to an end (January 20, 1877); and, after some further diplomatic forms, the Emperor of Russia declared that "his patience was exhausted," and took on himself the enforcement of "the mandate of Europe" (April 23rd). An offensive and defensive alliance with Roumania brought the forces, which had been prepared even during the conference, to the Danube.* The Great Powers proclaimed their neutrality, the British Government protesting against the infraction of the treaty of 1856. The incidents of the war do not fall within our subject; but the interest with which they were followed leaves little else to relate.

The opening of Parliament (February 8th) gave occasion for animated debates on the Eastern Question; but the peaceful policy of our Government was attested by a decrease both in the Army and Navy Estimates. The Budget involved no material alteration; but its calculations were afterwards completely altered by the supplemental votes called for by the turn which the Russo-Turkish war took at the end of the year. The most important measures of the session were: a *Prisons' Act*,† by which, among other regulations, the chief government of prisons was transferred from local magistrates to the Home Secretary, and their cost to the consolidated fund: an Act to enable two Commissions, the one for Oxford, the other for Cambridge, to make new Statutes for the Universities, chiefly with the view of greatly strengthening the professorial staff, the means of supporting the new chairs being supplied by contributions from the revenues of the Colonies to that of the University (c. 48). An Act to give effect to lord Carnarvon's scheme for the confederation of the South African Colonies (c. 47) was found to be premature. It was in one of the debates on this Bill, that the House had a foretaste of that system of obstruction, in which the extreme "Home Rule Party" of Irish Members persisted session after session.

When the war between Russia and Turkey had fairly broken out, Mr. Gladstone made an elaborate attack on the whole policy of the Ministry in moving a series of five resolutions, which he ultimately reduced to two (May 7th). His charge of having broken the European concert was retorted upon Russia by the Home Secretary, Mr. Cross, who declared that the rule laid down by the Government was neutrality, *but yet* there were certain points—such as Egypt, the Suez Canal, and Constantinople—to touch which would be to threaten the interests, not of England only, but of Europe.

* Servia signed a peace with Turkey as late as March 4, 1877, but declared war again at the end of the year, in order to share in the fruits of the Russian victory. Montenegro, overpowered by the Turkish arms in June, renewed the war in September.

† 40 and 41 Vict. c. 21.

In closing the debate, Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows:—"If Russia should fail, her failure will be disastrous to mankind, because it will leave the condition of the Christian people of Turkey worse than it was before. If Russia should succeed, that Power, notwithstanding all your jealousies, if its conduct be honourable or even prudent, cannot fail to observe a moderation which will secure for her undying renown in consequence of the accomplishment of the work she has taken in hand." The resolutions were negatived by a vote of 354 to 223; a majority of more than 3 to 2 in approval of the policy of the Government. In proroguing Parliament (August 14th), the Royal Speech, while reiterating the policy of neutrality, and promising to use efforts for the restoration of peace, when an opportunity should occur, made another significant reference to interests which might be affected by the war.*

In accordance with this declaration, Parliament was called together as early as the 17th of January, 1878, to consider the new crisis that had come when the Turkish defence had completely broken down. The fortified camp of Plevna, in Bulgaria, from which Osman Pasha had twice repulsed the Russians and Roumanians, was at length, after a last desperate sally, reduced by famine; and its surrender cost the Turks their best army of 30,000 men and 400 guns† (Dec. 10, 1877). While the Sultan invoked the mediation of England, and his request, simply forwarded by our Government, was refused by the Czar (December 31st), the Russian forces crossed the Balkan; the Turkish army of 32,000 men, which had clung to the Shipka Pass while its presence in Bulgaria might have turned the scale, was forced to lay down its arms (January 10, 1878); and the Grand Duke Nicholas informed the Turkish commander in Roumelia, that there could be no question of an armistice at present without a basis of peace. Recounting this state of affairs, and expressing the hope of a peaceful solution of the points at issue, the Queen's Message added:—"But I cannot conceal from myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution"—for which the liberality of Parliament was appealed to. In fact, on that same day, the last Turkish army in Roumelia was defeated by general Gourka, and driven off to the coast of the Egean, where it took shipping for Constantinople; and the plenipotentiaries, who arrived next day in the Russian camp, were informed by the Grand Duke Nicholas that conditions of peace must be discussed at Adrianople, which was forthwith surrendered without a blow (January 18th). The conditions for an armistice were accepted on the 25th, but it was not yet known that they placed the outer lines which protected Constantinople in the hands of the Russians.

The appeal to the liberality of Parliament was for a supplemental vote of six millions for the army and navy, and at the same time it was announced

* At the Lord Mayor's banquet (November 9th) Lord Beaconsfield summed up his policy in the phrase of "conditional neutrality."

† In Asia, Kars had been taken by assault, with the loss of 12,000 men killed and wounded, and 300 guns (November 18th).

that our fleet had been ordered to enter the Dardanelles "to defend British subjects and British property, and to take care of British interests in the Straits." It now appeared that lord Carnarvon and lord Derby had opposed these measures in the Cabinet; and while the former resigned,* the latter was induced to remain, and the order to the fleet was for the present countermanded. It was now that Mr. Gladstone made open proclamation of that personal conflict (we say personal in none but a political sense) with his great rival, which he carried on vehemently for two years to its triumphant issue. Addressing a meeting of Liberal undergraduates at Oxford, he spoke of lord Derby with high respect, but regretted his want of the strong purpose of his chief. "It is lord Beaconsfield's will that takes effect, fitfully and with fluctuations, in the policy of the Government, and that from time to time succeeds in bringing the country into danger." Accepting the reproach, that for the last eighteen months he had played the part of an agitator, he declared that "his purpose had been, to the best of his power, day and night, week by week, month by month, to counterwork what he believed to be the purposes of lord Beaconsfield" (January 30th).

The tide of English feeling, which in the autumn of 1876 had set in against our former Eastern policy, had been visibly on the turn as the war went on, and strong sympathy had been shown with the gallant defence of Plevna; but now the danger of Constantinople made the reaction complete. The city of London, which used to be regarded as giving what the Romans called the "prerogative vote" of the liberal feeling of the country, declared itself when a meeting called to protest against the vote of 6 millions was converted into an enthusiastic declaration for the policy of the Government (January 31st), and its resolutions were afterwards adopted by a majority of 127 to 5 in the Common Council. On that 31st of January, which happened also to be the day when the preliminaries were signed at Adrianople, Mr. Forster moved, on the part of the Opposition, an amendment denying that there was any necessity for the vote of credit. On the fifth night of the debate (February 7th) both Houses met in a state of great excitement, to learn that the Russian army was within 30 miles of Constantinople, and had insisted on occupying a post in the outer line of defences and a port on the Sea of Marmora; and were threatening the peninsula of Gallipoli, which commands the passage of the Dardanelles. The Opposition collapsed at once; Mr. Forster offered to withdraw his amendment, and the question of going into Committee was carried by 295 votes against 96. On the next evening both Houses were informed that the fleet had been ordered to enter the Sea of Marmora; and, when the question for the vote of credit was put, lord Hartington, Mr. Forster, and other leaders of the Opposition, left the House, while Mr. Gladstone, fighting like Hal o' the Wynd "of his own hand," was supported only by 124 votes against 328 (Feb. 8th). Disregarding the Porte's refusal of a firman,† the fleet passed the Dardanelles on the

* Sir Michael Hicks Beach became Secretary for the Colonies, and was succeeded as Irish Secretary by Mr. James Lowther.

† See, as to this point, chap. xvi. p. 170, and more especially chap. xviii. p. 197.

13th, and anchored at Prince's Island, about 14 miles from Constantinople. Prince Gortchakov declared that this step gave Russia the right to a temporary occupation of Constantinople, for the same purpose of protecting Christian residents, but lord Derby's protest was effectual. On the 3rd of March, Russia and Turkey signed the PEACE OF SAN STEFANO, the work of general Ignatiev, and embodying the objects for which he had so long laboured at Constantinople, short of the final act of appropriation: for *this* was forbidden by the resolute attitude of England. It is needless to recite the articles which were afterwards confirmed, or those which were entirely abrogated (among these was the long-contested protectorate of Russia over the Christians in Turkey); but that which related to *Bulgaria* created a virtually independent state on both sides of the Balkans,* extending from the Euxine to the Egean, and leaving to Turkey only a narrow territory about Constantinople, the Sea of Marmora, and the Straits. The English Government at once declared that so manifest an infraction of the treaty of 1856 could not be made without the sanction of Europe; while Russia, admitting this in some degree, refused to submit the treaty *as a whole* to the judgment of a conference. *How near* we were to war is yet to be revealed; but it was presently announced that lord Derby refused to share the responsibility of the measures decided on by the Cabinet (March 28th). The first act of his successor, lord Salisbury,† was to address a circular to the European courts, vindicating the demand of England, on the ground not only of particular clauses of the treaty, every stipulation of which he declared to involve a departure from the treaty of 1856, but especially by "the operation of the instrument as a whole."

One of the measures from which lord Derby dissented proved to be the calling out of the *Army Reserves*, a power given to the Crown "in case of imminent national danger or of great emergency."‡ A message from her Majesty declared that the latter case had arisen; and the address in response, vehemently opposed by Mr. Gladstone in the Commons, was carried by 319 to 64. The Houses had no sooner risen for Easter than the other measure hinted at by lord Derby was announced: a force of 6,000 Indian troops was called to Malta (April 17th). The refined constitutional objection, urged both by Mr. Gladstone and the regular Opposition, that the bringing these troops to Europe was an infraction of the limit imposed by Parliament in its annual vote of the number of the army, prevailed little

* This name was used ambiguously throughout the whole question. The Turkish province of Bulgaria, as shown on the maps, lay between the Danube and the Greater Balkan (Mt. Hæmus), south of which was *Roumelia*. But in the latter province there were many Bulgarians, especially in the north-western angle between the Greater and Lesser Balkan (Mt. Rhodope), and, in fact, this district was the scene of the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876. It was a constant artifice of Russia and her sympathizers to include this part of *Roumelia* under the name of *Bulgaria*.

† Lord Salisbury was succeeded at the India Office by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who was created viscount Cranbrook, and the Secretaryship of War was conferred on colonel Stanley, lord Derby's brother and presumptive heir.

‡ Under the Act of 1870, 33 and 34 Vict. c. 67 (see p. 398).

with the public, who admired the demonstration thus given to the world of England's reserve of power; though it was not till four years later that another Prime Minister delighted them with a similar demonstration in England itself. The motion of lord Hartington, censuring the Government for taking the step without first obtaining the authority of Parliament, was rejected by 347 to 226.

These preparations, following on the firm language of lord Salisbury's circular, proved to Europe, hitherto misled by last year's agitation, that England was in earnest; and prince Bismarck offered the means of agreement by an invitation to a Congress at Berlin, which was accepted by Russia on the terms laid down by England. It was afterwards revealed to the world that the peaceful efforts of count Shouvalov, the Russian ambassador at London, had effected an understanding, by means of a secret agreement signed by lord Salisbury and himself, concerning the points which each Power would yield or not yield (May 30th).* Another convention was signed at Constantinople (June 4th) between England and Turkey, by which, in case Russia should acquire by the peace Batoum, or Ardahan, or Kars (all which she in fact obtained), the former power engaged, on the condition of Turkey's introducing reforms to be hereafter agreed on, to defend the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan against any further aggressions by Russia; the Sultan assigning *Cyprus* to be occupied and administered by England. This "place of arms," to use lord Beaconsfield's phrase, lying admirably in relation to the coasts both of Syria and Egypt, proved its value for operations in the latter country in 1882. Much as these agreements did to smooth the negotiations, it is a great error to represent the congress as merely registering foregone conclusions.

To give greater effect to the voice of England in the congress, lord Beaconsfield resolved to attend it himself—an unprecedented step for a Prime Minister—with the Foreign Secretary. The congress met in prince Bismarck's palace at Berlin on the 13th of June, one of its first acts being to admit the representatives of Greece to plead their case for an increase of territory, though without a voice in the deliberations. After conferences lasting exactly a month, the congress signed the TREATY OF BERLIN, consisting of 64 articles (July 13th: ratified August 3rd). Its chief provisions were the following:—(1) *Bulgaria*, with its old limits between the Danube and the Balkan, was constituted an autonomous principality, tributary to the Sultan; the election of the prince by the people to be approved by the Sultan and the Powers. (2) South of the Balkan, the part of Roumelia in which the Bulgarian population predominated (though largely mixed with Turks and Greeks) was formed into the province of *Eastern Roumelia*, which remained subject to the direct political and military authority of the Sultan, but with administrative self-government, under a Christian governor-general to be named by the Sultan, with the assent of the Great Powers, for five years. Internal

* This was four days before prince Bismarck issued the invitations to the congress. The agreement was betrayed to the "Globe" newspaper (June 14th) by a clerk who had been employed in copying it.

order was to be preserved by a native *gendarmerie*; but, for external defence, the Porte had the right to maintain posts on the frontiers by sea and land, including forts in the Balkans. (3) *Bosnia* and the *Herzegovina*, though still remaining Turkish provinces, were to be occupied and administered by Austria, which Power undertook this responsibility at the request of Europe, from the twofold motive of adding to the security and peace of Austria's Slavonic provinces, and placing her in a position to contest further aggressions on the part of Russia. (4, 5, and 6) *Montenegro*, *Servia*, and *Roumania*,* obtained their independence; the first with enlarged frontiers, and the long-coveted port on the Adriatic; *Servia* also gained a new frontier; while *Roumania* had to give back to Russia the part of *Bessarabia* assigned to it by the Treaty of Paris, receiving in exchange the marshes of the *Dobruja*, south of the mouths of the *Danube*. The bitter resentment of the *Roumanians* at such a reward for their services in the war was not allowed to weigh against the resolve of Russia to cast off the last of the fetters placed on her in 1856, and regain her position at the mouth of the *Danube*. The navigation of the river was further regulated by the treaty. (7) *Crete*, which was again insurgent, was promised the execution of the organic law granted in 1867, and this was to be the pattern for the general reforms which the Sultan engaged to carry out under the supervision of the Powers. Religious equality was to be established throughout the empire, and all civil and political disqualifications on religious grounds were to be abolished, Christians being placed under the protection of the consular and diplomatic agents of the Powers, but *no sanction was given to the special protectorate claimed by Russia*, nor was any alteration made with regard to the navigation of the Straits. (8) In *Asia*, Russia gained the long-coveted seaport of *Batoum*, near the south-eastern angle of the *Black Sea*, but on condition of its being made a free commercial port, and her frontier in *Armenia* was advanced so as to include *Kars* and *Ardahan*; but she gave back *Erzeroum*. The treaties of Paris (1856) and London (1871) were declared to be maintained in all points not affected by this treaty, which *tacitly* abrogated that of *San Stefano*, without requiring of Russia the humiliation of its express annulment.† *Greece* had to be content with a protocol, suggesting an agreement between her and Turkey for a rectification of the frontier in her favour, the Powers reserving their right to mediate; and the ultimate result was a treaty by which Turkey ceded to Greece *Thessaly* and part of *Epirus* (May, 1881).‡ Such was the new settlement of the Eastern Question, resulting from a war which broke out at the end of 20 years out of the 25 predicted by lord *Aberdeen* for the duration of the Peace of Paris. How it is working, and how long it is to last, are questions which belong to future history; but, for the present

* Both *Roumania* and *Servia* have since become kingdoms.

† The war indemnity imposed by the treaty of *San Stefano* was left, with certain other points affecting Russia and Turkey only, to be regulated by a separate treaty between those powers, which was signed on the 8th of February, 1879.

‡ This settlement, as well as that of the new frontier of *Montenegro*, was obtained by the pressure of Europe at the instance of Mr. *Gladstone's* Government.

time, an impartial verdict must endorse the declaration made by lord Beaconsfield to the enthusiastic crowds that greeted him and lord Salisbury on their return, that they "brought back *Peace with Honour*." Whatever error may be charged on the policy of the Government was assuredly not on the side of boldness, a higher strain of which might (in the judgment which lord Beaconsfield afterward passed on his own Cabinet) have averted the war. But to have kept England at peace, to have prevented the war becoming European, and at the same time to have checked the aggression of Russia at the moment when she was grasping her prize, are achievements to contrast with the course which, 25 years before, in the name of peace, "drifted into war." The policy, incessantly denounced as adventurous and aggressive imperialism, had begun with the strictest neutrality, and ended in securing peace by measures purely defensive. But had it also maintained "honour"?—not, perhaps, according to the principles of 25 years before; but those principles had been reversed by the manifest voice of the people, and the defence of the "independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire" had been passionately rejected. After this decision, how was it possible to deny Russia the fruit of her efforts and sacrifices, short of what was forbidden by our interests and the peace of the world? As lord Beaconsfield asked, in defending the treaty on this, its most assailable side, would England have been justified in going to war for Batoum or Kars? His defence of the protectorate of the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan, as the best means of "putting an end to those irritating border warfares which threatened our approaches to India," was perhaps more expressive of a policy sound in itself, than likely to be carried out under the changing conditions of our Government. Lord Granville was content with objecting that Russia had gained all she could have expected, and, in the Commons, the hostile motion of Lord Hartington was rejected by 338 votes to 195 (August 2nd).

The Budget, introduced by sir Stafford Northcote before Easter, showed a moderate surplus, which was converted into a large deficiency by expenditure on account of the vote of credit, of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions had been spent on the army and nearly 2 millions on the navy, chiefly in buying new ships of war. In fact the vote gave the means for a much-needed reinforcement of ships and stores, which might otherwise have waited long, and which were found useful in 1882. Another $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions on the same account belonged to the year 1878-9; and the deficiency was provided for by adding 2*d.* to the Income Tax (making it 5*d.*), and raising the duty on tobacco and on dogs. Supplemental estimates were found necessary towards the end of the session. Acts were passed for extending the hours of polling in metropolitan boroughs to 8 P.M. (41 and 42 Vict. c. 4); and for closing public-houses on Sunday in Ireland (c. 72). With general approval, the Government dealt with the question of intermediate education in Ireland by entrusting its regulation to a new Board, and authorizing the application of a million from the Church surplus to its purposes (c. 66).

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of August; and the question, why it was not dissolved in the full flush of lord Beaconsfield's popularity,

still awaits an answer. We only know at present that, from a party point of view, it was an opportunity irrevocably lost; for the tide was on the point of turning, and the adverse troubles realized the famous words of Shakspeare, coming not singly but in battalions. Those troubles can only be glanced at here; for, if it is difficult to write history while it is in the making, it is impossible to follow with any safety or satisfaction that which has been made and unmade in the short space of three years, or to estimate the undeveloped results of two opposite courses of policy.

The troubles which arose in *Afghanistan* were an after-clap of the Russo-Turkish war. Since the death of Dost Mohammed in 1863, a long series of civil wars had ended in the supremacy of his third son, SHERE ALI, whom he had named as his successor, and who was aided with arms and subsidies by the successive viceroys of India, sir John Lawrence, lord Mayo, and lord Northbrook.* It is as yet a question of politics, not to be discussed here, whether LORD LYTTON, son of the famous novelist, was sent out by lord Beaconsfield in 1876 to attempt to gain a more decided hold on Afghanistan, against the rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia. But what we do know is, that a Russian envoy was received at Cabul, and, when war between England and Russia seemed imminent, a Russian force was prepared at Tashkend, with the perfectly legitimate object of operating against India through Afghanistan—a fact instructive for those who hold such an invasion to be impossible. That British influence in Afghanistan is essential to the security of India is a maxim about which none differ, save as to the means: but since the murder of sir Alexander Burnes in 1841, the residence of a British envoy among the fanatical population of Cabul had been regarded as a dangerous experiment; and on this pretext Shere Ali refused to receive the mission sent by lord Lytton (September, 1878). The Cabinet decided to insist on the demand; the new envoy was stopped by force at the frontier; and a British army invaded Afghanistan (November 21st), and took Cabul, Jellalabad, and Candahar (December-January); while Shere Ali fled to Turkestan, where he shortly died. His son, Yakoub Khan, transferred from prison to the throne, signed the treaty of Gandamak, giving England what lord Beaconsfield called "a scientific frontier" beyond the great mountain passes that give entrance into India (May 26, 1879).

The war was announced by Royal Message to Parliament, called together for an autumn session (December 5, 1878). Condemnatory amendments, moved by lord Halifax and Mr. Whitbread (both of the Whig or moderate Liberal party) were rejected by majorities of 201 to 65 in the Lords, and 328 to 227 in the Commons. The proposal to apply the Indian revenues to the cost of the expedition was carried against Mr. Fawcett's

* As we have had no occasion to follow the special history of India since the Mutiny, it is convenient to note here the succession of viceroys, after the first, VISCOUNT (afterwards EARL) CANNING. EARL OF ELGIN, appointed August, 1861, died in November, 1863: SIR JOHN (afterwards LORD) LAWRENCE, 1863-1868: EARL OF MAYO, appointed 1868, assassinated by a native, February, 1872: LORD (afterwards EARL OF) NORTHBROOK, 1872-1876: LORD (afterwards EARL OF) LYTTON, 1876-1880; succeeded by the MARQUIS OF RIFON.

amendment, by 235 to 125 (December 17th). The only other business of this brief sitting was the sad duty of condolence with her Majesty on the death of the Princess Alice, grand-duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt, which was made doubly painful by its occurrence on the anniversary of her father's death (December 14th).

The first month of the new year brought the tidings of a sad and humiliating disaster to our arms—the surprise and massacre of half a regiment by a barbarian foe in their camp at *Isandula* or *Isandlana*, in South Africa (January 22, 1879). The war, of which this disaster was almost the first announcement, is one of the most entangled and least satisfactory episodes in our recent history. It was a revival of the long-standing troubles with the Kaffirs beyond the borders of Natal, complicated by the results of the annexation of the Transvaal, a detached territory, lying to the west of Zululand. The Dutch Boers, who had migrated beyond the British frontier in 1848, and formed that Republic, had become involved in financial troubles and severe wars with Secocœni, chief of the Basuto tribe, and Cetewayo, the warlike king of the Zulu Kaffirs. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, sent by our Government to act as mediator, found the Boers—as he believed—desirous of placing themselves under British rule as their only means of safety; and his annexation of the Transvaal (April 12, 1876) was approved by the Government and Parliament. One result was to hand over to us a dispute between the Boers and Zulus about a strip of territory; and, partly from the way in which this affair was managed (we cannot dwell upon the details), partly from alarm at seeing the British established in this fresh quarter, a change took place in the friendly disposition hitherto shown by Cetewayo. Whether his warlike preparations were meant, as his friends allege, for self-defence, or whether he designed to “wash the spears” of his warriors in an aggressive war, the latter was the firm conviction of sir Bartle Frere,* a man of the purest character, who had won high repute in India, and had been sent out to the Cape as Governor and High Commissioner, specially to carry out lord Carnarvon's plan of South African confederation.

To anticipate, as he believed, the invasion of Natal, sir Bartle plunged into a war which was disapproved by the Government and denounced with the greatest vehemence by the Opposition. A disregarded ultimatum, requiring Cetewayo to disband his army (December 17th), was followed up by the invasion of his country by lord Chelmsford, † commander-in-chief at the Cape; and the disaster of Isandula, redeemed by the gallant defence of a small detachment at Rorke's Drift, set an evil mark on the opening of

* The nephew and joint biographer of John Hookham Frere, the famous associate of Canning in the authorship of “The Anti-Jacobin.”

† General Thesiger had just succeeded to the title by the death of his father, the ex-lord-chancellor. We have already mentioned the sad episode of the death of the titular Prince Imperial, Louis Napoleon, who, having received a military education in England, joined lord Chelmsford's staff as a volunteer, both to gain experience in the field, and to prove his mettle in the eyes of his partisans in France. He was surprised and killed by a party of Zulus (June 1st). His remains were afterwards recovered and buried with his father at Chisichurst.

the campaign. Our forces were reduced to the defensive, while waiting the reinforcements despatched from England on receipt of the news; and the command was entrusted to sir Garnet Wolseley. But just after he had landed at the Cape, and before he reached the scene of war, lord Chelmsford defeated the Zulus in the battle of Ulundi (July 4th); and Cetewayo was captured a few weeks later. Meanwhile the Zulu chiefs submitted to sir Garnet Wolseley, who divided the territory into a number of governments under separate chiefs; but, at the time we write, Cetewayo, having been brought over to England, has been sent back with a promise of restoration (1882). The revolt of the Transvaal Boers, and the restoration of their independence, lies beyond our appointed limit.

Meanwhile the Parliament had reassembled (February 13th) for an uneventful session, in which the conflict with Irish obstruction was renewed. The Irish intermediate Education Act of last session was followed up by a settlement of the long-vexed question of higher education, by enabling her Majesty* to grant the Charter by which the Royal Irish University was established in the following year. The administration of criminal law was improved by the institution, demanded for many years, of a public prosecutor (c. 22). The Budget (April 3rd), swollen by war expenses and the rapid growth of cost in all departments of administration, showed an estimated expenditure of more than 81 millions, while the increased taxation of the last session was estimated to bring in more than 83 millions for the coming year; but the cost of the African war required a supplemental vote of 3 millions later in the session. Among the latest votes before the prorogation on the 15th of August, both Houses thanked lord Lytton and the army of India for the successful conduct of the Afghan War; and just a month later the work was lamentably undone.

On the very day on which the final close of the war in Africa was announced (September 3rd) the regiments from Herat quartered in Cabul broke out into revolt, and on the following day they stormed the residence of the British envoy, sir Louis Napoleon Cavagnari,† and massacred him with his staff. This first step in the parallel to the murder of sir Alexander Burnes sent a thrill of horror through England, and it seemed as if the catastrophe of 1841 was to be repeated in all its details. But the British commander, sir FREDERICK ROBERTS, was another sort of man than poor old general Elphinstone, and Yakoub was not another Akhbar. He came to the British camp, to disavow any part in the crime which he at least had done nothing to prevent, and was detained as a prisoner.

We cannot stay to relate how Roberts held his own at Cabul, twice defeating the mutineers in the field, while other British forces held Jellalabad and Candahar; but we must glance beyond our limit at the end of the war. Yakoub Khan having been deposed by the viceroy's pro-

* 42 and 43 Vict. c. 65. Compare chap. iv. p. 32.

† He was a distinguished officer, the son of an Italian, who had been a most attached follower of the late emperor, and the companion of his early exile in England, where the son was brought up and naturalized.

clamation, the principal Afghan chiefs rallied round his cousin Abdurrahman, the rightful heir by birth,* though that is no fixed principle of succession among the Afghans; and he was recognized by the British Government (July 22, 1880). His chief rival, Ayoub Khan, governor of Herat, advancing upon Candahar, inflicted a shameful defeat on the army under general Burrows (July 27th); but the disaster was redeemed by the splendid march of Roberts from Cabul to the relief of Candahar, and his utter rout of Ayoub Khan (September 1st). The renunciation of the fruits of the war, like that of the Transvaal, belongs to the history of the next administration.

For we have reached the point when these "untoward events" were combined with a persistent continuance of depressed trade, bitter winters, and cold, wet summers, producing an unexampled series of bad harvests, a prospect of famine in Ireland, and the beginning of a new agitation against the foundations of property as well as government, to shake the Ministry to its foundation. How the opportunity was seized by the marvellous energy of the rival chief can hardly yet be told with calm historic impartiality, —a tone, indeed, which perhaps would only be resented. For the present, let the simple record suffice, that Mr. Gladstone, who had bidden a prospective farewell to Greenwich a year before, undertook to test and guide the feeling of the country by assailing a county seat held by the Tory house of Buccleugh, and began his first "Midlothian campaign" in November, 1879.

The denunciations of the Government from the Liberal press and platforms were mingled with vehement challenges to refer the issues of high morality as well as policy to the country. But Parliament had still a full year to run; and for the seventh time it met with the promise of "a fair working session" (Feb. 5, 1880). Perhaps it was the encouragement of some by-elections, especially the return of a Conservative for Southwark, that turned the scale; but, from whatever cause, scarcely a month had passed when lord Beaconsfield announced the intention to dissolve Parliament forthwith, and he chose his ground of battle in a letter to the duke of Marlborough, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, denouncing a danger to law and order in that island, against which Conservatives must rally. The dissolution, proclaimed on the 24th of March, did but herald that of the six years' rule of Conservatives by a vote far more decisive than that which had brought them into power. Mr. Gladstone's success in Midlothian was matched by lord Hartington's recovery of his old seat for North Lancashire; the new Conservative member for Southwark was turned out; and the Liberal victories in the counties proved that even the farmers thought a change worth trying. The result is best told in a few simple figures. The Parliament just dissolved was composed of 351 Conservatives and 301 Liberals. The new elections returned 415 Liberals (including 62 Irish Home Rulers) against 237 Conservatives. Supposing, therefore, a case so inconceivably extreme as the transfer of the whole Home Rule party to the

* He was the son of Dost Mohammed's eldest son, who had contested the succession with his brother Shere Ali, the third son, but the heir by his father's appointment.

Conservative side for some special vote, the combined force would still be one short of 300 against a Liberal phalanx of 353. Practically, the result was a good working majority considerably above 100. In face of this decisive verdict, lord Beaconsfield followed the precedent he had set in 1868, and resigned office on the 19th of April. The peculiar position of Mr. Gladstone made it a point of constitutional propriety that the Queen should make the first offer to lord Hartington; but lord Granville concurred with him in representing to her Majesty the real significance of the elections, and Mr. Gladstone accepted the responsibility (April 23rd). In how wide and deep a sense the accession of MR. GLADSTONE'S *Second Ministry* to power forms a new epoch in our history is already attested by the events of nearly three years, of which the unseen issues belong to the future record that we must leave to other hands.

But, in closing our record at the moment when this new scene opens, we have to cast one brief glance forward, to follow him who has departed. By an affecting coincidence, it was exactly a year from the day of his resignation that LORD BEACONSFIELD died in London, on Easter Tuesday, April 19, 1881, in the 77th year of his age,* and was buried at Hughenden on the 26th. The public career, which had begun amidst short-sighted ridicule, and had just closed in a storm of censure which even opponents allow to have been exaggerated, now received the universal tribute due to high genius devoted with steadfast patience and resolution to the service of his sovereign and country. The regrets and honours paid to his memory by the Queen, the foremost men of all parties and professions, and the people of all ranks, showed once more how small are the differences that divide us, in comparison with the common bond of attachment to the cardinal principles of liberty and order, and faith in the integrity and devotion of our statesmen. And thus our record of a generation, filled with events as momentous as any in the long annals of British history, ends as it began, with the lesson of the stability of our institutions, so long as the love of liberty and the devotion of loyalty go hand in hand.

* There had been a prevalent error about both the day and year of Benjamin Disraeli's birth; but the authentic register showed it to have been on the 21st December, 1804.

INDEX TO VOLS. I.—VIII.

- ABBOTT**, Justice, presides in court at Hone's first trial, 1817, viii. 86-88; and that of the Cato-street conspirators, 1820, 161
- Abbott**, Charles. See Colchester, lord.
- Abercrombie** fails in reducing Ticonderoga, 1758, vi. 237; general of the Bengal army, 1790, vii. 258.
- Abercromby**, James, elected speaker of the House of Commons, viii. 355; again elected, 1837, 405; his review of the session 1837-8, 411; raised to a peerage, 421
- Abercromby**, sir Ralph, commands the army in Ireland, 1798, vii. 364; commands the British expedition to Holland, 1799, 385, 386, superseded by the duke of York, 386; lands his army at Aboukir Bay, 406; defeats the French near Alexandria, Mar. 21, 1801, 407; death of, from a wound, March 28, *ib.*
- Aberdeen**, earl of, negotiates for peace, 1814, vii. 569; approves of the declaration of Frankfort, viii. 24; foreign secretary, 1828, 234
- Abjuration of James II.**, bill for, rejected 1690, v. 104
- Abjuration of the Pretender**, bill for, passed 1702, v. 253, 254
- Abo**, peace of, 1743, vi. 120
- Abolition of Slavery**. See Slavery.
- Aboukir**, battle of, July 25, 1799, vii. 381
- Abury**, the Druidical temple at, i. 12
- Academy of Ancient Concerts**, established 1710, v. 431
- Academy**, Royal; attempts to establish an academy of art, vii. 67, 68; scheme for a, suggested by sir J. Thornhill, 68; the idea revived; first exhibition of the works of living artists, April 21, 1760, *ib.*; second exhibition, 68, 69; George III. first patron; Reynolds first president, 70; foundation of the, Dec. 10, 1768, 70, 71; first exhibition and exhibitors in 1769, 71; exhibition and exhibitors in 1780, 72; supplants all rivals; sources for the history of the, *ib.*
- Aceland**, gen., joins Wellington at Vimiero, vii. 502
- Acre** besieged unsuccessfully by Bonaparte, 1799, vii. 380, 381
- Act of Grace**, 1690; exceptions to, v. 104, 105
- Act of Secnrity** passed by Scottish parliament; assent refused, 1703, v. 312; granted, 1705, 313
- Act of Settlement**, independence of judges determined by, v. 147; passed 1701; clauses repealed, 246; copy of, 255, 256
- Acton Burnel**, statute of, passed in 1283, i. 385
- Adam**, James and Robert, their architectural works, vii. 80
- Adam**, remarks of, on the sentence of Muir and Palmer, vii. 299, 300
- Adams**, John, high-mindedness of, in defending captain Preston at Boston in 1770, vi. 313; his conference with lord Howe, the British commissioner, 1776, 372; one of the commissioners for settling the conditions of peace between England and the United States; signs the preliminaries, Nov. 20, 1783, 457; interview with Geo. III. in 1785 as minister plenipotentiary; evidence against the charge of the king's incivility towards Jefferson and, 461, 462; president of the United States, 1796-1800, vii. 575, viii. 3
- Adams**, J. Q., an American plenipotentiary for concluding the peace of Ghent, viii. 19; president of the United States, 1825-9, 268
- Adams**, Samuel, rouses the Americans, 1773, vi. 336; denies that the Americans have lost their good will towards England, 1774, 341; proscribed by Gage, 355
- Addington** (afterwards lord Sidmouth), elected speaker of the House of Commons, Nov. 1790, vii. 189; anecdote of Burke and Pitt by, 207; his sanguine expectations of the duke of Brunswick's campaign, 235; visits Duncan's fleet, 349; hopes roused by Nelson's victory of the Nile, 358, 359; first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Mar. 14, 1801, 400; remonstrates with Bonaparte for his encroachments, 417; his policy towards France, 419; requires, through lord Whitworth, Bonaparte to explain his views towards Great Britain, 420; negotiates for sharing the power with Pitt, 424; weakness of his ministry, 430; resigns May 10, 1804, 431; joins Pitt, 437; viscount Sidmouth and president of the council, 1805, 437; resigns, July, 440; lord privy seal, 1806, 463; resigns, 1807, 479; home secretary, 543, 577, viii. 156; measures recommended by, to put down the riots of 1812, 543; his employment of spies justified, 81, 82; has no faith in a favourable change in the internal condition of the country, 84; states the difficulty of prosecuting for libel; his circular letter giving the judge increased powers in cases of libel trials, *ib.*; this proceeding considered unconstitutional, 84, 95;

- his opinion of the laws against reformers, 104; promises the Manchester magistrates government support against the reformers, 106; thanks them for their measures for preserving tranquillity, 108; succeeded as home secretary by sir Robert Peel, 1822, 178; resigns his seat in the cabinet, 184
- Addison, Joseph, defends Steele against the charge of libel imputed to him by the House of Commons, 1713, v. 399; writes for the "Tatler," 405; member of parliament; popularity; his influence and aims as an essayist, 406; with Steele he directs the popular attention to Milton, Shakspeare, and our old English ballads, 408, 409; the precursor of English novelists, the Spectator's Club described by, 409-412; his works, with those of other essayists, create a general taste for reading, 413; ridicules the political extravagances of the ladies of his day, 417, 418; description of contemporary female characters by, 423; remarks on puppet plays and the opera, 424; description of a masquerade, 425; remarks on the superstition, 430, 431; the popular music, 431; and the translations, from the Latin and Greek, of his day, 434; rebukes Pope for his controversial spirit, 436; appointed secretary of state, Apr. 1717, vi. 30; supports the Peerage Bill, 1719, 38.
- Adelaide, princess, of Saxe Meiningen, marries the duke of Clarence (William IV.), July 13, 1818, viii. 97; character of, 378
- Adjutors, organization of the, iv. 70; refusal of, to allow the army to be disbanded, *ib.*; seizure of Charles I. by, at Holmby, 71
- Admius, son of Cunobelin, instigates a Roman invasion of Britain, i. 16
- Adrianople, peace of, Sept. 14, 1829, viii. 383
- Afghan War, 1838-1842, narrative of the, viii. 450, 461
- African, The, Company, commenced operations 1530, v. 39
- African and Indian Company, constituted 1695, v. 216; projects the founding a colony at Darien, 217; three vessels, with 1200 men, sail from Leith, July 26, 1698, 218; arrive at Darien, Nov. 4, *ib.*; the colonists quarrel with, and declare war against the Spaniards, 219; food grows scarce; famine and pestilence prevail; they forsake Darien, 220; the company send out 1300 more men, 221; the colony blockaded by the Spaniards, 222; it capitulates; and abandons the settlement, *ib.*; this failure rouses the spirit of the Scotch, who inveigh against William and the English, *ib.*; it continues a source of irritation for several years between the two nations, 223; but the difficulties are smoothed over in the union, *ib.*; quarrels with the East India Company; a captain of one of their vessels is seized and executed by the E. I. Company on a false charge of murder, 313
- Agrim, battle of, July 12, 1691, v. 127, 128
- Agincourt, description of, and its locality, ii. 61; battle of, on 25 Oct. 1415, 62-64
- Agnew, sir Andrew, presents petitions to parliament praying for the better observance of the Sabbath, viii. 322
- Agra, battle of, 1803, vii. 456
- Agricola, the great civiliser of Britain, i. 20; is appointed to the command of Britain, A.D. 69, 26; campaign of, 26, 27; attack on Galgacus and the Caledonians by, 27; announces the possession of "the very extremity of Britain," 28; ascertains that Britain is an island, 29; recalled by Domitian, A.D. 84, 29; line of forts from the Clyde to the Forth raised by, 29, 30; notice of the works of, in Britain, 36; caused the sciences and the Roman language to be taught to the sons of British chiefs, 40; established municipalities, 44
- Agriculture in Britain, state of, under the Romans, i. 35; state of, in queen Anne's time, v. 31; great influence of the population of London and Westminster upon, *ib.*; state of, in Norfolk, about 1770, vii. 5; Coke's efforts for the improvement of, 6; state of, in Suffolk, 6, 7; manufacture of implements of, 8; in Buckinghamshire; its dairy farm produce, 9; in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, 10; improvements in Bedfordshire; the duke of Bedford's exertions, 11; Bakewell's art of fattening cattle and sheep; improved breeds, 12; reclamation of the fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, 14, 15; of Lincoln Heath, 15, 16, and the Wolds, 16; state of, in Nottingham and Derby-shires, *ib.*; Surrey, Middlesex, and Kent, 17; in Sussex, Hants, and Berkshire, 18; in Wiltshire, 21; backward state of farming in Wiltshire, 22; progress of, in Dorsetshire; enclosure of lands from 1734 to 1828, *ib.*; in Devonshire and Somersetshire, 23; in Cornwall, 24; Wales, 24, 25; and the west midland counties, 25; system of under-drainage discovered, 1764; uncultivated wastes of Staffordshire; slow progress of, in Lancashire, 26; reclaiming of the mosses in the Fylde district, 27; Cheshire; progress of Yorkshire in, promoted by the labours of the marquis of Rockingham, *ib.*; sir Digby Legard, 27, 28; and James Croft, the agricultural collier, 28, 29; land and cattle of Durham, 30; sheep and waste land of Northumberland, *ib.*; progress of, stimulated by the example of the Culleys, 31; Westmoreland and its lake district, 31, 32; the Lothians, Haddington, Roxburgh, and Selkirk-shires, 33; Scotch sheep, 34; in Ayrshire, 35; Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, 36; progress of, in the north-western district of Scotland, 36, 37; in Ireland, 38; the potato cultivation, 39; bad harvests and high prices from 1795 to 1800, 390-392
- Ahmedabad taken by general Goddard, vii. 129
- Ahmednuggur captured by the British, 1803, vii. 456
- Aikenhead, Thomas, hanged for blasphemy in 1696, v. 214
- Aislacie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, bribed by the directors of the South Sea Company, vi. 44; accused of fraud; expelled the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower, 45
- Aitken, alias John the painter, attempts to burn the English dockyards; his trial and confession, vi. 373, 374
- Aix-la-Chapelle, peace of, May 2, 1668, v. 387; treaty of, 1748, vi. 120, 180, 181
- Aix Roads, lord Cochrane's enterprise in, April 11, 1809, vii. 510
- Akbar Khan, his treachery towards, and murder of, MacNaghten, viii. 456; his conduct towards the British army, 456-458
- Akenside, Mark, his "Pleasures of Imagination" published 1744, vii. 87
- Akerman, keeper of Newgate; his house set on fire by the Gordon rioters, 1780, vi. 408

- Alba, Duke of. See Philip of Spain
- Alban, St., legend of the martyrdom of, as told by Bede, i. 51
- Albemarle, A. J. von Keppel, earl of; he is taken into William III.'s favour, which causes the jealousy of Portland, v. 236
- Albemarle, earl of, commands the land forces in the Havannah expedition, 1762, vi. 255
- Alberoni, cardinal Giulio, prime minister of Spain; sends a million French livres to Spaar, the Swedish envoy in Paris, to stir Charles XII.'s soldiers, vi. 29; early career; instigates disputes; and intrigues against England and France, 31, 32; retaliates Byng's destruction of the Spanish fleet by seizing all British goods in Spanish ports, 34; leagues with the Pretender; detected plotting against the regent Orleans; France consequently declares war against Spain, 1718, 35; he organizes expeditions against France, England, and Scotland, 36; dismissed his offices, and banished the country; returns to Italy, Dec. 1719, 37
- Albert, archduke of Austria, commands the Austrian army at the siege at Lille, 1792, vii. 236
- Albert, prince, of Saxe Coburg, marriage of, to queen Victoria, viii. 426; his high opinion of William III., 472; speech of, proclaiming the unity of interest in all classes of society, 562
- Albert Edward, prince of Wales, born Nov. 9, 1841, viii. 493
- Albion, belief of its once having formed part of the Continent, i. 1
- Albena, battle of, May 16, 1811, vii. 538
- Alcuin, notice of, i. 76
- Aldrich, dean Henry, his architectural works, v. 458
- Alexander I. of Russia, defeat of his army at Austerlitz; forms a treaty of alliance with the king of Prussia, vii. 450; wars with France, 1807, 487; concludes the peace of Tilsit with Napoleon; the interview on the Niemen raft with Napoleon, 488; terms of the treaty, patent and secret, 488, 489; offends Bonaparte by relaxing the severity of the Russian commercial law; allies himself with Sweden; Bonaparte wars against him, 1812, 556; concludes an alliance with Prussia, 561; his meeting with Frederick William in the great square of Leipzig, 565; succeeds Paul I. as emperor of Russia, 1801, 574; attends the congress of Vienna, 1814, viii. 42; obtains the sovereignty over Poland, 43, 44; organizes the Holy Alliance, 45; succeeded by Nicholas I. 1825, 268
- Alexandria, Bonaparte lands at, July, 1798; captured by the French, vii. 353; battle of, Mar. 21, 1801, 407; capitulates to the British, Mar. 20, 1807, 485
- Alexius, emperor of the East, receives the Anglo-Saxons expelled by William the Conqueror, as his guards, i. 189, 190
- Alfred, son of Ethelred, is induced to make a descent on England, is betrayed by earl Godwin, and put to death, i. 161
- Alfred the Great, birth of, in 849, i. 79; early years of, 80, 81; improbability of his having been taught to read by his step-mother, 82; at Rome in 853; consecrated king by pope Leo, at Rome, on the death of Ethelwulf, 83; probable impression made on the mind of, by the sight of Rome, 84; makes no claim to Wessex on the death of Ethelbald, 85; employment of, during the life of Ethelbert, *ib.*; description of his home at Wantage, 86; the translation of Boetius by, has original passages descriptive of the state of England, 86, 87; state of the Church during the youth of, 87; constitution of the army, 88; state of rural industry, 88, *et. seq.*; provision for the poor, 91; becomes "secundarius" on the accession of Ethelred in 866, 91; marries, *ib.*; defeats the Danes who had invaded Mercia, A.D. 868, 95; fights and gains the battle of Æscesdun, in 871, 98, 99; is defeated at Wilton, 100; first naval battle of, against the Danes, in 875, 101; probable unpopularity of, 102; makes peace with Guthrum in 878, 103; retreat of, to Athelney, *ib.*; heads a band of outlaws in Somersetshire, 103; traditional stories of, during his concealment, 104; re-appears, and gains the battle of Ethandune, in 878, 105, 106; Guthrum sues for peace and is baptised, 106; terms of the treaty, 107; laws of Alfred, 108, 109; writings and translations of, 110, 111, 112; repulses an invasion of the Danes in Kent in 884, 111; his care for the education of his family, 113; defeats an invasion of the Danes under Hasting, 113, 114; creates a navy, 114; death of, in 901, 114; character of, 115; share of, in the subdivision of the kingdom for administrative and judicial purposes, 116; courts of justice in the time of, 118; tenure of lands, 119
- Alfric, earl of Mercia, treachery of, i. 154
- Algarves. See Godoy.
- Algiers, battle of, Aug. 27, 1816, viii. 49, 50; see Exmouth, lord, 47-50; captured by the French, 1830, 249
- Alibaud, attempts to take Louis Philippe's life, 1830, viii. 374
- Alien Bill, passage of, through Parliament, vii. 244, 249; passed Jan. 4, 1793, 249
- Ali-Ghur stormed by the British, Sept. 4, 1803, vii. 456
- Allectus assumes the government of Britain, A.D. 292, i. 32; defeated, and Britain re-subjected to the Romans, *ib.*
- Allegiance, Oath of; many clergymen refuse to take it, 1689, v. 70
- Allan, Ethan, an American revolutionist, 1775; captures Ticonderoga, vi. 350, 351; made prisoner on his march against Montreal; sent to England, 362
- Alliance, The Holy, a treaty so called concluded at Paris, Sept. 26, 1815, viii. 45, 382; denounced by the British parliament, 45
- Almanacs, duty on, repealed, 1834, viii. 346, 347
- Almanza, battle of, April 25, 1707, v. 330
- Almeida, siege of; surrendered to the French, Aug. 1810, vii. 531
- Almenara, battle of, July 27, 1710, v. 366
- Alompra, his conquests; ascends the Birman throne, viii. 219
- Althorp, viscount, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1830, viii. 267; his budget for 1831, 271; description of, by Francis Jeffrey, 279; interview of Jeffrey with, just after the resignation of the Grey ministry, 1831, 296; speech on moving the second reading of the bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland, 1833, 323; financial statement, 324, 325; his bill for limiting the hours of labour in factories

- passed, 233, 334; introduces the Poor-law Amendment bill, 1834, 336, 341; moves the adjournment of the debate on the Irish Church question and the previous question, 344; resigns his chancellorship, 1834; reasons for doing so, 344-345; resumes it again in the Melbourne administration; brings forward a modified Coercion bill, 346; financial statement and proposed reduction of taxes, 346, 347; his removal to the Lords (as earl Spencer) the ostensible cause of the dismissal of the Melbourne ministry, 350, 351
- Alt Ranstadt, peace of, Sept. 24, 1706, v. 389
- Alnm Shah, Great Mogul; seeks British protection, vi. 332; Hastings deprives him of the money and district granted by Clive, vii. 124; his power restored to him by general Lake, 456
- Alvinzy, commands the Austrian army in Italy; defeats Bonaparte at Caldiero, Nov. 12, 1796; repulses Bonaparte's attempts to cross the bridge of Arcole; retreats to Vicenza, vii. 328; compels Joubert to retreat to Rivoli, 1797, 342; where he is defeated by Bonaparte, Jan. 14, 343.
- Ambogna acquired by the British, 1810, viii. 214
- Ameer Khan. See Khan Ameer.
- Ameer Singh. See Ochterlony.
- Amelia, princess, her illness affects George III.'s mind, vii. 533; dies Nov. 2, 1810, 534
- American affairs. British possessions in North America, vi. 205, 206; war between the British and French, 1754-63, 207, 208, 233, 236-239; government and prosperity of the British colonies, 270, 271; the resistance to the Stamp Act, 1764-66, 271-274, 278-284; the passing of the Revenue Act causes renewed disturbances, which are slightly abated on the repeal of all the duties except that on tea, 306-314; the destruction of the tea in Boston harbour induces the home government to adopt coercive measures, which still further embittered the American spirit, 336-348; hostilities commence April, 1775, at Lexington, 348, 349; and the war continues till 1782, when the independence of America is recognised by Great Britain, 349-399, 411-416, 422-430, 457-463, 468; government and condition of the United States, viii. 2, 3; party spirit, 3, 4; the United States declare war against Great Britain, June, 1812, chiefly on account of the right of search being claimed by the latter country; the war was terminated by the peace of Ghent, 1815, 4-19
- American Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, vi. 364, 365; copy of the declaration, 366-368
- American Secession: threatened separation of the North and South, viii. 13
- American Stamp Act. See Stamp Act.
- Amherst, sir Jeffery: general, 1758; commander of the English troops in America; captures Louisbourg, vi. 233; succeeds Abercrombie; captures Ticonderoga, July, 1759; 237; co-operates with Wolfe against Quebec; embarks on Lake Champlain; driven back by storms, *ib.*; removed from the governorship of Virginia, 310
- Amherst, lord, governor-general of India, 1823, viii. 218; unable to maintain peace; war with the Birman empire, 1824-6, 218-221; comparative freedom of the press in India under his administration, 223
- Amiens, peace of, negotiation for, vii. 409, 410; concluded Mar. 27, 1802, 410, 413; terms of the treaty, 410, 411
- Anderson, William, a printer of libellous pamphlets against the government, indicted for high treason, convicted and executed, v. 166, 167
- André, major: adjutant-general; carries on a secret correspondence with Arnold on the part of Clinton; his interview with Arnold, 1780, vi. 414; he is captured as a spy; tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death, 415; execution, Oct. 2, 416
- André, M. P. H., introduces lithography into England, 1801, viii. 157
- Anglesey, H. W. Paget, marquis of, distinguishes himself in Moore's retreat, 1808, vii. 505; lord lieutenant of Ireland, viii. 235, 267; is convinced of the expediency of granting concessions to the Catholics, 235
- Anglo-Saxon agriculture in Alfred's time, i. 88 *et seq.*
- Anglo-Saxon Church, ignorance of the priests of, at the accession of Alfred, i. 87; state of, at the time of Dunstan, 138; cathedrals and churches of the, 139, 140; provisions for the clergy, 140; parish priests of the, 141; learning of the, 142
- Anglo-Saxon kings, authority of, i. 81; their mansions, *ib.*
- Anglo-Saxons, state of, at the time of Ethelbert, i. 69-71; literature of, 74; social ranks among, 87; love of feasting indicated in the Bayeux tapestry, 173; continued resistance of, to William the Conqueror, 190; security afforded to, by the establishment of Norman fiefs, 195; continued existence of, as a People, 196
- Anhalt-Dessau, prince of, his military inventions, v. 180
- Anjou, duke of, renounces his claim to the throne of France, v. 395
- Ankerstroem. See Gustavus III.
- Anne, the princess, and her husband, go over to William III., iv. 439; Anne's marriage to prince George of Denmark, 1689, v. 98; applies to parliament for an increased income, and has it increased from 20,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* per annum, 98, 99; friendship for Mrs. Chnrchill (alias Mrs. Freeman), *ib.*; quarrels with her sister, queen Mary, 145; Mrs. Freeman is commanded to leave the royal palace; Anne goes with her, 146; her position and character in 1695, 178; accession of, Mar. 8, 1702, 257; declares to the privy council her intention of carrying on the warlike preparations against France commenced by William III., 258; her address to parliament, which continues to sit; her fine voice, *ib.*; favours the Tory party, 258, 259; speech at the close of the session, 1702, 260; meets her first parliament, Oct. 20, 262; grants Marlborough a dukedom and 5000*l.* a year, 264; opens the session of parliament, Nov. 9, 1703, 266, 267; announces the conclusion of the Methuen treaty with Portugal, 267; entertains Charles, archduke of Austria, at her court, acknowledging him as king of Spain, *ib.*; stops a contest between the Lords and Commons by proroguing parliament, 269; queen Anne's bounty restoring the first fruits and

- tents to the Church, 271; revives the practice of touching for the king's evil, *ib.*; provides out of the privy purse for fresh recruits, 273; grants Woodstock to Marlborough, 287; prorogues parliament, Mar. 14, 1704, 289; exhorts the Commons to follow up Peterborough's successes in Spain, 297; indignant at the Tories for raising the question of the succession, 306; revived the Order of the Thistle, 1703; announces the ratification of the Union treaty, 327; speech on giving her assent to the Act of Union, 328; she determines to continue the war; receives speedy supplies from parliament, 329; Marlborough presents her letter to Charles XII., 331; dismisses Harley; she grows cold towards Mrs. Freeman, and makes Mrs. Masham her new favourite, 336; death of her husband, George of Denmark, Oct. 1708, 338; supposed to have private audiences with Harley; her opinions regarding a successor, 339; her temper tries Marlborough's patience, 340; her interviews with Harley, 349; present at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, *ib.*; public addresses to, 358; advises the nation to be quiet, 358, 359; dismissal of Whigs from office, 363; dissolves her third and calls her fourth parliament, 364; announces her determination to support the Church of England, *ib.*; dismisses the duchess of Marlborough from her service, the "key" scenes, 365; her anger at the duchess's revenge; makes the duchess of Somerset her lady of the wardrobe, and Mrs. Masham the keeper of the privy purse, 366; parliament addresses her on the subject of Harley's narrow escape from assassination, 373; promises not to make peace with France unless in concert with the Dutch, 374; opens parliament, Dec. 7, 377; dismisses Marlborough from his offices, 379; creates twelve new peers, contrary to lord Dartmouth's advice, 380; announces to parliament the commencement of negotiations for peace at Utrecht, 381; the terms upon which peace may be made, 394, 395; and the conclusion of the treaty, 397; intriguing of the Jacobites, 398; calls upon parliament to suppress seditious papers, 399; her agitation at the contest between Oxford and Bolingbroke brings on a sudden illness, July, 27, and she dies Aug. 1, 1714, 400
- Anson, George: commodore, 1741; his expedition to Peru; difficulties encountered in doubling Cape Horn; half his crew killed by scurvy; takes refuge in Juan Fernandez; secures prizes; attacks Paita, vi. 100; enters Canton; returns to Spithead, June, 1744, 101; defeats the French off Cape Finisterre, May 3, 1747, 179; first lord of the admiralty, 1757, 227; commands an expedition against St. Maloes, 1758; his partner, the duke of Marlborough, fails in taking St. Maloes; Cherbourg taken, 232
- Anti-Corn-Law League, the, viii. 436
- "Anti-Jacobin," the, started by Canning, Nov. 20, 1797, vii. 345
- Antoninus, wall of, i. 29, 30
- Antwerp surrenders to Marlborough, 1706, v. 310; taken by Dumouriez, Nov. 30, 1792, vii. 237, 271
- Appeal of murder: case of Ashford and Thornton; lord Eldon supports the bill for abolishing the practice, viii. 101, 102
- Appropriation, principle of, in granting supplies, established 1689, v. 71, 72
- Apsley, lord. See Bathurst, earl.
- Arapiles. See Salamanca.
- Arhuthnot, admiral, conveys Clinton and his forces from New York to Charleston, vi. 411
- Archer, Thomas, architect of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, v. 458
- Architecture, state of, in Britain, at the close of the third century, i. 48; as shown in English abbeys and cathedrals, 257, 259; bishop Swinfield's house in 1209, 401; London markets and shops, 402; domestic, in the 15th century, ii. 118; large consumption of timber in building dwelling houses, 119; furniture used in the houses, 120; improvements in building, temp. Henry VIII., 479; style of architecture in the reign of Elizabeth, iii. 303 *et seq.*; alterations by Wren, at Windsor Castle, by Charles II. in 1680, iv. 355; encouraged by William III., v. 447; Wren, 448; he commences the rebuilding of London, *ib.*; building of St. Paul's, 450-452; Wren's parish churches, 453; and miscellaneous buildings, 454; Vanbrugh; his late adoption of the profession of an architect, 455; general character of his works, 456; Hawksmoor; his St. Mary's Woolnoth, Limehouse church, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, 457; Gibbs' St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, *ib.*; T. Archer's St. John the Evangelist; Talman's Chatsworth; Flitcroft's Woburn Abbey; amateur architects, Dean Aldrich; Dr. Clarke; and Burlington, 458; sir R. Taylor, vii. 80; Dance; the Woods; and the Adams, *ib.*; sir W. Chambers, the architect of Somerset House, 80, 81; Stuart, Revett, Smirke, 81; Wyatt, 81, 82; bridge building and builders, 82; low state of architectural taste, and imitation of Greek models, viii. 139, 140; the latter instanced in the case of St. Pancras church, 140, 141, 146; James Wyatt, his classic and gothic buildings, 141, 142; his gothic restorations, 142; Samuel Wyatt, *ib.*; sir John Soane's buildings at the Bank of England and elsewhere, 142-144; Holland and Sir R. Smirke, 144; Wilkins, 144, 145; Nash, the architect of Regent Street, 145, 146; and of the Regent's Park terraces and canals, 146; St. Marylebone church; extraordinary revival of church building, *ib.*; Thomas Telford; his bridges at Montford, Buildwas, and at the Menai Straits; his other grand works, 147; Rennie; his Waterloo Bridge and engineering works at various dockyards, 147, 148
- Arcole, battle of, Nov. 1796, vii. 328
- Arcos, duke of, invests Valentia, v. 296; opposes Peterborough's passage to Valencia; decamps; Peterborough effects an entrance, 297
- Arctot captured by Clive; who is besieged in it by Sahib's army, vi. 203; repulses all their attacks and drives them off, 203, 204
- Arden of Feversham, story of the murder of, in 1551, ii. 485
- Aremberg, duke of, commands the Austrians at Dettingen, 1743; vi. 110
- Argyle, marquis of, defeated by Montrose, iv. 40; opposes the project of sending Hamilton to invade England, 94; is restored to power after Hamilton's defeat, 95; trial and execution of, in 1661, 258

- Argyle, the earl of, refuses to take, without reserve, the test oath enacted by the Scottish parliament in 1682, is arrested and convicted of high treason, but escapes to Holland, *iv.* 366; lands in Scotland in 1685 to raise an insurrection in favour of Monmouth, 388; its failure, 389; and his execution, 390
- Argyle, Archibald Campbell, earl of, tenders the Coronation Oath to William III., *v.* 90
- Argyle, Archibald Campbell, duke of, colonel; commands the Highlanders at Falkirk, 1746, *vi.* 161; his plantations at Inverary, *vii.* 37
- Argyle, John Campbell, duke of, commander of George I.'s army in Scotland, 1715, *vi.* 8; commences operations against the insurgents, 10; marches against Mar; meets him at Sheriffmuir, and there fights him, 13th of Nov., 15, 16; compels the retreat of the rebel army; pursues it to Aberdeen, and disperses the troops, 18; deserts Walpole; is deprived by him of all his employments, 1739, 96; desires to form a coalition ministry; retires, 1742, 108
- Aristocracy, manners and position of, 1689-1714, *v.* 56-58; fear of their being destroyed by the Reform Bill of 1831, *viii.* 272, 273; it cannot be a caste in England, 273, 274
- Arkwright, sir Richard, establishes his first cotton-mill at Cromford, near Matlock, *vii.* 16; activity of, and early career; exhibits his new machine, 1768, at Preston; mobbed; goes to Nottingham; takes out his first patent, 1769, 47; description of his machine, 48; difficulties overcome in establishing its commercial value, 49
- Arles, three British bishops present at the first Council of, A.D. 314, *i.* 51
- Armoria, foundation of a British colony in, *i.* 55; independent government established by, *ib.*
- Armstrong, John, his "Art of Preserving Health;" appeared 1744, *vii.* 87
- Army, establishing of a standing, as an integral part of government, 1689, *v.* 75; strength of, in 1692, 147; 1694, 170; reduced 1697, 201, 202; disbanded 1699, 233; number of soldiers voted in 1702, 253; standing armies denounced by Pulteney, 1732, *vi.* 67; increased, 218; debate on the army estimates, 1790; its increase opposed by Burke, *vii.* 186, 187; armies of England and France, 417, 418
- Arnold, Benedict, an American revolutionist, 1775, *vi.* 350; appears before Quebec; attacks the city, Dec. 31; and is severely wounded, 362; general; commands an army of irregular troops in conjunction with Gates, 379; attacks Burgoyne's position, 380; his treachery; interview with André, 414; lands at James Town; makes an incursion into Virginia; burns Richmond, 424
- Arnold, Dr., sermon of, at the time of the cholera, 1831, *viii.* 290, 291; his History of Rome, 474
- Arnot, sent from India, and his paper, "The Calcutta Journal," suppressed, *viii.* 223
- Artevelde, James, revolt of, against the count of Flanders, *i.* 454; is murdered, July, 1345, *ib.*
- Arthur, king, legend of, *i.* 63
- Arthur of Brittany, claims of, to the crown of England, *i.* 333; is supported by Philip of France, *ib.*; heads an invasion of Poitou, and is captured, 333; mysterious death of, *ib.*
- Artois, count J. See Charles X. of France.
- Arts, Society of. See Societies.
- Arts, state of, in Britain at the close of the third century, *i.* 47, 48; sketch of the state of, in the seventeenth century, *v.* 61-63; patronage of the, by Charles I. and his court, 446; low state of the, during the civil war, 447; William and Mary patronize architects, but give little encouragement to painters and sculptors, 447; architecture, 447-458; sculpture, 459-461; painting, 461-464; revolution in the, middle of the 18th century, *vii.* 40, 41; the duke of Bridgewater's canal schemes carried out by Gilbert, 41, 42; and Brindley, 41-43; invention of machines for manufacturing cotton, 44-55; Watt's improvements in the steam engine, 61, 62; close connection between the fine and the industrial, 65, 66; artists stimulated by the Society of Arts, 66; low state of art temp. Geo. II., 66, 67; painting, 1760-83, 67-77; engraving, 77, 78; sculpture, 79, 80; architecture, 80-82; restoration of the art specimens in the Louvre to their original countries, *viii.* 42
- Arundel, earl of, collection of statuary formed by, *iii.* 424
- Asaph ul Dowlah, nabob and vizier of Oude; consents to the seizure of his mother's and grandmother's property in liquidation of Hastings' demands upon him, *vii.* 133
- Ashburton, A. Baring, lord, master of the mint, president of the board of trade, *vii.* 354; concludes the Boundary Treaty with the United States, 498
- Ashby, his proceedings against the returning officer of Aylesbury for refusing his vote, in 1703, leading to disputes between the houses of Lords and Commons on their respective prerogatives, *v.* 268, 269
- Ashford and Thornton, case of, *viii.* 101
- Ashley, lord, A. A. Cooper; his maiden speech in parliament on the Treason bill, *v.* 185
- Ashmolean museum built by Wren, *v.* 454
- Ashridge, Hertfordshire, built by James Wyatt; character of its architecture, *viii.* 141, 142
- Ashton, John, a Jacobite agent, tried for high treason, and convicted, 1691, *v.* 125
- Aske, Robert, leader of the Yorkshire Insurgents in 1536, *ii.* 400; negotiations of with the duke of Norfolk, 401; has an interview with Henry VIII., and is pardoned, *ib.*; the king's promises to the insurgents are not kept, and Aske again takes arms, 402; is taken prisoner and executed, 403
- Aspern, battle of, May 21, 22, 1809, *vii.* 515
- Assassination plot, 1696, against William III., *v.* 186-192
- Assassins, notice of, *i.* 316; the scheik of, absolves Richard I. from any share in the murder of the marquis of Montserrat, 317
- Asserghur, taken by colonel Stevenson, *vii.* 460
- Asser, his account of the early years of Alfred, *i.* 81, 82; interpolations in the history of, 102
- Assignats circulated by the National assembly; their depreciated value drive the people to plunder and rebel, 1793, *vii.* 274, 275
- Assve, battle of, Sept. 23, 1803, *vii.* 458-460
- Astley, printer, proceeded against for his concern in publishing an account of lord Lovat's trial, 1747, *vi.* 178
- Asturias, prince of. See Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

- Ath taken by Marlborough, Oct. 4, 1706, v. 310
- Athelstan, accession of, in 924, i. 123; annexes Northumbria, and rules over all Britain, 124; continental influence and alliances of, 125; attacked by the under-kings of Cumberland and Scotland, he wins the battle of Brunanburgh, 126; code of laws of, 128; death of, in 940, *ib.*
- "Athenian Gazette," 1691-1696, published by Dunton, v. 404
- Atkins, alderman, opposes the formation of a gas company as being destructive of the whale fishery, viii. 66
- Athlone, earl of. See Ginkell.
- Athlone, besieged and taken by Ginkell, June 30, 1691, v. 127, 128
- Athol, duke of. See Tullibardine.
- Athol, marquis of, his influence and dishonesty, v. 88; supports the government, 1689; shut out of Blair Castle, 93
- Attainder, bill of, against sir John Fenwick, v. 196, 197
- Atterbury, bishop of Rochester; speaks against granting indulgence to Quakers; enthusiastic in the Pretender's cause, vi. 47; one of the editors of Clarendon's "History," 48; arrest of, and committal to the Tower; causes a ferment in his church party, *ib.*; proceeded against by bill enacting his punishment and deprivation; his trial, 1723, 49; and condemnation; embarks for France, June 1723; and dies at Paris, 1732, 50
- Attwood, M.P. for Birmingham; moves an inquiry into the effect of the monetary system on the distress of the people, 1833, viii. 325
- Auchmuty, sir S., takes Monte Video, 1807, vii. 483; his share in the attack on Buenos Ayres, 486
- Auckland, lord, president of board of trade; master of the mint, viii. 267; first lord of the admiralty, 1834, 344; governor-general of India; publishes a declaration of the causes and objects of the Afghan war, 450
- Auerstadt. See Jena.
- Augereau, one of Bonaparte's generals, vii. 326; arrests sixty members of the Legislative Councils, 344
- Augustin, sent by pope Gregory as Christian missionary to England, A.D. 597, i. 66; lands in the isle of Thanet, *ib.*; converts Ethelbert, 68; conference and disagreement of, with the priests of the old British church, 68, 69
- Augustina, the brave defendress of Zaragoza, 1808, vii. 501
- Augustus II. of Poland; elector of Saxony; deposed by Charles XII., v. 330, 345; peace of Alt Ranstadt with Charles XII., Sept. 24, 1706, 389; king of Poland, 1690-1704; restored, 1709, 476; succeeded by his son, Augustus III., 1733, vi. 71
- Augustus III. of Poland enters into the coalition against Prussia, vi. 215; blockaded in his camp at Pirna; his army surrenders unconditionally, 216
- Aurangzebe refuses to give any protection to the new East India Company, v. 204
- Austen, Jane; high character of her six novels, viii. 127
- Austerlitz, battle of, Dec. 2, 1805, vii. 450
- Autun, in Ganl, artificers brought from Britain by Constantius to rebuild, i. 47
- Auverquerque. See D'Anverquerque.
- Ava, king of, his aggression on British India; threatens to overrun our territory, the Birman war breaks out, viii. 219; his own territory is invaded by sir A. Campbell, and he is compelled to agree to the treaty of Yandaboo; terms of the treaty, 220
- Aylesbury election case, 1703, v. 268, 269
- Ayrshire, agriculture and peasantry of, vii. 35
- BACON, John (1740-1799), character of his sculpture, vii. 79; relievi on Trinity House, by, viii. 142
- Bacon, Friar Roger, notice of, i. 404
- Bacon, sir Francis, speaks against a subsidy, and loses the Court favour, iii. 263; dissuades Essex from undertaking the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, 282; ungrateful conduct of, in the prosecution of the earl of Essex, 289; notice of his Apology, *ib.*; opposes the bill in the Commons against monopolies, 292; maintains the necessity of removing ancient abuses in the first parliament of James I., 317; scheme of, for the plantation of Ulster, 354; is employed to procure the sanction of sir Edward Coke to the king's arbitrary measures, but fails, 369; assures Raleigh that his appointment to command the expedition to Guiana precluded the necessity of a general pardon, 374; is impeached by the Commons and fined for bribery and corruption, 380; the king remits his fine, and he retires to private life, *ib.*
- Bacon, sir Nicholas, appointed lord keeper, and opens Elizabeth's first parliament, iii. 113; as lord keeper, introduces to parliament a new bill against papists in 1571, 171
- Badajoz surrenders to Soult, March 11, 1811; besieged by Beresford; relieved by Soult, May 15, vii. 538; siege and capture of by the British under Wellington, April 7, 1812, 549, 550
- Baden, margrave of, beseeches Marlborough for aid against Tallard, v. 275
- Baden, peace of, Sept. 7, 1714, v. 389
- Bailly, J. S., mayor of Paris, 1789, vii. 174; harangues the king, 180; attempts to put down mob-dictation, 199; executed Nov. 1793, 293
- Baines, Mr., of Leeds, detects the spy system, 1817, viii. 81
- Baird, sir David; general, vii. 407; joins Moore, 1808, 504; second in command at Corunna; carried off from the battle, 506
- Bakewell, Robert, great skill of, in fattening sheep, vii. 12
- Baleares, earl of, a confidential agent of James in Scotland, v. 88; with Dundee urges Gordon not to leave Edinburgh Castle, *ib.*; arrested, 90
- Bales aids in bribing the duke of Leeds to procure a charter of confirmation for East India Company, 1695, v. 178
- Balfe found guilty of murdering Mr. Clarke; pardoned vi. 297
- Ballads, the Robin-Hood, endurance of, i. 324; their detestation of oppression, and poetical excellence, 325; popular amusements described in, 327
- Balliol, Edward, attempts to recover the crown of Scotland in 1332, i. 451; seeks the aid of Edward III., and agrees to hold Scotland as a fief, *ib.*; continues the struggle for several

- years, but is expelled from Scotland in 1341, 452
- Balliol, John, a claimant of the crown of Scotland in 1291, i. 414; agrees to do homage to Edward I., and is nominated king of Scotland, 416; summoned to Westminster for mal-administration, is treated with indignity, and is incited by his barons to assert his independence, 417; renounces his fealty to Edward, *ib.*; is attacked by Edward, and resigns his crown at Montrose, 418; imprisoned in the Tower, 421; dies, 425
- Ballot, the; its supporters, viii. 335
- Balmerino, lord, trial and execution of, 1746, vi. 173, 174
- Bamford, Samuel, a radical: quotations from his life illustrative of the acts, opinions, and objects of the demagogic reformers of 1816-19, viii. 73-75, 77, 78, 80, 104-107; leads the Middleton men at the great Manchester reform meeting, 1819, 104; his description of the massacre, 106, 107; tried for his concern in the Manchester meeting, and sentenced to imprisonment, 164
- Bancroft, Dr., repudiates the scheme of burning the British dockyards, vi. 374
- Banda isles acquired by the British, 1810, viii. 214
- Bandoola, Maha, commander of the Birman army, viii. 219; his unsuccessful attack on Rangoon; and defence of Donoopew; killed Mar. 1825, 220
- Bangalore stormed by lord Cornwallis, Mar. 21, 1791, vii. 258
- Bangor, massacre of the monks of, i. 69
- Bank of England established 1694, v. 171; unable to pay its notes in specie, 194; competes with the South Sea company in buying up the annuities, 1720, vi. 40; attacked by a mob, 1780, 409; heavy pressure upon the, 1797, vii. 333; ordered by government to stop cash payments, 333, 334; pays all demands in bank notes, which become the staple currency for years, 334; forged notes, and the punishment for forging them, in 1816, 1820, and 1823, viii. 64; secret committees appointed to inquire into the state of the, 1819, 100; Peel's Act for the gradual resumption of cash payments, 100, 101; Soane enlarges and remodels it, 142-144; run upon the, in consequence of a money panic, 1825, 197; public credit saved through the measures adopted by the, 198; effects of the exclusive privilege of the, on the currency circulation, 199, 200; removed by the sanctioning of joint-stock banks with any number of partners beyond sixty-five miles of the branch banks of the, established, 1826, 200; new charter granted to the, 1833; the more important provisions of it, 334; renewal of its charter, 514, 515; government interference with the Bank Act during the commercial panic of 1844, 553
- Bankruptcy Court bill, lord Brougham's, viii. 271; it receives the royal assent, Oct. 20, 1831, 285
- Banks, Thomas, his monument of Chatham, vi. 390; the first great English sculptor, born 1735, died 1805; character of his works, vii. 79; viii. 148
- Banks, Joseph, accompanies captain Cook to New South Wales as naturalist, vii. 262
- Bannockburn, battle of, on June 24, 1314, i. 434
- Barbesieux, son of Louvois; French secretary of state; revives the project of shooting William III., v. 154
- Barcelona besieged and taken by the earl of Peterborough, 1705, v. 294-296; besieged by Philip V., 297; relieved by Peterborough, 298
- Barclay, sir George, one of the participants in the plot to assassinate William III., 1696, v. 186 *et seq.*; the plot discovered; escape of, 190
- Barère pronounces the doom of Lyon, vii. 285; on his motion queen Marie Antoinette is sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, 292, 293; his story of the Vengeur, 307; moves that no quarter be given to the English and Hanoverians, 308
- Baring discerns a loss in our increased exports, 1815, viii. 55; foresees ruin as the result of Huskisson's free trade measures, 190
- Baring, F. T., a lord of the treasury, viii. 227
- Baring, Alexander. See Ashburton.
- Barlow, sir George, governor-general of India, 1805, vii. 461; recalled by the British ministry; superseded by lord Minto, viii. 213
- Barnard, sir William, M.P. for London; favours the repeal of the Septennial Act, vi. 73
- Barnave, protects the French royal family from the mob, 1791, vii. 202
- Barnet, battle of, 14 April, 1471, ii. 164, 165
- Baroach surrenders to the British, 1803, vii. 456
- Barras sent to punish the Tonlonese, vii. 291; commands the municipal troops, 1794, 310; general-in-chief of the army of the interior, 1795, 322; his share in the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, 1797, 344; a member of the French Directory, 383; his conduct in the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, 1799, 383, 384; resigns, 384
- Barre, colonel, his speech against Pitt, 1761, vi. 253, 254; his remarks on the repeal of the American duty, 311, 312; remonstrates against the Massachusetts Bay Government Bill, 1774, 339, 340; pension granted to, 1782, 440; Pitt presents him with the Clerkship of the Pells, vi. 140
- Barrier, the, treaty, Nov. 15, 1715, v. 389
- Barrington, William, viscount, moves for Wilkes' expulsion from the House of Commons, 1768, vi. 291; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1761, 321
- Barrington, sir Jonah, his description of Dublin anticipating an attack from the United Irishmen, 1798, vii. 364; and of the passing the Union Bill in the Irish House of Commons 1800, 375, 376
- Barossa, battle of, Mar. 5, 1811, vii. 538
- Barry, James, his mural paintings on the walls of the Society of Arts room; his enthusiasm and patriotic conduct connected with them; his attempt not quite successful, vii. 76
- Bartells, a Belgian insurrectionist; tried, found guilty, banished, 1830, viii. 257, 258
- Barthelemi, a member of the French Directory; arrested; banished, 1797, vii. 344
- Bartholomew, St., priory of, in Smithfield, foundation of, i. 255
- Barton, Andrew, the Scotch privateer, captured, and slain by sir Thomas Howard, ii. 263
- Basle, peace of, April 5, 1795, vii. 412
- Bassein taken by general Goddard, vii. 129
- Bassein, treaty of, Dec. 31, 1802, vii. 455
- Bastia captured by Nelson, 1794, vii. 315
- Bastille attacked by the mob, July, 1789, vii. 171. defence conducted by De Launay, 172; he capitulates, 173; the prisoners released, 174

- Bataille**, abbey of, (Battle Abbey,) foundation of, i. 182
- Bath**, the great resort of pleasure seekers in the time of queen Anne, v. 10; gaming at, vii. 101, 104
- Bath**, earl of. See Pulteney.
- Bathianv**, marshal, commands the Austrians at Lauffeld, July, 1747, vi. 180
- Baths** and Washhouses, establishment of, and benefits derived from, viii. 393, 394; encouraged by an Act of Parliament, 1846, 541
- Bathurst**, Allen, lord, progress of America during his lifetime described by Burke, vi. 347
- Bathurst**, earl; foreign secretary in the Portland ministry, 1809, vii. 480, 577; secretary for war and colonies, 1812, 577; viii. 158; speech on the restraints put on Napoleon, 1821, 176; indignation caused by his circular prohibiting the flogging of slaves, 194; resigns, 1827, 204
- Bautzen**, battle of, May 20, 21, 1813, vii. 561
- Bavaria**, elector of. See Charles VII. of Germany.
- Bavaria**, elector of, aids William in the war with the Netherlands, 1695, v. 178-180; captures Namur, 180; joins France; aids in the campaign against Marlborough, 1703; surprises Ulm, 266; refuses to quit France and join the Allies, 1704, 278, 279; consequently his electorate is desolated by the Allies, 279; joined by Tallard, 280; defeated at Blenheim, 280-284; his hard struggle with Eugene, 283; with Villeroi he threatens Holland, 302; defeated by Marlborough at Ramillies, 309
- Bavaria**, electoral prince of, his claim to the Spanish throne, v. 225; appointed successor to the throne by the Partition treaty, and Charles II.'s will; dies Feb. 5, 1699, 229
- Bavaria**, elector of, an ally of France; driven from his capital by the Austrians, 1805, vii. 443; made king of Bavaria by Bonaparte, 1805, 450; compelled to join the Allies, 1813, 564; attends the Congress of Vienna, 1815, viii. 42
- Bavaria**, electorate of, devastated by the Allies, 1704, v. 279
- Baxter**, Richard, expelled from his ministry at Kidderminster, iv. 6; joins the parliamentary army, *ib.*; his account of the battle at Edgehill, 7; statement of, as to the oppression of non-conformists by the royalists, 11; his account of the adoption of the Covenant by the synod at Westminster and the House of Commons, 28; visit of, to the battle-field of Naseby, 45; description of the parliamentary camp, 46; appointed chaplain to Charles II., 249; notices of the Plague of 1665 by, 273, 275; of the great Fire of London in 1666, 285; notice of the duke of Buckingham by, 303; account of the proposals for a union of Protestants, which were rejected by parliament, 308; oppression experienced by, in 1675, 325; is tried, convicted, and imprisoned for libel in 1685, 388
- Bayeux Tapestry**, illustrations of the History of England afforded by, i. 171 *et seq.*
- Baylen**, battle of, July 21, 1808, vii. 500
- Bayonne**, treaty of, May 5, 1808, vii. 579
- Beauchamp Head**, battle of, June 1690, v. 111
- Bean**, J. W., his attempt on the Queen's life, 1842, viii. 407
- Beaufort**, cardinal Henry, feuds between, and the duke of Gloucester, ii. 78; continued dis-
- agreements with Gloucester, 92; burns heretics, 93; causes the duchess of Gloucester to be tried for sorcery and conspiracy, *ib.*; is suspected of having caused the death of Gloucester, 96; dies, *ib.*
- Beaulieu**, an Austrian general; defeated and beaten back by Bonaparte, 1796, vii. 326, 327; superseded in his command by general Wurmsler, 328
- Beaumarchais**, author of Figaro; introduces Steuben to Silas Deane, vi. 376; lends him money, and freights a ship for him, 377
- Becket**, Thomas à, romance in the marriage of the father and mother of, i. 271; early education of, 272; made chancellor to Henry II., 273; magnificence of, 274; is sent ambassador to France, 275; his attendance with a numerous force at the siege of Toulouse, 275, 279; his preferences, 276; created archbishop of Canterbury in 1162, 280, 282; character of, 281; department and magnificence of, in his new office, 282; resigns the chancellorship and claims the restoration of church property, 283; interferes to prevent the subjection of the clergy to the secular laws, 285; consents to the Constitutions of Clarendon, 286; the pope refuses to confirm them, 287; Becket supports the pope's decision, is arraigned as a traitor and found guilty, 288; flies from England, 289; excommunicates all those who maintain the Constitutions of Clarendon, *ib.*, meets Henry at Touraine in 1170, and a temporary peace is effected, 291; returns to England, 292; is murdered, 293; consequences of his murder, 294; canonisation of, and miracles at the shrine of, 294, 295, 301; Henry does penance before the shrine, 301
- Beckford**, desires to see the king his own minister, vi. 245; opposes coercitory measures against America, 309; alderman; lord mayor of London, 1770; defends the London remonstrance; his speech to the king, vi. 315; Chatham in raptures at his spirited conduct; death of, 1770, 316
- Beckwith**, his shop plundered by a mob, 1816, viii. 77
- Bede's account** of the passage of the Romans at Coway stakes, i. 7
- Bedford**, John, duke of, appointed by the parliament joint protector, with the duke of Gloucester, of Henry VI., ii. 76; wins the battle of Verneuil in 1424, 77; defeated at Montargis in 1427, 81; undertakes the siege of Orleans, 82; quarrels with the duke of Burgundy, 83; Orleans is relieved by Joan of Arc, 85; relinquishes the siege of Orleans, 87; deprives sir John Fastolf of the order of the Garter for his behaviour at the battle of Patay, 88; dies, 92
- Bedford**, Francis, duke of, his agricultural improvements, vii. 11; promotes the drainage of the Fens of Lincoln, 14, 15
- Bedford**, John Russell, duke of; secretary of state; turned out of that office, 1752, vi. 190; president of the council, 263; interview with George III.; the king's indignation at his effrontery, 277; proposes that coercive measures be taken against America, 308
- Bedfordshire**, agricultural improvements of, vii. 11
- Beggars**, statute of Richard II. in 1388, respecting, ii. 14

- Belgium, independence of, recognized, Nov. 1830, viii. 258, 383
- Belhaven, lord, a director of the African and Indian company; found guilty, v. 216; speech of, in the Scottish parliament, against the Union, 1706, 319-321
- Belle Ile, captured by the British, 1761, vi. 249
- Belliard commands at Cairo; capitulates to the English, 1801, vii. 407
- Bellingham, John, assassinates Mr. Perceval, May 11, 1812; trial and execution, vii. 540, 541
- Belmore, earl of, his opinions of the willingness of the freed slave to labour, viii. 330
- Bennett moves for an inquiry into the state of the London police, viii. 64, 65
- Benningson, general, commander of the Russian army; engages Bernadotte at Pultusk; defeated at Eylau, 1807, vii. 481, 482
- Bentinck, lord William, his operations in Italy disappoint Wellington, 1812, vii. 551, 552; governor-general of India, viii. 224
- Bentinek. See Portland, duke of.
- Berar, Rajah of. See Bhoonsla.
- Beresford, marshal, drills the Portuguese, vii. 531; besieges Badajoz, 1811, 538; Wellington's advice to, 569, 570
- Bergen-op-Zoom surrendered to the French, Sept. 1747, vi. 180
- Berkeley, admiral, describes the bad state of the commissariat, 1809, vii. 523
- Berkeley, admiral, entrusted with the reduction of Brest, 1634; Marlborough's treachery causes his attempts to fail, v. 172
- Berkeley, earl of, proposes to George I. to kidnap the Prince of Wales; first Lord of the Admiralty, 1718, vi. 33
- Berkshire, agriculture of, vii. 18, 19
- Berlin Decree issued by Napoleon, Nov. 20, 1806, vii. 477, 578; terms of, 494, 578
- Berlin, treaty of, Aug. 5, 1795, vii. 412; convention of, Nov. 5, 1808, 579
- Bernadotte. See Charles XIV.
- Bernard, sir Francis, governor of Massachusetts; disputes with the Assembly, vi. 307; recalled home, 311
- Bernard, sir John, his bill for regulating theatres, vi. 89, 90
- Berne invaded and spoliated by the French, 1798, vii. 351
- Berry, color of, carries supplies to Enniskillen, and aids in defeating Macarthy, 1689, v. 86
- Berry, captain, his bravery at the battle of St. Vincent, vii. 337
- Berthier, Intendant of Paris, murdered by the mob, 1789, vii. 175
- Berthier, a general in the French army, vii. 326; withdraws Bonaparte from the Assembly, 384; crosses the Alps at the head of a division of the army, 395
- Bertrand du Guesclin encounters the Black Prince at the battle of Najara, i. 484; captured and released by the English, 485; activity and success of, in the wars in Gascony, 486
- Berwick, James Fitz James, duke of, defeated at Belturbet, 1690, v. 105; taken prisoner at Neerwinden, 164; sent to England to rouse the Jacobites, 186; secret visit to England for this purpose, 187; returns to France on the failure of the assassination plot, 188; keeps the Allied armies in check, 1704, 290; joins Philip of Spain, 298; compels the Allies to evacuate Madrid, and establishes Philip on his throne, 299, 330; commands the French army against Spain, 1719, vi. 37; captures Fuenterabia and St. Sebastian, *ib.*; opposes prince Eugene on the Rhine; killed at the siege of Philippsburg, 71
- Bewick, Thomas, reviver of wood engraving; his principal works, viii. 157
- Bhoonsla, rajah of Berar, joins the Alliance against the British, vii. 455; defeated at Assye and Argaum, 458, 460; signs a treaty of peace, 460
- Bhurtpore. See Combermere.
- Bidgeur surrendered to Popham, vii. 133
- Bignor, Sussex, account of the remains of a Roman villa at, i. 48
- Bill of Rights. See Rights.
- Birkbeck, Dr., inaugurates the London Mechanics' Institution, 1823, viii. 231
- Birmese war, 1824-1826, viii. 218-221
- Birmingham, state of, in 1636, iii. 419; long noted for its hardware trade, v. 17; riots at, against dissenters, 1791, 196-198; great reform meeting at, 1832, viii. 295; obtains parliamentary representation, 307; population of, in 1831, and 1861, 308; riots of 1839 in, 422
- Biron aids in the campaign in the Netherlands, 1792, vii. 219
- Bitter formerly existed in Lincolnshire, v. 21; and Wiltshire, vii. 21
- Blackbourn, John, a nonjuror, ejected from two livings; press corrector for Bowyer, v. 70
- Blackfriars-bridge opened 1760; constructed by R. Mylne, vii. 82
- Blackstone, Dr., queen's solicitor-general; his opinion as to Wilkes' right to sit in parliament, vi. 293
- Blackwood, captain of the Victory at Trafalgar, vii. 447
- Blackwood's Magazine, its influence and character, viii. 128
- Blair, Hugh, popularity of his sermons, viii. 124
- Blake, admiral, interrupts the operations of Rupert in the Irish seas, iv. 124; follows Rupert to the mouth of the Tagus, 149; demands his expulsion by the Portuguese, or to be admitted into the harbour, is refused, and has a slight skirmish, 150; defeats Van Tromp in the Downs, May 19, 1652, 150, 151; character of, 153; battles with Van Tromp and De Ruyter in 1652, 154; defeats Van Tromp off Cape La Hogue, Feb. 1653, and compels him to retire to Holland, 154, 155; with Monk and Dean defeats Van Tromp near the North Foreland, 162, 163; drives him back again to Holland in 1653, 163; gains a victory over the Dutch fleet, and Van Tromp is killed, July, 1663, 181; his remark on the dissolution of parliament by Cromwell, 189; subdues the African pirates, 196; conduct of, at Malaga, *ib.*; captures two Spanish galleons off Cadiz, 203; gains a victory over the Spanish navy at Santa Cruz, 208; receives instruction to return home, *ib.*; dies in 1657, within sight of Plymouth, *ib.*; his body is disinterred from Westminster Abbey, and buried in St. Margaret's churchyard after the Restoration, 249
- Blake, William, an engraver: his designs, viii. 157
- Blakeney, general, governor of Stirling Castle;

- defends it against the Young Pretender, 1746, vi. 160; defends St. Philip's Castle, Minorca, 1756, 213
- Blanc, Louis, his remarks on the September massacres, 1792, vii. 230
- Blansac, camp marshal, surrenders the French army to the British, 1704, v. 285
- Blanket meeting at Manchester, 1817, vii. 80
- Blenheim or Plentheim, battle of, fought, Aug. 13, 1704, v. 281-285
- Blenheim designed by Vanbrugh, v. 456
- Blücher, marshal: routs the French at the battle of the Katzbach, Aug. 26, 1813, vii. 563; the Saxon cavalry desert to; he places them in the rear, 564; crosses the Rhine, 568; battles with Napoleon at Brienne, Jan. 29, 1814, *ib.*; Oxford degree conferred on, 572; concentrates his army upon Sombref, viii. 29; maintains his position against Napoleon at the battle of Ligny, June 16, 1815, 29, 30; marches to Wavre, 30; his share in the victory of Waterloo, 35, 36; his late arrival at the battle with Prussian troops, 36; Wellington remonstrates against his desire to kill Bonaparte, 40; and interferes with his blowing up the bridge of Jena, 41, 42
- Blunt, sir John, a South-sea director: the ministry favour his projects, vi. 40
- Boadicea, revolt led by, i. 22 *et seq.*; destruction of Roman British cities during the revolt by, 24; defeat, and death of, by poison, 25
- Board of Health, a central, formed, 1831, viii. 292
- Boat, ancient, found in the river Arun in 1834, i. 9
- Boats of the Britons, nature of, in which they went to the assistance of the Veneti, i. 3
- Bohun, Edmund, the press licencor; his party feeling; removed from his office, v. 158
- Bois-le-Duc surrendered to the Dutch, 1794, vii. 213
- Bolan Pass, passage of the, by the British army, 1839, viii. 452
- Boleyn, Anne, birth and childhood of, ii. 312; sent to the court of France with Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. in 1514, 313; the king's attachment to, publicly shown at Hampton Court, 314; incenses Henry against Wolsey, 320; writes to Cromwell in favour of Richard Herman, imprisoned for setting forth the Bible in English, 326; again incites Henry against Wolsey, 334; accompanies Henry to France in 1532, to meet Francis I., 343; married to Henry, 344; description of her coronation, 345; gives birth to Elizabeth, Sept. 7, 1533, 349; the king becomes jealous and sends her to the Tower, 372; her letter to the king, 374; true bills found against her and others, 376; trial and execution of, on May 19, 1536, 377; dying speech of, 378; doubts as to the guilt or innocence of, 380, 381; letter from, to Henry VIII., 384
- Bolingbroke. See St. John.
- Bombay ceded to Charles II.; by him assigned to the East India Company, vi. 201
- Bonaparte, Joseph, commands the army sent against Naples, vii. 472; enters Naples, Feb. 15, 1806, 473; proclaimed king, Mar. 30, *ib.*; joins Victor in Spain, 1809, 522; Marment establishes a communication with, 552, 553; defeated at Vittoria by Wellington, 1813, 562; Napoleon declares him no longer king of Spain, 1814; appointed Napoleon's lieu-
- tenant, 568; king of Spain, 1808-1814, 574; king of Naples, 1806-1808, 575
- Bonaparte, Louis, proclaimed king of Holland, June, 1806, vii. 473; surrenders his sovereignty, 1811, 535, 536
- Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon. See Napoleon III.
- Bonaparte, Lucien, president of the Council of Five Hundred, 1799, vii. 384; his conduct during the overthrow of the Council on Nov. 10 (19th Brumaire), *ib.*; urges his brother's claims to the gratitude of France, 1815, viii. 38
- Bonsparte, Napoleon: born at Ajaccio in Corsica, vi. 323; early career, lieutenant-colonel of artillery, 1793; his opinion of Carteaux, vii. 288; plan for reducing Toulon, 289; appointed second in command to Barras, 1795, 322; suppresses the revolt of the sections of Paris, Oct. 5, 322, 323; marries Josephine Beauharnois, Mar. 1796; submits a plan for the invasion of Italy to Carnot; appointed chief of the army of Italy, 325; reception by the army; defeats D'Argenteau, Beaulieu, and Colli; gains possession of Piedmont; forces the passage of Lodi, 326; levies heavy exactions from Milan and Pavia, 327; his plundering march to Leghorn, *ib.*; where he seizes all the English merchandize; defeats generals Quosnadovich and Wurmsers; defeated by Alvinzy at Caldiero, Nov. 12; battle of Arcole, 328; compels Alvinzy to retreat to Vicenza, *ib.*; wins the battle of Rivoli, Jan. 14, 1797; Provera surrenders, Jan. 16; and Mantua capitulates, Feb. 2, 343; pursues the archduke Charles, and defeats him at Denmarkt, April 2; preliminaries of peace signed at Leoben, April 18; declares war against the Venetian republic, May, 3, *ib.*; enters Venice on the 16th and overthrows the republican government, 343, 344; negotiates with Vienna, 346, 347; confers with the Austrian negotiators at Udine, Oct. 16; cedes Venice to Austria, 347; peace of Campo Formio concluded Oct. 17, 348; appointed to the command of the "Army of England," *ib.*; arrives in Paris, Dec. 5; his interest in the preparations for invading England, 349; persuades the Directory to send an expedition against Egypt, 350; appointed general-in-chief of the army in the East; preparations at Toulon; the expedition leaves Toulon, May 19, 1798, 351; seizes Malta, June, 352, 353; his anxiety at the sight of a supposed English sail, 353; landing of his army at Alexandria, *ib.*; proclamation of, to the people of Egypt, 353, 354; marches across the desert; gains the battle of the Pyramids, July 21; obtains possession of Cairo, 354; receives the news of Bruey's defeat with calmness, 358; his letter to Tippoo Sultaun, 377; marches to Syria; El-Arish surrenders, Mar. 18, 1799; and Gaza on the 25th, 379; captures Jaffa, 379, 380; siege of Acre, 380, 381; returns to Cairo; defeats the Turks at Aboukir, July 25, 381; obtains the news of Europe for the past year, *ib.*; posture of European affairs, July, 1799, 381-383; leaves Egypt, August 24; arrives at Frejus, Oct. 9; and at Paris on the 16th, 383; revolution of the 18th Brumaire; his critical position at the Assembly on the 19th, 384; overthrows the Directory, 384, 385; becomes consul in conjunction with Sieyès and

Ducos, 385; appointed First Consul for ten years, Dec., 387; letter to George III. 387, 388; hostile answer returned to it by lord Grenville, 388, 389; considers the answer a satisfactory one, 392; his civil administration, 392, 393; assumes the state of a sovereign, 393, 394; joins his army at Dijon, 394; crosses the Alps by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, 394, 395; enters Milan, May 30, 1800; gains the victory of Marengo, June 14; again in Paris, July 2, 395; threatens an invasion of England, 1801, 408; his audience with marquis Cornwallis, 410; and demand upon England, 1802, 416; effects of his rule upon French society; Consul for life; French encroachments, 417; his military establishment, 417, 418; sends an expedition to reduce St. Domingo, 418; result of the expedition; capture and death of the president, Toussaint L'Ouverture, 418, 419; publishes col. Sebastiani's report, 419; his interview with lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, 420; proceeds against Peltier for libel in an English court of law, 420, 421; verdict given in his favour, 421; violence shown by, in his interview with lord Whitworth, 422, 423; arrests ten thousand English travellers in France, 425; thus he rouses the national spirit of Great Britain, *ib.*; prepares for invading England, 426; exercises his troops at Boulogne, 428; declared Emperor of France by the French senate, May 18, 1804, 432; discovery of a conspiracy against; fate of the conspirators, *ib.*; murder of the due d'Enghien, March 20, 433; Napoleon and his army at Boulogne, 442; his anxiety, 442, 443; persuaded by Deere's to give up the scheme of invading England, breaks up his Boulogne camp, 443; Russia, Austria, and England coalesce against; marches across the Rhine and the Danube, *ib.*; compels 30,000 Austrians under gen. Maek to surrender at Ulm, Oct. 20, 444, 445; his invasion projects frustrated by the battle of Trafalgar, 448; enters Vienna, Nov. 13, 449; defeats the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz, Dec. 2, 450; his inhumanity towards the Russians; peace of Presburg, 450; heads the Confederation of the Rhine, 471; aggression of; murder of Palm, 472; the French take possession of Naples, of which Joseph is proclaimed king, 472, 473; defeat of the French at the battle of Maida, 473; takes the field against Prussia, 475; position of the two armies, 476, 477; defeats the enemy at Jena, Oct. 14, 1806, 477; entry into Berlin; issues the Berlin decree against England, *ib.*; entered Warsaw, Dec. 19; battle of Pultusk, Dec. 26, 481; battle of Eylau, Feb. 8, 1807, 481, 482; defeats the Russians at the battle of Friedland, June 14, 487; concludes the peace of Tilsit with Alexander, July, 487, 488; the interview on the raft on the Niemen, 488; terms of the treaty, 488, 489; its secret articles, 489; they become known to the British government, 488, 489; his rage on hearing the success of the English at Copenhagen, 490; his continental system; endeavours to smother the British trade, 493, 495; secret treaty of Fontainebleau, 495; schemes for possessing himself of the Peninsula, 495, 496; French invader of Portugal, 495 *et seq.*; fight of the regent of Portugal to Brazil, 496; abdication of Charles IV., March, 1808; entraps the king

and his son, 498; an insurrection breaks out in Madrid, 498, 499; general Dupont defeated and baffled by the Spaniards, 500, 501; battle of Baylen, July 21, 500; unsuccessful attempt to take Zaragoza, 501; defeat of the French at Vimiero, Aug. 21, 502; retreat of Torres Vedras, 502, 503; convention of Cintra, 503; arrives at Bayonne to take the command of his army, Nov. 3, 504; pursuit of sir John Moore by; gives it up to Soult at Astorga, 505; the battle of Corunna and death of Moore, 506; destruction of the French squadron in the Aix roads by captain lord Cochrane, 510; Austria declares war against France, 511; leaves Paris, April 13; reaches Donauwerth on the 17th, *ib.*; sir A. Wellesley compels Soult to retreat from Oporto, 512; the nations of Europe rise against France, 514, 515; battle of Eckmühl, April 22; entry of the French into Vienna, May 12; battle of Aspern, May 21 and 22; Napoleon shut up in the island of Lobau, 515; insurrection of the Tyrolese, 515, 516; battle of Wagram, July 5; determines upon divorcing Josephine, 516; the peace of Vienna, 516, 517; return to Paris, 517; the British expedition to Walcheren, 519-521; defeat of marshal Victor, at Talavera, July 23; chagrin of, 522, 523; divorces Josephine; and marries the archduchess of Austria, 526; Wellington's lines of Torres Vedras, 529, 530, 532; surrender of Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo to the French, 531; battle of Busaco, Sept. 27, 1810, 531, 532; Wellington retires within his lines; distress of Massena's army, 532; Louis Bonaparte resigns the sovereignty of Holland, which state is annexed to France, 1811, 535, 536; his power and aggrandising view on the continent, 536; battles of Barrosa, Fuentes de Onoro and Albuera, 538; withdraws troops from Spain for his expedition against Russia, 547; capture of Ciudad Rodrigo by Wellington, 548; siege of Badajoz, 549, 550; Marmont's manœuvres, 552, 553; defeat of the French at the battle of Salamanca, July 22, 1812, 553, 554; rage of, against Marmont, 554, 555; siege of Burgos, 555; Wellington's retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo, 555, 556; he invades Russia, June, 556, 557; gains the battle of Smolensk, Aug. 16, and Borodino, Sept. 7; and enters Moscow, Sept. 14, 557; conflagration of Moscow; its evacuation, Oct. 19, 558; destruction of his army in the retreat home, 558, 559; arrives at Paris, Dec. 18, 559; defeats the Russians and Prussians at Lützen, May 2, 1813; and at Bautzen, May 21, 22; armistice concluded, 561; battle of Vittoria, 562; battles at Dresden; death of Moreau, 563; the French armies sustain several defeats in Germany, 563, 564; battle of Leipzig, Oct. 19, 564; his retreat; wins the battle of Hanau, 565; Wellington in the Pyrenees, *ib.*; San Sebastian; the British army in France, 566; battles of Wellington and Soult, 567; preparations for a campaign in France; battle of Brienne, Jan. 29, 1814, 568; battles with Blücher and Schwarzenberg; capitulation of Paris; battle of Orthez, 569; Toulouse; he abdicates, April 4, 570; his kingdom of Elba; peace at Paris, 571; lands in the Gulf of St. Juan near Cannes, Mar. 1, 1815, viii. 20, 21; the "Hundred Days" drama, 21 *et seq.*; retrospect of the restoration of the Bourbons,

- 21-25; discontent of the people under Bourbon rule, 22, 23; desire of the army for his return to France, 23, 24; his independent position at Elba; visited by sir N. Campbell, 25; his escape; attributed to English complicity, 26; the powers assembled in congress declare him liable to public vengeance; his advance; joined by Labedoyère, *ib.*; and marshal Ney; arrives in Paris, Mar. 21, 27; his speech at the Champ de Mai, 27, 28; reorganizes his army; crosses the frontier, June 15, and joins his soldiers at Charleroi, 28; Wellington's knowledge of his movements, 28, 29; the battle of Ligny, 29, 30; his manoeuvres and march to the British position near Waterloo, 30; the field of Waterloo, 30, 31; the position of the two armies, 31, 32; the struggle at Hougomont, 32-34; disconcerts his plans, 34; the arrival of the Prussians; rout and panic in his army; his final stand; and fight; the pursuit of the French, 36; he returns to Paris, June 21; the Chamber of Representatives compel him to abdicate; and require him to go to America, 38; unable to escape he yields himself to captain Maitland; becomes an object of curiosity in Plymouth Harbour; portrait taken by sir C. Eastlake; St. Helena assigned him for his future residence; legal discussions concerning him, 39; Wellington remonstrates against his being executed; Napoleon's hatred for Wellington, 40; history's errors regarding the disposition of the Allies, and Wellington's conduct towards Napoleon, 40, 41; his opinion of the "Holy Alliance," 43, 46; abolished the slave traffic in France, 46; his death-scene, May 5, 1821, 175, 176; parliamentary complaints on the unnecessary strictures imposed upon him, *ib.*; his expansive mind and want of moral sense, 176; his public interment in the church of the Invalides, 1840, 435, 6
- Bonehamps, M. de, a Vendeau commander, mortally wounded at Chollet, vii. 295
- Bond, Oliver, a merchant; one of the United Irish directors; arrested 1797, vii. 363
- Bonner, bishop of London, deprived of his see, iii. 40; exertions of, in 1555, to suppress heresy, 79; behaviour of, to Hawkes, 87
- Bordeaux, duke of, Charles X. abdicates in his favour, 1830, viii. 256; his mother, the duchess of Berri, attempts to get up an insurrection for his benefit, 374
- Borodino, battle of, Sept. 7, 1812, vii. 557
- Boscawen, admiral, appointed to watch a French fleet, 1755, vi. 208; commands the fleet sent against Louisbourg, 1758, 233; arrives there June 2; the place capitulates, July, *ib.*; defeats the French fleet in Lagos bay, Aug. 17, 1759, 236.
- Bosenden Wood tragedy. See Thom.
- Boston, opposition to the Revenue Act in, 1768, vi. 307, 308; destruction of tea in the harbour, 1773, 336-338; Boston port bill, 338, 339; its reception at, 344; state of parties in, 1775, 354; battle of Bunker's Hill, 356-358; blockaded by Washington, 358, 359; evacuated by the British, Mar. 17, 1776, 362, 363
- Boston port bill passed, 1774, vi. 339
- Boswell, his visit to Boulton's works, vii. 63
- Bosworth, battle of, on Aug. 22, 1485, ii. 206
- Bothwell, earl of. See Mary of Scotland.
- Bothwell Bridge, battle of. See Charles II., and Covenanters.
- Bouchain besieged by Marlborough; surrenders, 1711, v. 375, 376
- Boufflers, marshal; present at the battle of Steinkirk, 1692, v. 153; reinforces the garrison of Namur; assumes the command of it, 1695, 179; surrenders, Aug. 26; detained a prisoner, but soon released again, 180; negotiates with Portland the points of the peace of Ryswick, July, 1697, 198; threatens Holland, 1703, 266; intrusted with the defence of Lille, 1708; capitulates, Dec. 29, 340
- Bouillé, marquis de, engages to protect Louis XVI. in his flight to Montmédy, 1791, vii. 200; the plan fails; the king is captured at Varennes, and Bouillé flies from France, 202
- Boulogne, projected invasion of Britain from, by Caligula, i. 17; lighthouse built at, by Caligula, *ib.*
- Boulton, Matthew; Roebuck refuses him a share in Watt's patent, vii. 61; becomes Watt's partner, 62; Boswell's visit to his works, 63
- Boundary treaty between England and United States concluded, Aug. 1842, viii. 498, 499
- Bounty, Queen Anne's, restoring the first fruits and tenths to the church, 1, 03, v. 271
- Bourbon, the constable, leads the emperor's (Charles V.) forces against Rome in 1527, ii. 306; takes and sacks Rome, but is himself killed, 307
- Bourbon isle, acquired by the British, 1810, viii. 214
- Bourienne, Bonaparte's secretary; quotations from, vii. 348, 383; withdraws Napoleon from the Assembly, 1799, 384; chargé d'affairs at Hamburg, 494, 495; instances of Napoleon's infringements of the continental system given by, 495
- Boutetout, lord, succeeds Amherst as governor of Virginia; opens the session; dissolves the Assembly, vi. 310
- Boydell, John, a skillful engraver; his large business in engravings, vii. 78; his Shakspeare collection, 78, 79
- Boyne, battle of the, July 1, 1690, v. 107-110
- Braddock, gen.; his unsuccessful campaign on the Ohio, 1755; falls into an ambush, vi. 207; and is slain, 208
- Brandenburg, elector of. See Frederick I. of Prussia.
- Brandreth, Jeremiah, captain of the Derbyshire insurrectionists; his conduct in the insurrection, 1817, viii. 82, 83
- Brandywine, battle of the, Sept. 13, 1777, vi. 378
- Brathwaite, sir J., captures Pondicherry, vii. 260
- Bray, Dr., founder of parochial libraries; and one of the founders of the "Christian Knowledge Society," and the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," v. 206
- Breadalbane, lord, submits to the English government; is employed by it to conciliate the rebel Highland chiefs, v. 132; his plans not successful; under suspicion of appropriating the secret money, *ib.*; committed to Edinburgh Castle on a charge of high treason, 141; subsequently obtains a pardon, and is released, 142
- Breaking the line, whose invention was this? discussed, vi. 437, 438

- Breda possessed by Dumouriez, 1793, vii. 271
 Bred's hill. See Bunker's hill.
- Breton, col., attempts to quell the Bristol riots, 1831, viii. 288, 289; tried by court martial; shoots himself, 289
- Brest, expedition against, 1694; its failure, v. 171, 172
- Bridges and their designers, vii. 82; viii. 147, 148
- Bridgewater, Francis Egerton, duke of; his canal schemes; carried out by Brindley, vii. 41-43; the father of British inland navigation, 43; with his brother, the marquis of Stafford, the chief promoter of the Staffordshire canal, *ib.*
- Bridport, lord, mutiny in his fleet at Spithead, 1797, vii. 338; offers redress and pardon, 340
- Brienne, Loménie de, archbishop of Toulouse; controller general of France; dismisses the notables, vi. 162; his scheme of La Cour Plénière, 163; dismissed his controllership, 164
- Brienne, battle of, Jan. 29, 1814, vii. 568
- Brignoles, revolt of, i. 30; joined by the Mœtæ; the revolt suppressed, 31
- Brindley, James, a millwright, vii. 41; employed by the duke of Bridgewater to construct canals; his great works of the aqueduct over the Irwell, 42; and the subterranean canals at Worsley, 42, 43; appearance of, 43
- Brissot, a Paris deputy at the Assembly on the left side, vii. 205; heads a faction, 218, 219; quarrels with Clavière; forces on a war with Austria, 219; in prison, 277
- Bristol formerly the famous port of the West, v. 7; slave trading pursued by the merchants of; not discontinued till George III.'s reign; streets, *ib.*; increase of population, 8; glass manufactories in, 18; great riot at, Oct. 1831, viii. 288-290
- Britain, civilization and population of, at the time of Caesar's invasion, i. 4; first invasion of, by Caesar, and his retreat, 6; second invasion by, 7; condition of the country at the time, 8 *et seq.*; strength and prosperity of, A.D. 296, 32; panegyric of Eumenius on the state of, *ib.*; Roman provinces of, 33; review of the domestic condition of, at the close of the third century, 34 *et seq.*; never a secure possession to the Romans, 46; resistance of, to the emperor Honorius, 55; close of Roman rule in Britain, A.D. 409, 55, 56; mixed character of the population of, at the time of the invasion of the Saxons, 57
- British army under Maximus, refuse to return from Armorica and found a colony in Britanny, i. 54, 55
- British art, ancient specimens of, i. 13
- British captives, fight as gladiators before Claudius, i. 22
- British institution established, 1805, viii. 150, 151
- British writers, chronological and analytical list of, v. 477-483; viii. 133-138, 487-491
- Britons, character of, by Diodorus Siculus, i. 5; by Ptolemy, 6; resistance offered by, to the invasion of Caesar, *ib.*
- Brittany, position of, and character of the early inhabitants of, i. 2; assistance afforded to, by the Britons, 3; probable foundation of a British colony in, A.D. 388, 54; continued connection of, with Cornwall and Wales, 55; successfully resists the emperor Honorius, and maintains its independence A.D. 409, *ib.*
- Britton, Thomas, the musical coal-man, v. 432
- Brock, major-general; opposes Hull's invasion of Canada, 1812; drives him across the river Detroit, and compels him to surrender, Aug. 16, viii. 8; praises the conduct of the Indians employed in the British army, *ib.*
- Brodie, sir Benjamin, his remarks on Oxford's insanity, viii. 428
- Brogie, marshal de, minister of war; commander of the French troops, vii. 170; leaves Paris for the frontiers, 174
- Broke, captain of the "Shannon," challenges the American frigate "Chesapeake" to a fight, and succeeds in capturing her, June 1, 1813, and restoring the prestige of the British navy, viii. 11
- Brooklyn, battle of, Aug. 27, 1776, vi. 370
- Brougham, lord; his eulogy on Erskine, vii. 303; his description of Robespierre's character, 310; account of Wellington's interview with Pitt; and of Pitt's death-bed, 451; his efforts in bringing about the repeal of the orders in council declaring France and her allies in a state of blockade, 1812, 544; heads the opposition in parliament to the renewal of the income tax in 1816, viii. 52; defeat of the bill, 53; his declamatory attack upon the regent, 54; describes the state of the American trade in 1816, 56, 57; moves an inquiry into the state of education among the London poor; impulse given to the committee's proceedings by his energy, 69; queen Caroline's chief legal adviser; defends her title, 162; queen's attorney-general, 1820, 165; announces the queen's arrival in England; opposes the appointment of a secret committee; defends his own conduct, 166; takes part in the conference for averting a public proceeding, 167; conducts the queen's defence at her trial, 170, 171; lays the case of Mr. Smith, a missionary, before parliament, 1824, 194, 195; supports the Canning ministry, 205, 206; objects to the duke of Wellington being prime minister; states that the schoolmaster is abroad, 229; originates the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," 1826, 230; promotes the formation of the London University, 231; speech on law reform, 231, 232; obtains the appointment of two commissioners to inquire into the state of the common law, and the laws affecting real property, 232; fails in obtaining the establishment of local jurisdiction, 1830; subsequent partial adoption of his views, 243; protests against the lord steward's treatment of the Commons; subsequent explanation, 244, 245; his attack upon the Wellington ministry, 245; apologises for his strong language, 246; gives notice in parliament of his intention to introduce the subject of reform, 263; on the resignation of the Wellington ministry he postpones his motion for a short time; lord chancellor, 265, 267; reluctance to accept this office, 265, 266; introduces a bill for establishing a new court in bankruptcy, 1831, 271; boldness in urging the king to dissolve parliament, 276, 277; speech on the Reform bill, 283; his Bankruptcy Court bill receives the royal assent, 285; with lord Grey obtains the king's permission to create peers to insure the passing of the Reform bill, 299; speech of, on moving the second reading of the Poor Law Amendment bill, 1834, 342; his hostility with lord Durham; speeches at

- Inverness, at the Grey banquet, Edinburgh, and at Salisbury, 347, 348; excluded from the Melbourne ministry, 1835; his indefatigable energy, 359; speech on submitting a series of education resolutions to the Lords, 359, 360; his attack on the earl of Durham's proceedings; proposes and carries an Indemnity Act, which causes the earl's resignation, 408; his speech on the enthusiasm manifested towards the queen, 410; his "Historical Sketches of Statesmen" noticed, 473, 474
- Brownie, marshal, commands an Austrian army; defeated at Losowitz, 1756, vi. 216; encamps before Prague, 1757, 228; defeated by Frederick at Prague, May 6, where he receives his death wound, *ib.*
- Browning, Mrs., poetical quotation from, viii. 192; her poetry, 480, 481
- Bruce, Robert, the elder, a claimant for the crown of Scotland in 1291, i. 414; agrees to do homage to Edward I., 416; sides with Edward in his invasion of Scotland, 417
- Bruce, Robert, the younger, stabs Comyn, i. 425; assumes the crown of Scotland in 1306, 426; is defeated by the earl of Pembroke, *ib.*; obtains some successes in 1307, and Edward I. assembles an army to attack him, but dies, *ib.*; is recognised as king in 1309, 430; successes of, 431, 432; wins the battle of Bannockburn, on June 24, 1314, 434, 435; concludes a truce with Edward II. in 1323, 439; invades England in 1327, 444; dies in 1328, 445
- Bruce, David, succeeds his father in 1328, i. 445; is attacked by Edward Balliol, who continues the struggle for some years, 451; returns from France to his kingdom in 1341, 452; invades England in 1346, is defeated by Queen Philippa at Nevill's Cross, is taken prisoner, 464; lodged in the Tower, 455
- Brucey, French admiral; conveys Bonaparte and his troops to Egypt, 1798, vii. 351; defeated by Nelson at the battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 355-357; killed in the battle, 357
- Bruce surrenders to Marlborough, 1706, v. 310
- Brunanburgh, ode on the battle of, from the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, i. 126, 127
- Brunswick, C. W. Ferdinand, duke of, his proclamation, 1792, vii. 223; his advance into France; stopped by the battle of Valmy, 234; retreats, 235; lieutenant-general of the Prussian army, 1806, 475; receives his death wound at the battle of Jena; dies Nov. 10, 1806, 477
- Brunswick, W. Frederick, duke of, headed the German insurrection, 1809, vii. 515; heads the Brunswickers at Waterloo, viii. 29
- Brussels saved from a bombardment by William III., v. 198
- Brydon, Dr., the sole survivor of the British army retreating from Cabul, 1842, viii. 458
- Buckingham, Stafford duke of, in conjunction with the duke of Gloucester, arrests earl Rivers, lord Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan, and takes Edward V. into his charge, ii. 178; rewards heaped upon, by Gloucester, 179; Morton, bishop of Ely, committed as a prisoner to the custody of, 182; harangues the citizens of London in favour of Gloucester's claim to the crown, 185; with a deputation of citizens solicits Gloucester to become king, 186; receives the estates of the earldom of Hereford from Richard, 194; with Morton, organises an insurrection against Richard, 195, 196; unsatisfactory causes assigned for, 197; it is suppressed, and he is executed at Salisbury, Nov. 2, 1483, 198
- Buckingham, George Villiers, duke of, sudden rise and promotion of, by James I., iii. 364; procures the release of Raleigh from the Tower, 374; accompanies prince Charles in his incognito visit to Spain in 1623, 384; they return home, 385; popularity of, on the breaking off of the Spanish match, *ib.*; is impeached by the Commons in 1626, 390; is elected chancellor of the University of Cambridge by command of the king, 391; asserted to have been the promoter of the war with France, 394; commands the expedition to aid the Protestants in Rochelle, *ib.*; attempts to take the Isle of Rhé, and fails, 395; is denounced by Coke, in the House of Commons, 398; character of, by Clarendon, 399; is appointed to command a second expedition to relieve Rochelle, *ib.*; is assassinated by Felton, Aug. 23, 1628, 400; execution of Felton, 401
- Buckingham, George Villiers, duke of, becomes a member of the Cabal ministry, in 1667, iv. 302; seeks popularity, and advocates liberty of conscience, 303; character of, by Dryden, *ib.*; complicity of, in Charles becoming a pensioner of France, 306; retires from the Cabal ministry, 323; committed to the Tower for opinions expressed in the House of Lords in 1677, 323
- Buckingham, duke of, privy seal, v. 259; supports the motion for inviting the princess Sophia to England, 306; a great art collector, 447
- Buckingham, duke of, made duke, 1822, viii. 177; account of George IV.'s unreservedness, 206, 207
- Buckingham, J. S., proprietor of "The Calcutta Journal;" proceedings against, for his strictures on Indian affairs, viii. 222, 223
- Buckinghamshire, low state of agriculture in; dairy farming; produce of butter; duck rearing, and pillow-lace making, vii. 9
- Buenos Ayres captured by sir Home Popham, 1806, vii. 473, 474; regained by the French, 474; Whitelock's expedition against, 1807, 485, 486; his failure, 486
- Buller, Charles, proposes the adoption of a systematic colonization, viii. 501
- Bunker's hill, battle of Breed's or, June 17, 1775, vi. 357, 358
- Bunyan, John, release of, from prison, after twelve years' confinement, iv. 319
- Burdett, sir Francis, duel with Paull, 1807, vii. 462; conduct of, in the proceedings between Jones and parliament, and subsequent results, 1810, 527, 528; chairman of the London Hampden Club, viii. 75; revives the question of parliamentary reform, 1818, 97; returned M.P. for Westminster, 98; again agitates reform, 1819, 102; found guilty of seditious libel and punished, 164
- Burgesses summoned to parliament, by Simon de Montfort, in 1264, i. 375
- Burgh Castle, Roman ruins of, i. 38, 39
- Burghersh, lord, British minister at Florence; announces Napoleon's escape from Elba, viii. 21

- Burgos Castle: invested without success by Wellington, 1812, vii. 555, 556
- Burgoyne, general, moves for an inquiry into the East India Company's affairs, vi. 332; invades the United States; recaptures Ticonderoga; secures Fort Edward, 379; his difficulties in procuring provisions, 379, 380; retreats to Saratoga; yields to Gates on certain conditions; the convention of Saratoga, 380; cold treatment of, by the British government; vindicates the convention of Saratoga, 394; defends his conduct in employing Indians, 394, 395
- Burhampoor taken by col. Stevenson, vii. 460
- Burke, Edmund; his speech on American taxation, April 19, 1774, vi. 273, 340; first speech in parliament, Jan. 1766, 279; said to be the author of Junius's writings, 296; opposes Bedford's proposed coercitory measures towards America, 309; moves an inquiry into the American disorders, 313; his pamphlet on American taxation, 340; urges government to adopt conciliatory measures towards America, 346; his burst of oratory on America's rapid growth, 347; remarks on the public opinion regarding the American war, 385, 386; speech on economical reform, Feb. 11, 1780, 402; his proposals, 403; bill obstructed in its progress through committee, 404; rejection of the practical measures, 405; rejected as M.P. for Bristol, 417; charges against him; his defence, 418; returned for Malton; brings forward his Civil List bill; it is rejected, 419; his speech denouncing the American tax, 433; obtains office in the Rockingham ministry, 436; compelled to compromise his scheme of economical reform; passing of his bill; proposes a bill for regulating the profits of the office of paymaster of the forces, 440; resigns office on the accession of the Shelburne ministry, 1782, 450; an agricultural improver, vii. 11; draws up the ninth and eleventh report on Indian affairs, 136, 137; commends Pitt's speech on taxes, 150; passion displayed by, in the debate on the Regency bill, 154; his opinion of the French revolution, 183; opposes an increase of military power; declares France to be ruined, 186; renounces Sheridan's friendship and political opinions, 187; opposes Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test act, *ib.*; his "Reflections on the Revolution," published; its remarkable popularity; his opinions on the revolution, 190, 191; his hatred towards the French revolutionary doctrines causes him to break friendship with Fox, 194; intensity of his hatred exemplified, 195; raises the cry of the church in danger, *ib.*; anecdotes of, 207, 208; applauds the Polish revolution, 216; remarks of, on the September massacres, 231; indignation of, at the results of the duke of Brunswick's campaign, 236; deprecates the proceedings of the French against their royal family, 243; oratorical dagger speech on the Alien bill, 249; note on the dagger scene, 254, 255; speech of, on the expediency of war, 266; his idea of the policy that ought to be pursued towards France, 268, 269; French opinion of, 269; shows the difficulty of negotiating with France, 276, 277; regrets Britain's treatment of the French fleet at Toulon, 291, 292; objects to "a regicidal peace," 329; death of, July 9, 1797, 342; description of the United Irishmen by, 362; urges government not to abandon law, 363; his remarks on scarcity, 390
- Burke's opinion of the ancient Britons, i. 11, 12
- Burnes, sir Alexander, his remarks on Russian intrigues in Cabul, viii. 450, 451; his position at Cabul, 453, 454; massacre of, by the Afghans, 1841, 454, 455
- Burnes, Charles, murdered by Afghans, viii. 454, 455
- Burnet, Dr. Gilbert, preaches at William III.'s coronation, v. 78; his "Pastoral Letter" condemned and publicly burnt at Charing Cross, 1693, 159; preaches at Whitehall, Dec. 2, 1697, 200; preceptor to Duke of Gloucester, 240; his system of education, *ib.*; carries the news of William III.'s death to Queen Anne, 257
- Burney, Fanny, writings of; description of court life by, viii. 126
- Burns, Robert; his description of the Ayrshire farm labourer, vii. 35, 36; first volume of his poems published, 1786; his rapid and extensive popularity; character of his writings, viii. 116
- Burrard, sir Harry, appointed second in command in Portugal, 1808, vii. 500; arrives at Vimiero, 502; spoils Wellington's plans, 501, 502
- Busaco, battle of, Sept. 27, 1810, vii. 531
- Bussey, M. de, French minister in London, 1761, vi. 249; delivers the French *ultimatum*; is dismissed England by Pitt, 251
- Bustard, formerly abundant in Wiltshire; boldness of; its extinction in the county, vii. 21
- Bute, John Stuart, earl of, groom of the stole to the prince of Wales, 1756, vi. 217; instils him with a knowledge of the constitution, 243; appointed a member of the council and cabinet by the prince, now George III.; animadversion against his influence; Pitt's indignation at the tone of the king's first address to the Privy Council prepared by, 244; intrigues with Doddington against the ministry; proclaims the policy of the new reign, 245; secretary of state, 1761, 246; condemns Pitt's proposal of war against Spain as rash, 251; rejoices at Pitt's fall, 252; when his party lampoon and caricature, *ib.*; alienates Frederick of Prussia by refusing to grant his subsidy, 254; attempts to carry out Pitt's plans, *ib.*; in his anxiety to obtain peace he offers to give up Havannah and Manilla, 256; prime minister, 1763, 259; attempts to restore the influence of the prerogative, 260; attacked by Wilkes and Churchill, 260, 251; popular dislike towards; resigns his employments, April, 8, 1763, 261; negotiates for Pitt's return to power, 263
- Butler, col., commands the force which destroyed Wyoming, 1778, vi. 396
- Butler, Charles, anecdote of Burke, by, vii. 208
- Buxton, T. F., his resolution for abolishing slavery, 1823, viii. 193
- Byng, admiral sir George, joins Leake off the Spanish coast, 1706, v. 298; cruises in the channel on the watch for the French fleet conveying the Pretender and forces to Scotland; it evades him, 1708, 335; he makes pursuit, but does not follow it up when they

- return to France, *ib.*; sails for the Mediterranean June 4, 1718; anchors in the Bay of Naples; pursues and destroys the Spanish fleet, Aug. 11, vi. 34
- Byng, admiral John, despatched to the relief of Port Mahon; attacked by de la Galissonnière, May 21, 1756, vi. 213; his timidity and proposal to return to Gibraltar; superseded by Hawke, *ib.*; arrest; imprisonment in Greenwich Hospital; popular fury against, 214; trial at Portsmouth, 219; found guilty and sentenced to be shot; efforts made to save him by Pitt and others; execution of, Mar. 14, 1757; his demeanour, 220
- Byng, sir John. See Strafford.
- Byron, lord George, reproaches England with the humiliation of Venice, vii. 346; his description of the Waterloo field of battle, viii. 30, 31; his poetic satire "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" published; describes the character of the writings of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, 118; popularity; character of his verse romances, and his "Don Juan," 120; failure of his dramas, 125
- Byron, John, commands an expedition to America, vi. 100
- CABAL MINISTRY.** See Charles II., Buckingham, and Shaftesbury.
- Cabot, John, and his sons, small encouragement given to, in 1496, by Henry VII., ii. 236; discovery of Newfoundland by, 249
- Cabul taken by the British, viii. 453; residence of the British army at, 453-456; its retreat from, 456, 457; retaken by the British, 460
- Cade, John, insurrection of, in 1450, ii. 132; defeats sir Humphrey Stafford, 133; marches to London, and beheads lord Say, *ib.*; defeated by the citizens of London, and killed, 134
- Cadiz burnt by the earl of Essex in 1596, iii. 266; unsuccessful expedition to, 1702, v. 261
- Cadoudal, Georges, a royalist against Bonaparte; apprehended; executed, 1804, vii. 432
- Caer-Caradoc, notice of, i. 20
- Cæsar, history of England commences with, i. 2; his description of the Veneti, applicable to the Britons, 3; first invasion of Britain, 6; battle with the men of Kent, *ib.*; retreat of, *ib.*; second invasion of, *ib.*; description of "the inland people" by, *ib.*; advance of, into the interior, 7; opposed by Cassivelaunus, *ib.*; crosses the Thames at Coway Stakes, *ib.*; advances to St. Alban's, *ib.*; enumeration of, of the tribes he encountered, 8; return of, to Gaul, taking hostages, *ib.*; did not conquer Britain, according to Tacitus, *ib.*
- Caillemot, a Huguenot commander; killed at the Boyne, 1690, v. 108
- Cairo taken by Bonaparte, 1798, vii. 354
- Calais, siege of, by Edward III., i. 465; Froisart's story of the six burgesses, 466; an English colony founded in it, 467; bombarded by the English, 1694, v. 172, 173
- Calcutta purchased by the old E. I. Company, v. 290; captured by Surajah Dowlah, 1756; tragedy of the Black hole of, vii. 222, 223; retaken by Clive, Jan. 2, 1757, 222, 224
- Calder, sir Robert, engages the French and Spanish fleets, and captures the Spanish vessels, July 22, 1805; tried and reprimanded, vii. 412; returns homo just before the Trafalgar victory, 446
- Calendar reform bill, 1751; its provisions, vi. 187, 188
- Caligula, intended invasion of Britain by, i. 16; pretended triumph of, 17; Napoleon and, at Bonlogne, compared, vii. 436
- Calcott, character of his paintings, viii. 154
- Calonne, controller-general of finance, 1783; convokes the notables, vii. 157; shows the deficit in the finance; proposes a land tax on all classes; dismissed, 1787, 158
- Camalodunum attacked and destroyed by Boadicea, A.D. 61, i. 23, 24
- Cambacères, consul with Bonaparte, 1799, vii. 387; has charge of the judicial administration, 392
- Cambridge, duke of, marries princess Louisa of Hesse, 1 June, 1818, viii. 97
- Cambridge university, James Pechell, the vice-chancellor, deprived of office for refusing a degree to a Benedictine monk, iv. 412
- Cambridgeshire, land of, vii. 14; quantity unreclaimed in 1794, 1806, 1846, *ib.*; drainage and reclamation of the fens of, by the earl of Bedford, and Rennie, 14, 15
- Cambronne, gen., accompanies Napoleon in his march to Paris, 1815, viii. 21; death of, at Waterloo, 36
- Camden, battles of, Aug. 16, 1780, vi. 412; and April 25, 1781, 425
- Camden, lord, sir Charles Pratt, lord chief justice; declares Wilkes as M.P. free from arrest, vi. 262, 263; gives a verdict in favour of a printer of the "North Briton," 265; thanked by the common council for his judgment on the general warrant question, 270; opposes the taxation of Americans, 280; lord chancellor, 1766, 285, 321; disclaims the measures adopted by the ministry, 304; dismissed his office, *ib.*; supports Pitt's ministry, 1784, vii. 140; and Fox's libel bill, 1792, 213
- Camden, earl, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1795, vii. 362; recalled, 1798, 365; holds office in the Portland ministry, 1807, 480; secretary for war and the colonies, 1804, 577
- Cameron, Dr. Archibald, executed 1753, vi. 182
- Cameron of Lochiel joins the young Pretender, 1745, vi. 123; accompanies the prince in his flight to France, Sept. 1746, 176
- Cameronians; they reject the dispensing of the Test Act, v. 86; oppose the union of the two kingdoms, 1706, 325; and burn the articles at the market cross of Dumfries, Nov. 30, 326; ordered to return home by the duke of Hamilton, *ib.* See Covenanters.
- Cameronian regiment; it defeats the Highlanders at Dunkeld, 1690, v. 131
- Camisards. See Cevennes; Cavalier.
- Camming, Thomas, a quaker, sent against Fort Louis, which he takes, 1758, vi. 232; Gorce surrenders to him, 233
- Campan, Madame, conduct of, at the storming of Versailles, 1789, vii. 179
- Campbell, colonel. See Argyle, A. C., duke of.
- Campbell of Finab, his exploits in Darien, v. 222
- Campbell, A. See Argyle, earl of.
- Campbell, sir Archibald, defends Rangoon against the Birmeese, viii. 219, 220; his campaign of 1825 takes Donoopew; by re

- peatedly defeating the Birmese he compels them to agree to the treaty of Yandaboo, 220
- Campbell, sir Colin; lieutenant, vii. 458; his description of the battle of Assye, 459, 460
- Campbell, John. See Argyle, duke of.
- Campbell, John, lord, anecdotes of George III., vii. 303; of lord Ellenborough and Hone's trial by, viii. 90; his remarks on the appeal of murder in 1818, 101, 102; his opinion of government's conduct towards the Cato-street conspirators, 161, 162; his feelings at the dissolution of parliament, 1831, 277, 278
- Campbell, sir John, Attorney-General in the Melbourne ministry, viii. 381
- Campbell, sir Neil, appointed to watch over Napoleon at Elba, viii. 25
- Campbell, captain Robert, of Glenlyon, his share in the Glencoe massacre, 1692, v. 137-139; not prosecuted, 141
- Campbell, Thomas, quotation from, viii. 403; wide reputation of his "Pleasures of Hope," and lyrics; "Gertrude of Wyoming," published 1809, viii. 121
- Camperdown, battle of, fought between De Winter and Duncan, Oct. 11, 1797, vii. 348, 349
- Campion, the Jesuit, trial and torture of, for a conspiracy against Elizabeth in 1581, iii. 180
- Campo Formio, peace of, Oct. 17, 1797, vii. 348, 413
- Canada ceded by France, 1763, vi. 467; doubtful loyalty of, towards England, 1793, vii. 263; disputes with the mother country, viii. 406, 407; insurrection in, 407-409; lord Durham's government, 407, 408; his report on, 409
- Canals, construction of, by Bridgewater, Brindley, and others, vii. 41-43; increased sums expended on navigation and, 335; constructed by Telford, viii. 147
- Canning, George; one of Pitt's supporters, vii. 317; story of his proposed connection with the Jacobins; advocates a continuance of the war, *ib.*; defends Pitt's coercive policy, 324, 325; starts the "Anti-Jacobin," Nov. 1797, 345; retires from office, 1801, 400; Foreign Secretary, 1807, 480, 577; obtains a knowledge of the secret article of Tilsit, 489; in favour of aiding the Spaniards, 499; remarks on Moore's retreat in Spain, 1809, 507, 508; duel with Castlereagh, 525, 526; resigns, 526; grief at Perceval's death, 541; returns from Lisbon, and takes his seat in parliament, viii. 78, 79; President of the Indian Board of Control, 1816, 79, 158, 159; imprudent expression regarding Ogden's petition, 96; offers duel to the author of an anonymous pamphlet, 96, 97; vindicates the government's conduct towards queen Caroline, 166; refusing to take part in the proceedings against the queen he tenders his resignation; but the king insists on his retaining it, and following his own conduct with respect to the queen, 168; his interest in the queen's trial, 172; resigns his office, Dec. 12, 1820; the king refuses to re-admit him into the Cabinet after the queen's death, 174; his Roman Catholic relief bill thrown out twice, 178, 179; appointed Governor-General of India, 179; but before he has started for India he is appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs; his instructions to the duke of Wellington, the British representative at the Congress at Verona, 181; and to the British ambassador
- at Paris; his declaration of neutrality, 182; his declaration of April, 1823, 183; his policy of the recognition of the Spanish provinces in South America; opposition towards it, 184; the king fails in obtaining Canning's dismissal, *ib.*; conditions upon which a state which has successfully asserted its independence should be recognised by a neutral state, 185, 186; discussions with the United States minister concerning the Spanish South American states, the Oregon territory, and the right of search, 186-188; his warlike attitude and promptitude prevents the war of Spain against Portugal, 188; speech intimating Spain's aggression, and the conduct of the British government, 188, 189; defends Huskisson, 190, 191; progress and liberty, 191, 192; his resolutions for ameliorating the condition of slaves agreed to, 193; his position with regard to the Catholic question, 201; dislike of lord Eldon and the duke of York towards, 201, 202; anecdote of Canning and the chancellor at the funeral of the duke of York, where the former catches a cold, 202; opposite opinions of Peel and Canning on Catholic Emancipation, 203, 204; the king orders him to form a ministry; first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1827, 204, 210; his offers to cabinet ministers rejected, 204, 205; his appearance and manner on meeting parliament, May 1, 1827, 205; opposition shown towards him, 205, 206; attack of lord Grey, 206; charged with having pledged himself not to press the Catholic question, 206, 207; the charge probably a calumny, 207, 211; assigned causes of the hostility shown towards; speaks for the last time in parliament, June 18, on the Corn trade; unable to obtain relaxation; the king sends his physician to attend him; death of, Aug. 8, and burial, Aug. 16, 1827; 208; concludes the treaty on Grecian affairs, 208, 209; principle of international law laid down by, 209, 210; statesmen composing his cabinet, 210; *note*, on the negotiations preceding his premiership, 211; difficulties of carrying out his Indian peace policy, 218
- Canterbury burnt by the Danes, i. 154
- Cantium (Kent) resistance offered by the people of, to the invasions of Cæsar, i. 6
- Canterbury fanatics. See Riots.
- Canton blockaded by the British, 1839, viii. 445; again attacked by them, 1841, 447, 448
- Canute proclaimed king of England on the death of Sweyn in 1014, i. 155; becomes sole king on the death of Edmund in 1017, 156; exiles the sons of Edmund, *ib.*; marries Emma, the widow of Ethelred, 157; proscriptions by, and tyranny of, *ib.*; introduction of Danish customs by, *ib.*; reproval of his flatterers by, *ib.*; benefits collected by, 158; pilgrimage to Rome, in 1030, *ib.*; death of, in 1035, *ib.*; buried at Winchester, 159; union of the Saxon and Danish races accelerated by, *ib.*
- Canute, king of Denmark, invades England in 1069, and is forced to retire by William the Conqueror, i. 192, 193
- Capital punishment, abolition of, for thefts, viii. 63, 64, 101, 195; in the years before and after the Queen's accession, 398
- Caractacus, opposition offered by, to the invasion of P'lautius, i. 18; continued resistance

- of, to the Romans, 20; defeat of, 21; speech of, at Rome while a prisoner there, probably an historical embellishment, with a foundation on facts, *ib.*; allusion of, to the houses of the Britons, 9
- Caradoc. See Caractacus.
- Carausius, usurpation of, A.D. 286, i. 32; naval power of Britain during the reign of, *ib.*; murdered by Allectus, *ib.*; probably calculated on assistance of Germans in Britain when he revolted, 44
- Carisbrook Castle, Charles I. imprisoned in, iv. 88; he attempts to escape from, 92
- Carlean, description of, by Giraldus Cambrensis, i. 42
- Carleton, captain George, quotations from, illustrative of Peterborough's Spanish campaign, 1705, 1706, v. 293-297
- Carleton, a British general; makes his way into Quebec, defending it against Montgomery and Arnold, 1775, vi. 362; defeats the Americans; retires from Quebec, 1776, 363
- Carlisle invested by the Pretender's army, 1745, vi. 141; and capture, Nov. 142; taken by the duke of Cumberland, Dec. 30, 159
- Carlisle, earl of, removed from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, 1782, vi. 446; his excessive gaming, vii. 104; first Commissioner of Woods and Forests, viii. 210; Lord Privy Seal, 1834, 344
- Carlos Don, duke of Parma. See Charles III. of Naples.
- Carlsbad, congress of, Aug. 1, 1819, viii. 382
- Carlton House remodelled by Holland; pulled down, 1826, viii. 144
- Carlyle, his remarks on the negro question, viii. 331, 332; on the position of the agricultural labourer in 1810, 397; on the advisability of the labouring classes emigrating, 418; his petition for the Copyright Bill, 464; character of his historical works on Cromwell and the French Revolution, 472, 473
- Carmarthen, marquis of. See Leeds, duke of.
- Carnac, druidical remains at, i. 3
- Carnot compels the duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk, 1793, vii. 282; captures Charleroi; and wins the battle of Fleurus, 312; a member of the French Directory; Bonaparte submits a plan for invading Italy to, 325; escapes being arrested by, 344
- Carnutes, Caesar's notice of, i. 13
- Caruath, Robert, earl of, impeached of high treason, tried and found guilty, vi. 19; but is reprieved, 20; released from prison by an act of grace, 30
- Caroline, queen, wife of George II.; influences her husband in retaining Walpole prime minister in opposition to electing sir S. Compton, vi. 58; receives a jointure of 100,000*l.*, *ib.*; her assistance to, and influence over her husband, 59; appointed regent, 1735, during the king's absence in Hanover, 77; regards the Porteous riots of 1736 as an insult to her authority, 83; taken ill, Nov. 9, 1737; dies Nov. 20, 87; character of, 88
- Caroline, Matilda, sister of George III., born 1751, married in 1766 to Christian VII. of Denmark; unhappy marriage; charged with infidelity, and imprisoned in Kronberg castle; rescued by the British government, vi. 329; retires to the castle of Zell, Hanover, dying in 1775, 330
- Caroline. See George IV.
- Carteaux, general, suppresses a revolt at Marscilles, vii. 286; marches against Toulon, 1793, 287, 289; replaced in his command by general Dugommier, 286
- Carter, rear-admiral of the blue; slain at La Hogue, 1692, v. 149
- Carteret, lord, secretary of state; removed from that office, 1724; appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, vi. 50; offers 300*l.* for the discovery of the author of the Drapier's letters, 52; his motion for Walpole's removal rejected, 103; becomes a favourite of Geo. II., 109; secretary of state, 1742-1744, 112, 320; controls the cabinet; an object of attack to the opposition, 112; created earl Granville, *ib.*; obtains the king's confidence, 1747; fails in an attempt to obtain the administration of affairs, 178; president of the council, 1761, 251
- Carthage, attack upon, 1741, vi. 98-100
- Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, betrays Caractacus to the Romans, i. 21
- Cartwright, Dr., invents the power loom; his anxiety on account of it; parliamentary grant to; number of looms employed in 1813, '33 and '56, vii. 54
- Cassano, battle of, 27 April, 1798, vii. 382
- Cassivelaunus, or Caswallon, opposes the advance of Caesar, i. 7
- Castanos, general, compels the French to surrender at the battle of Baylen, 1808, vii. 500
- Castle, John, betrays his fellow Spencean philanthropists, viii. 76-78
- Castlereagh, lord, temporary Irish secretary, vii. 366; applies the secret service money to the making converts to the government measure of the Union, 372, 373; description of; moves the third reading of the Union bill, 375; war and colonial secretary, 1807, 480; challenges Canning to a duel, which takes place on Wimbledon Common, Sept. 22, 1809, 525; cause of the quarrel, 525, 526; resigns, 526; foreign secretary, 1812, 539; viii. 158; one of the plenipotentiaries at the Congress at Vienna, 1814, viii. 42; his diplomacy with regard to the annexation of Saxony to Prussia, 43, 44; reception by the House of Commons, 51; offensive declaration made by, 52; with Wellington he represents Great Britain at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818, 99; takes part in the conferences for averting a public proceeding in the case of queen Caroline, 167; commits suicide, Aug. 12, 1822, 179; his foreign ministry, 180
- Catalonia invested by the French, 1693, v. 166
- Cathcart, lord, death of, on his way to Carthage, 1740, vi. 98
- Cathcart, lord, commander of the land forces sent against Denmark, 1807, vii. 490; present at the battle of Dresden, 1813, 563
- Cathelineau, Jaques, heads the Vendean insurgents, 1793, vii. 293; killed, 294
- Catherine of Aragon. See Henry VIII. and Wolsey.
- Catherine II. of Russia, her influence procures the Polish throne for Stanislaus, vi. 324; refuses to aid the British against America, 359; begins to reign, 1762, 465; agrees to raise an army for Spain, vii. 217; death of, Nov. 10, 1796, 330, 574
- Catholic Relief bills passed. Feb. 1782, vi. 445, 446, and April, 1829, viii. 240
- Catholics, Roman, their ineligibility for civil

- offices, v. 72; oppression of Protestants in Ireland by, 1689, 81 *et seq.*; struggle of the, in Scotland, 87 *et seq.*; Catholic sovereigns represented at the Hague, 1691, 122; treaty of Limerick allowing them certain religious privileges, 128; penal laws against, 1699, 235; proceedings against Popish priests, 1745, vi. 153, 154; certain laws against, repealed, 1778, 405; fanaticism against, roused; Protestant Associations against, formed, 406; the Gordon riots against, 406-410; the relief bill passed, 1782, 445, 446; allowed to vote at elections, 1793; bill introduced for repealing all the civil disabilities of, vii. 362; government's desire to emancipate them, 369, 370; George III.'s opposition to the repeal of the disqualification laws, 398, 399; he requires Pitt never to support Catholic emancipation, 431, 479; opposes the enlistment of, 479; Grattan's speech on the emancipation of, viii. 102, 103; partial success of the Catholic relief measure, 1821-2, 173, 179; state of the Catholic question; rejection of the relief bill, 201; sensation caused by the duke of York's speech on the bill, 201, 202; on lord Liverpool's illness the advocates for and against Roman Catholic relief marshal themselves under the leaderships of Canning and Peel; the debate in parliament, 203, 204; charges against Canning respecting the Catholic question, 206, 207; first majority obtained (1826) in favour of their claims, 234; this resolution is not taken into consideration, 235; Roman Catholic Association founded, 1823; dissolved during the Canning ministry; revived, 1828; it secures the election of O'Connell for Clare, 235, 236; ministerial views on Catholic Emancipation, 236, 237; George IV.'s unwillingness to consent to his ministers attempting to settle the question, 236 *et seq.*; Emancipation announced by government, 237, 238; violent debates on the bill, 238-240; it receives the royal assent, April 13, 1829, 240; O'Connell obtains admission into parliament under the terms of the new act, 241, 242
- Cato Street Conspiracy; antecedents of the ring-leader, Arthur Thistlewood, viii. 160; who forms a plan of assassinating the members of the Cabinet, 160, 161; plot divulged and frustrated; trial and execution of Thistlewood and five accomplices, 161
- Cavalier, leader of the Camisards, repels Marshal de Montreuil, and concludes an amnesty with Marshal Villars, 1703, v. 265; died aged, a governor of Jersey, and major-general, 266
- Cave, starts the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731, vii. 84; deterred from publishing parliamentary proceedings by being prosecuted for publishing lord Lovat's trial, 178
- Cavendish, lord John, censures the ministers for their conduct of the American war, vi. 435; resigns office, 1782, 450; censures the terms of peace, 459; chancellor of the exchequer, March to July, 1782, 469; April to Dec., 1783, vii. 576
- Cavendish, sir Henry, M.P. for Lostwithiel; his reports of the debates of parliament, 1768-77, vi. 289, 290; his remarks on parliamentary privileges, 293; quotations from his debates, 292, 293, 297, 309, 314, 317-9
- Caxton, William, commences printing in England, about 1474, ii. 128; prints earl Rivers' "Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers," which is presented to Edward IV., 171; notice of other works printed by, *ib.*
- Cecil, William, lord Burleigh, is arrested with Somerset, to whom he was secretary, iii. 35, caution of, during Northumberland's rebellion, 51; intrigues in favour of queen Mary, 53; appointed to the Privy Council on the accession of Elizabeth, 107; occupations of, during the reign of Mary, 111; prepared scheme for the restoration of Protestantism, 112; principle of, with regard to the right of national intervention, 118; skill displayed by, in the treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, 121; reasons of, for refusing Mary a safe conduct from France to Scotland, 125; intrigues carried on by, at the Scottish court, 137 *et seq.*; opinions of, as to the measures to be taken with Mary of Scotland on her taking refuge in England, 156; protest of, against the duke of Norfolk being tried for high treason, 161; opinion of, as to the inefficacy of penal laws against religious beliefs, 181; advises the Council to dispatch the warrant for Mary's execution, 200; complaint of, in 1569, of the decay of obedience in the people, 261; opposes the attack on Spain in 1596, but is overruled, 265; death of, in August 1598, 279
- Cecil, Robert, earl of Salisbury, the rival of Essex and Raleigh, iii. 232; announces to the House of Commons in 1601 the queen's intention to abate monopolies, 292; causes James I. to be proclaimed on Elizabeth's death, 307; entertains James at Theobald's, and becomes prime minister, 308; remonstrates against Coke's unfairness on Raleigh's trial, 311; compelled by James to negotiate a treaty with Spain, 318; receives a communication from lord Mounteagle, with a letter that leads to the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, 324; lesson of, to James as to his lavishness to Carr, 341; endeavours to procure from parliament a fixed revenue for the king, 351; death of, in May, 1612, 359
- Cemeteries, want of, in England, 1842, viii. 394
- Cerat heads the assassins of Sept. 1792, vii. 229
- Cevennes, the revolt of 1702-4 in the, v. 265
- Ceylon acquired by the British, viii. 217-8
- Chadwick, Edwin, reports of, on the state of the workhouse at St. Lawrence, Reading, viii. 339; on the sanitary condition of the labouring classes, 391-393; and on interment in towns, 394
- Chairs, extensive manufactory of, in Buckinghamshire, vii. 9
- Chalier, a Piedmontese; a Girardin leader; establishes the Girardin party at Lyon; his atrocities; defeated by the sections, and killed, 1793, vii. 284
- Chalmers, Dr. Thomas, his oratorical powers; popularity of his "Astronomical Discourses," published in 1816, viii. 124; character of his political economy writings, 129
- Chambers, Richard, resistance of, to the payment of illegal customs' duties, iii. 407; refuses to pay Ship-Money, and is imprisoned, 419
- Chambers, sir W., one of the founders of the Royal Academy, vii. 70; his architectural designs, 80, 81; death of, 1796, viii. 142
- Champion, colonel, invades the Rohilla country, 1774, vii. 124

Champiennet, a French general, enters Palermo; abolishes royalty; establishes a republic, 1799, vii. 382

Chandernagore surrendered to the English, 1757, vi. 224; again captured by the English, 1778, vii. 129

Chandos, marquis of, opposes the Reform bill, viii. 274; his amendment of the bill, 280

Channing, Fr., remarks of, on the abolition of slavery, viii. 329, 330

Chantrey, style of his sculpture, viii. 149, 150

Chapelier, guillotined, 1794, vii. 298

Charette commands the Vendéans, 1793, vii. 293; resumes arms on the occasion of the Quiberon expedition, 1795, 320

Charlemagne, character of, i. 75; career of, 76; benefits derived by Egbert from, 77

Charlement, lord, panic of his troops at Barcelona, v. 295

Charlement, earl of, commander-in-chief of the Irish volunteers, 1782, vi. 446

Charleroi, siege and capture of, by the French, June 25, 1794, vii. 311, 312

Charleroy captured by the French, 1693, v. 166

Charles I., visit of, when Prince of Wales to the court of Spain in 1623, to see his proposed bride, iii. 384; succeeds his father, March 27, 1625, 387; change in the manners of the Court on his accession, *ib.*; marriage of, with Henrietta Maria of France, 388; favour shown to the Roman Catholics by the king, *ib.*; the first parliament meets, and demands redress of grievances, 389; it is dissolved, *ib.*; writs issued under the privy seal, demanding loans from private persons, *ib.*; failure of the naval expedition against Spain, 390; meeting of the second parliament, Feb. 6, 1626, *ib.*; it impeaches Buckingham, *ib.*; Charles commits sir John Eliot to the Tower for his speech in the House, but releases him soon afterwards, *ib.*; dissolves the parliament, 391; disputes of, with the Lords as to infringements on their privileges, *ib.*; subsidies illegally levied, and harsh measures pursued against such as resist, 392; dismisses the queen's foreign attendants, 393; war with France and its causes, 394; failure of the expedition to aid the Protestants in Rochelle, 395; meeting of the third parliament on March 17, 1628, 396; debates in, on the Petition of Right, 397; gives his assent to the Act, 398; prorogues parliament on its remonstrating against his arbitrarily levying customs' duties, *ib.*; prepares a second expedition under Buckingham to relieve Rochelle, 399; Buckingham is assassinated, 400; the expedition sails, fails in affording relief, and Rochelle surrenders, 402; parliament meets, and makes fresh remonstrances against the king's arbitrary conduct, *ib.*; progress of religious differences in the church, *ib.*; a remonstrance carried in the Commons against popish innovations and arbitrary taxation, 403, 404; dissolves the parliament, and imprisons some of the members, 404; a force raised in Scotland to assist Gustavus Adolphus, *ib.*; jurisdiction of the Star Chamber extended, 406; continued exactions of, during the cessation of parliaments, *ib.*; spirited resistance of individuals to them, 407; the imprisoned members refuse to plead in the King's Bench, and are recommitted, 409;

Wentworth appointed Lord President of the North and Lord Deputy of Ireland, 410; persecutions and severe punishments of the Puritan writers Prynne and Leighton, 411, 413; republication of the Book of Sports, 414; raises money by the sale of new monopolies, 415; issues a proclamation against the increase of houses in London, and raises money, in 1633, by extorting fines to avoid their being pulled down, 416; other arbitrary proclamations, and hackney-coaches forbidden, in 1635, to pass up and down London streets, 417; first project of Ship Money, 418; the writs of Ship Money extended in 1636, 419; the judges give their opinion in favour of the writ, *ib.*; Hampden and many others refuse to pay, 421; judgment given against him in 1637, 422; increased resistance to the payment after the judgment, 423; prosecutions of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick for their writings, *ib.*; patronage given by Charles to the Fine Arts, 424; despotic interference of, with private property in London, but not productive of any public improvement, 425; visit of Mary de Medicis to, in 1638, 426; employs Inigo Jones to build Whitehall, 427; note on the portraits of, by Vandyck and Mytens, 428; visit of, to Scotland in 1633, 429; with Laud endeavours to impose episcopacy on Scotland; 430; outbreak in 1637 against it, and adoption of the National Covenant, 431; meeting of the General Assembly, 433; the Covenanters take up arms, and seize Edinburgh and other places, 434; he advances to Berwick with an army, and on June 18, 1639, a pacification is agreed to, 435; calls a parliament, which insists on the discontinuance of arbitrary taxation, and the punishment of the judges, 436; it is dissolved after sitting three weeks, *ib.*; the Convocation grants money, and passes canons that render the church still more unpopular, *ib.*; the Covenanters assemble fresh forces in 1640, and cross the Tweed, 437; he assembles an army at York, advances to meet them, and is completely routed at Newburn near Newcastle, *ib.*; calls a Great Council of Peers at York, 438; agrees to a truce with the Scots, *ib.*; summons a new parliament (afterwards named the Long Parliament), which meets in November 1640, *ib.*; character of the House of Commons, 439; difficulty of relating its history, 441; opens the sitting in a tone of conciliation, 443; Strafford is impeached by the Commons, 445; Laud arrested and impeached by the Commons, 446; Finch, Windebank, and the Ship-Money judges impeached, 447; trial of Strafford, 449 *et seq.*; Charles consents to his execution, 457; assents to the Act for preventing the dissolution of the parliament without its own consent, 459; the two Houses remonstrate against the queen quitting England, and she agrees to remain, 460; the Star Chamber and High Commission courts abolished by Act of parliament, 461; visits Scotland, and endeavours to conciliate the nation, 462; breaking out of the Irish insurrection of 1641, 463; the rebels pretend to have the king's commission, 465; he returns to London, *ib.*; Remonstrance of the Commons, 466; magnificent entertainment given to, by the corporation of the city, 467; for-

mation of parties for the approaching struggle, 468; Hyde becomes the king's adviser, and lord Falkland is made secretary of state, 469; receives the Remonstrance from the Commons, and publishes an answer to it, drawn up by Hyde, *ib.*; takes up his residence at Whitehall for the Christmas of 1641, 470; popular tumults and cry against the bishops, 471; twelve bishops protest against the force used towards them, and are committed to the Tower for treason, 472; the question of the militia raised in Jan. 1642, 473; his rights invaded by the claims of the Commons, 474; refuses a guard to the Commons, and on Jan. 3, attempts to seize the Five Members, 475; despondency at Whitehall, and tumults in the city, occasioned by the attempt and its failure, 478; leaves Whitehall and goes to Hampton Court, *ib.*; refuses his assent to the militia bill, but assents to that for excluding the bishops from the House of Lords, 480; the queen leaves England, *ib.*; he is refused entrance into Hull, 481; some peers and commoners join him at York, *ib.*; he receives propositions from the parliament, 482; sets up his Standard at Nottingham, 495; attempts to negotiate with the parliament, 496; but it refuses unless the king's proclamations, declaring them traitors, are withdrawn, 497; marches on Shrewsbury, and publishes a "Protestation," *iv.* 2; the first encounter in the civil war takes place at Worcester, 3; want of money of, *ib.*; Battle of Edgehill, Oct. 23, 1642, 4; marches upon London, 7; Parliamentarians defeated by the royal army at Brentford, Nov. 12, 1642, 8; the royalists retire, 9; the Londoners march to Turnham Green, and the royal army retires into winter quarters at Oxford, 10; the war spreads through England, 11; the queen lands with an army, 12; sufferings of the royalists at Oxford, 13; Reading surrenders to Essex, 15; proceedings of the war in other quarters, *ib.*; Edmund Waller's plot, 16; defeat of the parliamentarians at Chalgrove Field, and death of Hampden, *ib.*; the queen joins her husband, 18; various incidents of the war, 19; Rupert takes Bristol, July 27, 1643, 20; Gloucester besieged by Charles, August 10, 21; relieved by Essex, Sept. 5, 22; battle of Newbury, 23; anecdote of the king trying his fortune with lord Falkland, by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, 26; the Scots invade England, 31; he withdraws his troops from Ireland, who are afterwards defeated at Nantwich, 32; convokes a parliament at Oxford, Jan. 22nd, 1644, 33; is besieged by Essex and Waller in Oxford, and quits the city on June 3rd, *ib.*; defeats Waller at Cropredy Bridge, 34; marches to the relief of York, 35; but is defeated at Marston Moor, July 2, *ib.*; the queen leaves England, 36; he is defeated at the second battle of Newbury, 37; negotiates with the parliament, 38; treaty of Uxbridge, 39; victories of Montrose, 40; battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645, 43; the king's cabinet captured and opened, 45; surrender of Bristol, 47; Basing House taken, 48; Montrose defeats an army under Baillie, 52; Charles attempts to join him, but is defeated by Poyntz at Rowton Heath, and retires to Wales, *ib.*; Montrose defeated at Philiphaugh, *ib.*; defeat of Digby at Sherborne, his cabinet taken,

and its contents published, 53; the king sets out for Oxford, *ib.*; desires his son to leave England, 54; overtures for pacification, 55; letter of, to the queen, *ib.*; lord Hopton accepts the command of the western army, 56, but the army is soon after dissolved and the war terminates in that quarter, *ib.*; Prince of Wales leaves for Seilly, 57; the king's proposal to parliament being rejected, he negotiates, through Montreuil, with the Scots to take up his cause, 58; Fairfax gradually draws his troops round Oxford, *ib.*; injunctions of the king to his wife, *ib.*; account of his flight given by Hudson and Ashburnham, 59; adventures on the way to the Scottish army, 60; the Scots endeavour to induce him to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, 62; is surrendered by the Scots to the English commissioners, 63; capitulation of Oxford, 64; end of the first Civil War, 65; confinement of, at Holmby House, 66; is removed from Holmby by Jeyce, 71; treatment of, by the army, 73; proposals of the Independents to, 75; he rejects them, 76; popular movement in London in favour of the king, 77; he is lodged at Hampton Court, 79; the Independents still endeavour to come to terms with, but he continues to treat with both parties, 80; a letter of, intercepted by Cromwell and Ireton, 81; escape of, from Hampton Court, 82; narrative of the escape, 84; goes to the Isle of Wight, 85; Berkeley's mission to the army, 87; Scotch and English negotiations with, 88; is imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle, *ib.*; parliament declares against any further treaty, 89; royalist reaction, 90; and riots, 91; his attempt to escape from Carisbrook Castle, 92; lord Goring rises in favour of, 93; Scotch army enters England under the duke of Hamilton, in aid of, *ib.*; Cromwell marches from Wales, 94; and defeats them at the battle of Preston, 95; Cromwell's victory disarranges the king's schemes, 97; treaty of Newport, 98; skill displayed by, in discussion, and appearance of, at Newport, 98; concessions made by, at Newport, 99; letter of, to his son, *ib.*; is carried to Hurst Castle, 102; is removed to Windsor by Harrison, 104; treatment of, 105; ordinance for his trial, *ib.*; High Court of Justice appointed, 106; the king before the High Court, 107; trial of, Bradshaw presides, *ib.*; is sentenced to be executed, 109; sentence of condemnation, *ib.*; behaviour of, after condemnation, 110; his execution, Jan. 30, 1649, 111; remarks on, and his execution, 111; buried at Windsor Castle in St. George's Chapel, 115

Charles II. leaves England for Scilly in 1646, *iv.* 57; goes first to Jersey, then to France, and afterwards to Holland, *ib.*; is an exile at St. Germain's, 120; is proclaimed King of Scotland at Edinburgh on Feb. 5th, 1649, *ib.*; commissioners from Scotland to Charles at the Hague, requesting him to return to his kingdom, *ib.*; he refuses their proposals, and dismisses them, *ib.*; urged by the marquis of Ormond to show himself in Ireland, but only goes as far as Jersey, in consequence of hearing of the fall of Drogheda, 124; double-dealing of, in negotiations with the Scottish Parliament, 128; gives Montrose a commission to wage war in Scotland, *ib.*; who is de-

feated at Craighenichen, by colonel Strachan, 129; consents to proposals of Scottish Commissioners, and goes to Scotland, 131; political morality of, *ib.*; supposed influence of the preachers upon the character of, *ib.*; made to sign a declaration against Popery and Heresy in the Scottish camp, 133; battle of Dunbar, 135; crowned at Seon, 136; marches into England at the head of a Scotch army, 137; issues proclamations, *ib.*; battle of Worcester, in which he is totally defeated by Cromwell, 138; escape and adventures of, 140; and return to France, 143; settles at Cologne, and prepares for a landing in England, 199; Wilmot organises a general insurrection throughout England in favour of, *ib.*; which fails through Cromwell's politic measures, 191; dissoluteness of, at Cologne, 199; Sindercomb's plot in favour of, discovered, 205; meets his brother James at Calais, intending to proceed to England, 224; endeavours to persuade Monk to join his cause, *ib.*; court of, at Breda, 232; the Presbyterians send a deputation to him, to offer the crown on conditions, 233; Monk gives in his adhesion to his cause, *ib.*; letter of Charles to the new parliament in April, 1660, and Declaration from Breda, 235, 240; meeting of the Convention Parliament on April 25, 1660, 236; debates in the House on the Bill of Indemnity, *ib.*; the regicides and others excepted from it, 237; he embarks for England, *ib.*; and lands at Dover, 238; enters London amidst the general joy of the people, 239; the Convention Parliament declares the Long Parliament to be dissolved, and abolish knight-service and purveyance, 242; a large revenue settled on the Crown, 243; money granted to enable him to disband the army, 244; difficulties as to the Church and Crown lands, 245; Act of Indemnity and Oblivion passed, 246; number of exceptions to it, 247; the regicides tried and executed, 248; insulting disinterment of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Blake, *ib.*; the king's declaration respecting Episcopacy, 249; a bill, founded on the declaration of Breda, brought into the House, and rejected, 250; the Convention Parliament dissolved, Dec. 29, 1660, *ib.*; the Navigation Act, and a Post-Office Act, re-enacted by the House before its dissolution, *ib.*; insurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy men in April, 1661, suppressed, 251; proclamation of, against Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, *ib.*; the coronation, *ib.*; a new parliament meets on May 8, and ultra-royalism of its character, 253; provisions of, for strengthening the prerogatives of the Crown, 255; passing of the Corporation Act, *ib.*; and of the Act of Uniformity, 256; attempts to force Episcopacy upon Scotland, 258; the urgency of parliament for more punishments of the Revolutionists resisted by Charles and Clarendon, 259; Vane and Lambert tried and condemned for high treason, 260; letter of the king, approving of Vane being "put out of the way," on account of his defence, 261; marriage of, to Catherine of Braganza, 262; presents his mistress, lady Castelmaine, to the queen, 263; sells Dunkirk to the French, 264; profligacy of the king and Court, 265; a dispensing power to relax the

penal laws in ecclesiastical matters denied him by the parliament, 263; the Triennial Act repealed, *ib.*; war with Holland commenced in 1665, *ib.*; first appearance of the great Plague in 1665, 269 *et seq.*; the Five-Mile Act passed against the non-conformists, 275; the Settlement Act of 1662 passed, 276; naval fight of four days with the Dutch, 279; the Licensing Act and restrictions on the Press, 281; the Great Fire of London, 282 *et seq.*; the king and duke of York set examples of activity, 284; change in the temper of parliament towards, 292; commissioners appointed to examine the public accounts, *ib.*; his disgraceful state of indebtedness, 293; insurrection of the Covenanters in Scotland, suppressed by Dalziel, 294; state of the navy in 1666, 295; insurrection of the sailors for want of pay, 297; the Dutch attack and burn English ships in the Medway, in 1667, 298; peace concluded with Holland, 299; Clarendon deprived of office, *ib.*; formation of the Cabal ministry, 302; character of the ministry, 305; principles of, and conduct of the king, *ib.*; his desire to imitate Louis XIV., 306; general corruption of political parties, *ib.*; constitutional restraints against his becoming despotic, 307; movements of the Cabal in favour of toleration towards non-conformists, *ib.*; the House of Commons negative proposals for a union of Protestants, 308; conclusion of the Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, in 1668, *ib.*; the duchess of Orleans visits England, 309; secret treaty concluded with Louis XIV., on May 22, 1670, for the conquest of Holland, and the receipt of a pension, 310; the Commons vote a grant for a war against France, *ib.*; the Conventicle Act renewed, *ib.*; renewed persecution of non-conformists, 311; the king's French concubine, 312; growing discontent of the House of Commons at the king's foreign policy, 313; mutilation of sir John Coventry, and passing of the Coventry Act, *ib.*; attempt of Blood to steal the regalia, 314; he is pardoned and pensioned by the king, 315; the shutting up of the Exchequer, *ib.*; public alliance with France, and war with Holland, 316; Declaration of Indulgence in religion issued by, 319; unpopularity of the measure, 320; the parliament declares that penal statutes cannot be suspended but by Act of parliament, *ib.*; the Declaration is withdrawn, and the Test Act passed, 321; the Commons address the king against the marriage of the duke of York with Maria Beatrix of Modena, and they vote standing armies, the alliance with France, and the ministry, to be grievances, 322; they are prorogued, the Cabal ministry is broken up, and that of the earl of Danby formed, 323; composition of the House of Commons in 1673, *ib.*; peace made with Holland, 324; enormous sums lavished by the king on the duchess of Portsmouth, 325; receipt of a pension from France by, *ib.*; the licences of coffee-houses withdrawn, in order to suppress seditious discourse, in 1675, 326; they are re-opened, 327; parliament meets, and Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and two other peers, are sent to the Tower for maintaining that the long prorogation amounted to a dis-

no'ution, 328; the king obtains a large grant from the Commons by means of bribery, *ib.*; the prince of Orange arrives in England, in 1677, and marries the princess Mary, 329; contentions between the parliament and the king, 330; the statute inflicting the punishment of death for heresy repealed in 1678, 331; personal popularity of the king, 332; announcement of Titus Oates's Popish Plot, *ib.*; excitement produced, and progress of the development, 333; murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey, 334; the Commons pass an Act to exclude Catholics from both Houses, 335; the king's notion of the Plot, and his support of the queen against Oates's accusation, 336; sweeping committal of prisoners, and chief justice Scroggs's intemperate behaviour on their trial, 337; convictions obtained on doubtful or insufficient evidence, *ib.*; the ultimate effects of the plot, 338; disclosure to the public of the secret treaty between Charles and Louis XIV., 339; the king's letters read in the House of Commons, 340; indignation of the House, and Danby is impeached, 341; the parliament is dissolved, in 1679, and great excitement produced by the election of a new one, *ib.*; the king affirms the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth, to satisfy his brother, before he consents to leave England, 342; a Cabinet government, on a scheme of sir W. Temple's, appointed to succeed Danby, 343; the Exclusion bill read twice in the House of Commons, the Habeas Corpus Act passed, and the House prorogued, 344; and dissolved, 345; fresh prosecutions and convictions on account of the Popish Plot, *ib.*; persecutions of the Covenanters in Scotland, 347; murder of archbishop Sharpe, 349; insurrection in Scotland, *ib.*; Monmouth sent to quell it, 350; battle of Bothwell Bridge, *ib.*; origin of the terms *Whig* and *Tory*, *ib.*; he is attended by James and the duke of Monmouth, rivals for the succession, on his illness in 1679, 351; sends Monmouth to Flanders, and James to Scotland, *ib.*; alterations of, at Windsor Castle, 354; is urged by the duchess of Portsmouth and others to name the duke of Monmouth his successor, 356; the Bill of Exclusion again brought into the House, *ib.*; it is passed, and carried to the House of Lords by lord William Russell, where it is rejected, 357; the earl of Stafford convicted and executed for participation in the Popish Plot, 358; levity of the king's behaviour, 359; the parliament impeaches chief justice Scroggs, *ib.*; the parliament dissolved, and another summoned to meet at Oxford, 360; he concludes a new treaty with France, and receives a fresh subsidy, *ib.*; the Oxford parliament again introduce the Bill of Exclusion, 361; the House of Lords refuse to receive the impeachment of Fitzharris, *ib.*; the House of Commons is suddenly dissolved, after sitting seven days, on March 28, 1681, 362; the king's Declaration, and the Whig Vindication, *ib.*; trial of Plunket, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh, for a Popish Plot, and of Stephen College for an attempt to seize the king's person, *ib.*; both are convicted and hanged, *ib.*; Dryden produces his "Absalom and Achitophel," after Shaftesbury's arrest for high treason, 364; Shaftes-

bury is indicted, and the grand jury throw out the bill, *ib.*; manoeuvres of the Court to obtain the nomination of a sheriff of London, 365; the army establishment, 369; a *quo warranto* against the Corporation of London, which submits to conditions, *ib.*; other corporations surrender their charters, 370; trial and acquittal of Count Königsmark for the murder of Thomas Thynne, *ib.*; satisfaction of the king at the acquittal, 371; the Rye-House Plot, *ib.*; trials and executions of lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, 372-375; persecution of the Covenanters in Scotland, 375; the University of Oxford publish a decree against seditious books, and its members preach passive obedience, 376; Evelyn's account of the king's amusements on Sunday, Feb. 1, 1685, *ib.*; he is struck with apoplexy on Feb. 2, *ib.*; receives the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, and dies on Feb. 6, 377; Chelsea Hospital, as founded by, *ib.*

Charles V., the emperor, succeeds his grandfather Ferdinand in 1516, ii. 275; is chosen emperor in 1519, 281; meets Henry VIII. at Gravelines, and propitiates Wolsey, 286; leagues with Henry VIII. against Francis I. in 1521, 291; wins the battle of Pavia in 1525, and takes Francis prisoner, 301; releases Francis on very hard terms, 305; war of, against Pope Clement VII., *ib.*; attack and sack of Rome by the troops of, under the Constable de Bourbon, 306, 307; character of the armies at Rome, 308; is crowned emperor in 1530, 330; opposes the annulling of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catherine, *ib.*; objects to the removal of the divorce suit from Rome, 337; caution of, in negotiating the marriage of Philip with Mary, iii. 59; abdicates the crown in Oct. 1555, 96; dies, 106

Charles Albert of Sardinia succeeds to the throne after Charles Felix, 1831, viii. 268

Charles of Lorraine commands the Austrians; checks the French in Bohemia, 1742, vi. 107; expels the French from Germany, 111; commands the Austrians at Leuthen, 1757, 231

Charles II., of Spain and Naples, represented at the Hague, 1691, v. 122; his early life and feebleness; the question of his succession, 225, 226; tormented by intriguing agents, 242; alters his will in favour of France, and dies Nov. 1, 1700, 242, 243, 388

Charles III., of Spain and Naples; as Don Carlos, duke of Parma, he invades Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily; crowned king of Naples and Sicily, vi. 71; reigned in Spain, 1759-88, 465; and in Naples, 1734-59, 466

Charles, IV., of Spain, began to reign, 1788, vii. 465; concludes the treaty of Fontainebleau with Napoleon, 495; abdicates the crown, 1808, 498, 575

Charles, archduke, of Austria; emperor VI. of Germany; his claim to the Spanish throne supported by England; his visit to Anne's court, 1703, v. 267; lands at Lisbon, 290; proclaimed as Charles III., of Spain, at Denia; he presses for the siege of Barcelona, 294; his partial success in Catalonia, 296; his incompetency; besieged in Barcelona, 1706, 297, 298; his inactivity in marching on Madrid, 298, 299; Peterborough's disgust of, 299; his Spanish claims acknowledged by

- the Estates of Brabant, 310; sustains reverses, 1707, 330; obtains a few successes; enters Madrid, Sept. 1710, 366; discord amongst his allies; defeat at Villa Viciosa; cause hopeless, 367; elected emperor, Oct. 8, 1711, 376, 475; died Oct. 20, 1740, vi. 101, 465
- Charles VII., emperor of Germany; as elector of Bavaria he disputes Maria Theresa's succession to the German throne, vi. 105; enters Bohemia; takes Prague; crowned king of Bohemia and emperor of Germany; his capital city, Munich, taken by his opponents, 107; died at Munich, 1745, 113
- Charles X., of France; count D'Artois, brother of Louis XVI.; leaves France, 1789, vii. 174; ready to return in arms, 200; urges the emperor of Germany and king of Prussia to rescue Louis, 207; prepares an expedition, but abandons it, and returns to England, 1795, 320; signs a convention with the Allies for the cessation of hostilities, 1814, 571; ascends the throne, 1824, viii. 247, 263; government, consecration, and inconsistency of, 247, 248; his differences with the Chamber of Deputies, 249; promulgates the royal ordinances, 1830, 250; the people are roused, 251-254; his wavering conduct, 254; loses his crown, July, 1830, 255; his movements, *ib.*; abdicates in favour of his grandson; compelled to leave France; takes refuge in England, 256
- Charles XII., of Sweden; his energy in warring against Denmark, whose navy, with admiral Rooke's assistance, he succeeds in driving back into Copenhagen, v. 237; concludes a peace with England, *ib.*; his career from 1700 to 1707, 330; visited by the duke of Marlborough, 331; account of the interview, *ib.*; invades Russia; defeats the native army near the Beresina; and at Smolensko; receives a signal defeat from the Czar Peter the Great at the battle of Pultowa, July 8, 1709, 345, 346; succeeds Charles XI. 475; reappears in history, after a seclusion of five years, 1714, vi. 27; defeated at Stralsund, 28; and slain at Frederickshall, 1718, 35, 465
- Charles XIV., of Sweden, J. J. Bernadotte; serves in the army under Jourdan, vii. 312; joins Bonaparte with an army, 343; opposes any change in the constitution of France, 1799, 383; commands the army of Hanover, 1805, 443; attacked by Benningsen at Pultusk, Dec. 1807, 481; installed crown prince of Sweden, Nov. 1, 1810, 536; alienates himself from Bonaparte and joins Alexander of Russia, 556; defeated Oudinot at Gross Beeren, Aug. 23, 1813, 563; and Ney at Dennewitz, Sept. 6, 563, 564; his further opposition to the French, 564; becomes king of Sweden, 1818, viii. 268
- Charleston besieged by the British; capitulates, May 12, 1780, vi. 411
- Charlotte, Queen, princess of Mecklenberg; colonel Græme's favourable report of her induces George III. to choose her for his queen, vi. 247; he marries her, Sept. 8, 1761; her appearance and character, 248; coronation of the king and queen, Sept. 22, 249; entrusted with the care of the king, 1810, vii. 534; death of, Nov. 17, 1818, viii. 98
- Charlotte, princess; public hopes of her marriage with Leopold, which occurs May 2, 1816, vol. ix. —223.
- viii. 53, 54; grief at her death, Nov. 6, 1817, 93, 94; admiration of her conduct, and sympathy with her husband; her dissension with the prince Regent; he causes an inquiry into her conduct; she refuses to marry the prince of Orange, 94; flies to the princess of Wales; her character, 95
- Charnock joins with Barelay and others in the design against William's life, 1696, v. 187; the plot is discovered and he is captured, Feb. 22; tried, 190; found guilty and executed, 191
- Charter, the people's, principles of, viii. 418, 419; parliamentary debate on, 1842, 496
- Charter house, trial and execution of the prior and some of the monks of, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy to Henry VIII., ii. 358, 359; continued persecution of the remainder, 360, 361
- Chartism, its prevalence among the labouring classes, viii. 417, 418; principles advocated by the Chartists, 418, 419; Chartist riots, 1839, 422; revival of, 1848, 558, 559; Chartist designs crushed by the government preparations, 559, 560
- Chartreuse, Castle of, surrenders to Marlborough, 1702, v. 260
- Chatham, William Pitt, earl of, speaks in parliament, 1736, vi. 85; gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, 1738, 92; denounces the convention with Spain, 1739, 94; supports the grant for continuing the war in Flanders, 1744, 112; speaks against the amendment for securing the independence of the Commons, 138; obtains office under the Pelham administration, 1747, 178; the king refuses to nominate him secretary-at-war; appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland; then paymaster general; integrity in the discharge of his office, 179; chagrined at not obtaining the secretary of state seals in 1754; marries lady Grenville, and retires to Hayes, 199; his outburst against the levity of the House of Commons; deserted by Fox, 200; Newcastle offers him a seat in the Cabinet, and the probability of having the secretary of state seals, to support the subsidies; refuses the offer, 208; opposition speech, Nov. 13, 1755; dismissed from his paymaster office, Nov. 20, 209; advocates an increased army, 211; opposes the bringing over foreign troops to England, 212; refuses to agree to a coalition with Fox; appointed secretary of state, 1756, 218; adopts Duncan Forbes' suggestion of enlisting Highlanders into the service, *ib.*; supports the Prussian subsidy, 219; endeavours to save adm. Byng; dismissed from office, 1757, 220; king's dislike to; Cumberland urges the dismissal of; freedom of London presented to; Newcastle refuses to hold power with, 221; "Mr. Pitt's administration," Newcastle made first lord of the treasury, and Pitt secretary of state, having also the ministerial power, 222; has the whole conduct of the war and of foreign affairs, 227; energy in conducting the latter, 232, 233; his lavishness and energy, 234; appoints Wolfe to the command of the Quebec expedition; invites him to dinner; Wolfe's declamatory conduct, 235; moves that a public monument be erected in honour of Wolfe, 239; his vigorous prosecution of the war during the conference for peace, 249; promises Frederick

- of Prussia his assistance, 250; breaks off the negotiations with France; advocates war against Spain; his measure defeated by the court party, 251; resigns his seals of secretary of state, Oct. 5, 1761; his conduct in his interview with the king; receives a pension of £3,000; and wife made a baroness; storm of ridicule and abuse against; joy at his fall; 252; his popularity undiminished, 253; his German policy attacked by Grenville, *ib.*; his calmness during the receipt of col. Barré's insolent speech; the new ministry adopt his plans, 254; his patriotic outbreak in parliament; success of his projected expedition against Martinique, 255, and Havannah, 256; dissatisfied with the conditions of the peace of Paris, 1763; states that "that spirit which has made us what we are" compensates for the increase in the national debt, 257; negotiations for his return to power fail, 263; the king again offers him the premiership; his terms, 276; earl Temple persuades him to give up the negotiation; again applied to, but declines the post, 277; speech in favour of repealing the American Stamp Act, arguing that a parliament has no right to impose a tax on a colony not represented in it, 279; huzzaed for Grenville's defence, 280; huzzaed for his conduct in the Stamp Act Repeal Bill, 284; forms a ministry; lord privy seal and earl of Chatham, 1766; composition of his ministry; his political plans, 285; defends the order for laying an embargo on corn; forces on a parliamentary inquiry into the East India Company's affairs; his Cabinet becomes disordered, 286; illness and incapacity for business; stated to be a sham, 287; loses his popularity; helpless condition of mind and body; resigns his post: retires to Burton-Pynsent; the struggles of his ministry, 288; his remarks upon the king's address on opening parliament, 301; his reply to lord Mansfield's speech, 301, 302; announces his union with the Rockingham party; his plan of parliamentary reform, 304; warns the Americans not to carry their liberty notions too far, 311; his strong approbation of Beckford's speech, 316; remarks on the publication of the parliamentary debates, 319; advises government to be moderate and prudent, 339; his speech on America, 341; moves the withdrawal of troops from Boston, 345; urges government to adopt measures of conciliation, 346; his speech on Gage's conduct, 348; withdraws his son from the British army, 362; his memorandum concerning America; recovers his health slightly after a two years' illness, 1774, 375; occupies his seat in the House of Lords; sensation produced by his reappearance; his speech; moves for an address to the king advising that a stop be put to the American hostilities, 376; his speech for moving an amendment upon the address; inveighs against calling in the aid of foreign princes and Indians, 381, 382; lord Suffolk replies defending the employment of Indians, *ib.*; Chatham counter-plies in an invective against their employment, 382; lord North presses the king to apply to, to aid in supporting the administration; the king's dislike towards, 387; national feeling towards, 388; description of his appearance, 1778; speaks against the duke of Richmond's address, *ib.*; description of this his last speech, 388, 389; swoons while making an effort to address the House a second time, 389; the accident throws the House into confusion, *ib.*; death of, at Hayes, May 11, 1778; funeral and monuments, 390
- Chatham, John, earl of, commands the expedition to the Scheldt, 1809, vii. 518, 519; his indolence, 520; censured; succeeded by lord Mulgrave, as master general of the ordnance, 527
- Chaucer's descriptions of the social state of England, *temp.* Edward III., i. 479, 480; costume described by, 480, 481; manners of the people, 482; satire of, on the state of the Church, 489; characteristics of, and his influence on English literature, ii. 11, 12
- Chaumont, treaty of, March 1, 1814, vii. 581; viii. 25
- Chauvelin, French ambassador in England, 1792; himself and suite received with reserve and coldness, vii. 209, 210; correspondence with lord Grenville, 215, 249, 250; returns to Paris with mistaken notions of English disaffection, 204; ordered to retire from England, 350
- Chelsea hospital built by Wren, v. 454
- Cherbourg taken by the British, August 8, 1754, vi. 232
- Cheshire, its agricultural condition, vii. 27
- Chesterfield, lord, his speech against the bill for licensing plays, 1737, vi. 90; lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1744; sent on a mission to the Hague to obtain the duke of Cumberland's appointment to the command of the confederate armies, 113; opposes the bill making it high treason to hold correspondence with the Pretender's sons, 115; with lord Mansfield's assistance he carries through the bill for reforming the calendar, 1751, 187; secretary of state, 1746-8, 320
- Chevalier, P., account of Druidical remains in Brittany by, i. 3
- Chevalier St. George. See Stuart, James.
- Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares; unable to comply with Hastings's extortionate demands, he is arrested, vii. 132; the native population release him and compel Hastings to fly; routed and deposed by Poplam, 133
- Chimney tax. See Hearth money.
- China, war with, viii. 443-450
- Cholera in England, 1831, viii. 290; precautions taken against it, 292, 293
- Christchurch gateway, Oxford, built by Wren, v. 454
- Choiseul, duke de, administrates the foreign affairs of France; his negotiations with England, vi. 249; breaks them off, and signs the Family Compact with Spain, 251; desires a rupture with England; sudden fall from power, 323
- Chollet, battle of, Sept. 1793, vii. 295
- Christian VII. of Denmark, marries Caroline of England, 1766; his character; allows her and his ministers to be arrested, vi. 329; ascends the throne, 1766, 466; succeeded by Frederick VI. 1808, vii. 575
- Christian Church in Britain, doctrinal dissensions in the, in the fourth century, i. 52; influence of, in Roman Britain, 53; disunited character of, 59; suppression of the Pelagian heresies in, as related by Bede, 60; conference and disagreement of, with Augustin, 68, 69

- Christianity, first appearance and decadence of, in Britain, i. 14; doubtful statement of the introduction of, into Britain, by Lucius, who reigned A.D. 180, 50; certainly established in Britain as early as the beginning of the fourth century, 51; persecution of, under Diocletian and Maximian, *ib.*
- Chun Castle, an early British work, i. 9
- Chunda Sahib attacks Mahomed Ali, vi. 203; killed, 205
- Church, corrupt state of, in the time of Henry II., i. 280; state of, under Edward III., 488, 489; attempts of Wycliffe to reform, 489, 490; ill effects produced by its privileges of "benefit of clergy," and of sanctuary, *temp.* Henry VII., ii. 243, 244; position of, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., 276; the immunities of the clergy offensive to the laity, *ib.*; persecution of Richard Hunne for heresy, and for having Wycliffe's books, 277; the Londoners declared by the bishop to be in "favour of heretical wickedness," *ib.*; the king maintains his prerogative against the claims of the clergy, 278; the clergy in Convocation, participate with the commons in the resistance to Henry the VIII.'s demand for a large subsidy, 297; archbishop Usher's scheme for the reformation of, iii. 473; conference of the bishops with the Puritan divines at the Savoy, in 1661, iv. 252; earnest desire of Clarendon to re-establish, in its ancient splendour, 253; resistance offered by, to the efforts of James II. to introduce Roman Catholics, 408; archbishop Sancroft and six bishops petition to be excused compliance with the king's order for the clergy to read in churches the declaration for liberty of conscience, 425; they are committed to the Tower, 426; brought before the King's Bench to plead, and are held to bail, 427; tried for a seditious libel and acquitted, 428; public rejoicings at their acquittal, *ib.*; the bishops refuse king James's request that they would sign a declaration of abhorrence against the proceedings of William, prince of Orange, 438; establishment of societies for religious instruction, v. 206; feud between the, and the dissenters, 1702, 262, 263; cry of "the church in danger" raised, 1705, 305, 306; provision made at the union of the two kingdoms for the Scottish, 324; the leniency of Dr. Sacheverel's sentence regarded as a triumph of the high, 355; popular disposition in favour of the, 358; Anne determines to uphold and encourage the established English, 1710, 364; schism in the Scottish Kirk; they resent the English government's interference in their affairs, 1736, vi. 84; Burke raises the cry of the church in danger, 1790, vii. 195; a "more evangelical spirit" among churchmen, viii. 123; chief details of the bill for the reform of the Irish; it is passed, 1833, 326; the Irish church, 326, 327; appropriation of the temporal possessions of the Irish protestant church proposed, 1834, 343, 344; lord Russell's resolution to the same effect, 1835, 357; the "Disruption" in the Scotch church, 503, 504; the Free General Assembly constituted; the United Presbyterian Church formed, 504; effects of the Act for increasing spiritual instruction in populous districts, 504, 505
- Church rates, proposal by government to abolish, defeated, 1837, viii. 376
- Churchill, Charles, assists Wilkes in the "North Briton," 1762, vi. 260; attacks Bute in his "Prophecy of Famine," 1763, 261; defends Wilkes against Hogarth, 266; Hogarth's portrait of, 267
- Churchill, George, assists his brother the duke of Marlborough at the battle of Blenheim, v. 284
- Chusan Islands captured and evacuated by the British, viii. 446, 447
- Gibber, sculpture executed by, v. 447, 459
- Cider tax repealed, 1766, vi. 284
- Cintra, convention of, 1808, vii. 503, 579
- Cities and towns of England, condition of *temp.* Richard I., i. 322
- Ciudad Rodrigo taken by the French, 1810, vii. 531; and recaptured by Wellington, Jan. 19, 1812, vii. 548
- Clarence, George, brother of Edward IV., created duke of, in 1461, ii. 150; marries Isabel, daughter of the earl of Warwick, 157; joins Warwick in a rising against Edward, 158; Edward taken prisoner, but escapes, *ib.*; is defeated at Stamford, and escapes to France with Warwick, 159; is reconciled to his brother, 164; is accused of participating in the murder of prince Edward, 167; endeavours to obtain in marriage the heiress of Burgundy, but is opposed by Edward, 175; is accused of treason, and convicted; dies in the tower, Feb. 1478, *ib.*; no foundation for the statements of his drowning, or that Gloucester was implicated in his death, *ib.*
- Clarence, William, duke of. See William IV.
- Clarendon, Constitutions of, passed in 1164, i. 286, 287; the pope refuses to confirm them, *ib.*
- Clarendon (sir Edward Hyde) earl of, becomes the adviser of Charles I. in 1641, iii. 469; draws up the answer to the Remonstrance of the Commons, *ib.*; the Presbyterian party endeavour to obtain his expulsion from office as a condition of the restoration, iv. 233; the Declaration from Breda written by, 285; double dealing of, 245, 247; address of, as chancellor, to the parliament, 246; earnest desire to re-establish the Church of England, 253; maintains the principle of the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, *ib.*; marriage of his daughter to the duke of York, and his singular conduct, 254; opposes the desire of parliament for more punishments, 259; advises the sale of Dunkirk to the French, 264; the populace accuse him of having been bribed, 265; is deprived of office in 1667, 299; character of, *ib.*; he is impeached on Nov. 12, leaves the country, and is banished by an Act, Dec. 29, *ib.*; settles at Montpellier in France, 302
- Claret. See Wine.
- Clarke, Mrs., the duke of York's favourite; allowed to tamper with military matters, vii. 508-510
- Clarkson, Thomas, his zealous efforts to obtain the abolition of the slave trade, vii. 466, 467
- Claudius, invasion of Britain by, i. 17, 18; joins Plautius, takes Camalodunum and returns to Rome, 19
- Clausel, gen., commands the French at Salamanca after Marouet's death, vii. 554
- Claverhouse (John Graham, of) cruelties of, towards the Covenanters, iv. 347; is defeated by them at Drumclog in 1679, 349; behaviour

- of, at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, 350; causes Brown, "the Christian carrier" to be shot, and insults his wife, 351
- Clavering**, gen., a member of the council of Calcutta, vii. 126; claims the governor-generalship, 127; and assumes its powers; he is compelled to give it up; death of, 128
- Claviere**, minister of finance, 1792, vii. 218; quarrels with Brissot, 219; resumes his office, 226
- Clay**, Henry, an American plenipotentiary for signing the peace of Ghent, viii. 19
- Clement XIII.**, pope, 1758-1769, vi. 466; defends the Jesuits, 327
- Clement XIV.**; he suppresses the Jesuits, 1773, vi. 327; pope 1769-1774, 466
- Clergy**, the position and condition of, in the 15th century, ii. 124; intercourse of, with the laity, *ib.*; payment of curates, 125; dislike of, to the monastic orders, *ib.*; influence of domestic chaplains, *ib.*; influence of, in the making of wills, 126, 127; injurious effects of the "benefit of clergy" upon the morals of the people, *temp.* Henry VII., 243; increased dissatisfaction of the people with the oppressions of, 324; statutes passed in the parliament of 1529 against ecclesiastical abuses, 325; resistance offered by them to the passing of, 326; visited with heavy penalties for submitting to Wolsey as legate, 337; Act abolishing the payment of annates by, to the see of Rome, carried into effect in 1533, 338, 339; ordered to preach at Paul's Cross that the pope hath no authority in the realm, 350; visitation of the monasteries ordered in 1535, 366; delinquencies of the monks, 367; dissoluteness of the inmates of religious houses exposed by the visitation commissioners, 410; occasional exceptions, 412; character of the parochial clergyman, 487; married clergy expelled from their livings in 1554, iii. 73; increased severity of the persecution against married clergymen, 86; state of, at the commencement of the Civil War in 1642, 486; number ejected from their livings on the adoption of the Presbyterian Covenant, in 1643, iv. 30; legal provision for, not interfered with during the Civil War, 245; the ejected ministers restored in 1660, *ib.*; income of the clergy compared with that of other grades of society, v. 58; their condition and character, *temp.* Q. Anne, 59; exhorted by Burnet to "labour more," *ib.*; divisions among the clergy regarding the Comprehension Bill and the reforming the liturgy, 1689, 73; introduction of the terms High and Low Church, about 1689, 74; the episcopalian clergy of Scotland "rabbed;" and turned out of their livings by the Covenanters, 87; protestant clergy of Ireland deprived of their benefices, seek refuge in England, where they are aided by public subscriptions, and appointed to lectureships, &c.; their property in Ireland is transferred to the Roman Catholics, 96; division in the Church, 101; queen Anne restores the "first fruits and tenths" of all preferments, to the church for the benefit of the; it is popularly known as "Queen Anne's Bounty," 271; the English clergy, 1737-1783; their disregard of morality; neglect of their sacred functions, vii. 109; their conviviality, *caru*-playing, and apathy, 110; Cowper's description of the clergyman of his time, viii. 113.
- Clerk**, John, of Eldin, his claim to the idea of breaking the line of battle at sea considered, vi. 438
- Clinton**, sir Henry, appointed commander of the British army in America, 1778, vi. 390; sails from New York; invests Charleston, which capitulates, May 12, 1780; returns to New York leaving Cornwallis in command, 411; Washington's letter to, remonstrating against Cornwallis's severities, 412; his reply, 413; accepts Arnold's treacherous overture; and opens a secret correspondence with him, 414; demands André's release, 415
- Clive**, Robert, lord; general in the Indian army, which he enters as ensign, vi. 202; captain; attacks and takes Arcot; besieged therein by Rajah Sahib, 203; who, however, is compelled to raise the siege, 204; Clive takes Trichinopoly; returns to England; marries Miss Maskelyne; appointed governor of Fort St. David, and lieutenant-colonel, 1755, 205; returns to Fort St. David, June; appointed to the command of the expedition against Surajah Dowlah; retakes Calcutta, Jan. 2, 1757; his successful night attack frightens the subahdar into a peace; enters into an alliance with him; Chandernagore taken from the French; his unscrupulous policy towards Omichund, 224; his own defence of this conduct in 1773; defeats Surajah Dowlah at Plassey, June 23, 225; installs Meer Jaffier into the subahdarship of Bengal; his character; establishes the British ascendancy in India, 226; governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal; establishes the British power in India, 333; returns to England, 1767, *ib.*
- Closter-seven**, convention of, Oct. 22, 1757, agreed to by the duke of Cumberland, vi. 229, 467; the king refuses to ratify it, 231
- Cloth**. See Wool: Yorkshire: Leeds.
- Clothing**, dearth and scarcity of, in the 15th century, ii. 121
- Club-life**, picture of, early part of George III.'s reign, vii. 103-105
- Coal**, practice of melting iron with coal introduced by lord Dudley, 1619, v. 13; extensive fields of, in South Wales, 14; Newcastle trade in, and enormous consumption of, by London, in queen Anne's time, 28, 29; cruelties inflicted on women and children employed in coal mines, viii. 395, 396
- Coal-trade** to France, and restrictions on exportation, in the reign of Henry VIII., ii. 478.
- Cobbett**, William, his partiality for the Wiltshire Downs, vii. 21; attributes the panic of 1816 to the scarcity of corn, viii. 58; advocates parliamentary reform; sudden influence of his writings amongst the labouring classes in 1816, 73, 74; flies to America, and ceases to publish his Register for four months, 85; personal appearance of; takes his seat on the Treasury bench in the Commons, 1833, 317, 318; his speech against appointing Mr. Sutton speaker, 318; against Agnew's Sabbath observance bill, 322; his intemperate motion to dismiss Peel from the Privy Council as the author of the currency bill of 1819, rejected, 325
- Cobden**, Richard, insists upon the total repeal of the corn duties, viii. 493; his speech laying the responsibility for the country's distress on Sir R. Peel, 500; his speech on moving for

- an inquiry into the extent of the agricultural distress; his motion rejected, 526, 527
- Cobentzel, Austrian plenipotentiary, at Udine, 1797; Bonaparte's simile with his tea service, vii. 347, 348
- Cobham, lord, captures Vigo, 1719, vi. 37
- Coburg, prince of, commands the French at Neerwinden, 1793, vii. 271; his contradictory proclamations, 272; commands the allied army, 281; driven over the Sambre by Jourdan, 293
- Cockburn, admiral, with general Ross, incite the American negroes to revolt, 1814, viii. 14
- Codrington, sir Edward, admiral in command of the allied fleet; interferes with Turkey's conduct towards Greece, viii. 226; gains the battle of Navarino, 227
- Coercion Bill for Ireland, viii. 321-324; becomes law, April 2, 1833, 324; proposed renewal of, not carried, 1834, 345, 346; passed in a modified form, 346
- Coffee, tax on, 17th century, v. 38
- Coffee-houses, vii. 95, 96
- Cogidubnus, British legate at Chichester, under the Roman empire, i. 41
- Cohorn, engineer of the States-general; besieged in Namur, 1692, v. 150, 151; wounded, 151; aids in recapturing Namur, 1695, 181; aids Marlborough in his campaign of 1702, 260; with him plans the capture of Antwerp, 266
- Coif, chief priest of the Northumbrian Saxons, converted by Paulinus, destroys the idols, i. 73
- Coinage. See Money.
- Coins, ancient British, i. 15, note
- Coke, Mr., his agricultural improvements of Norfolk, vii. 5, 6
- Coke, sir Edward, bitterness of his speech as attorney-general against the earl of Essex, iii. 289; brutality of his conduct when prosecuting Raleigh, 312; as lord chief justice, issues a warrant to apprehend the earl of Somerset for the murder of Overbury, 365; dissatisfaction of James with his conduct on the trial, 368; opposes the arbitrary measures of the king, and is dismissed, 369; draws up a petition in the Commons, in 1621, against the growth of popery, 382; assists in the debate on the Petition of Right in 1628, 397; denounces the duke of Buckingham in the House of Commons, 398
- Colchester, the ancient Camalodunum, i. 14; description of the castle of, i. 19; supposed temple to Claudius at, *ib.*
- Colchester, lord, his account of the battle of Steinkirk, v. 154
- Colchester, Charles Abbot, lord, his account of the king's refusal to make concessions to Catholics, vii. 399; quotations from his diary, 430, 431, 435, 436, 440, 441, 463, 466, 468, 479, 507, 509, 528, 533, 534, 535, 541; as Speaker gives the casting vote for censuring lord Melville, 439
- Colepepper; committed to the Gate House for presenting the Kentish petition, 1701, v. 247, 248
- Coleridge, S. T., remarks of, on the French Revolution of 1789, vii. 182, 183; on Burke's "Reflections," 190; and on Robespierre, 310; character of his poetic labours, viii. 118; failure of his dramas, 125
- College, old, of physicians, built by Wren, v. 454
- Colli commands the Austro-Sardinian army against Bonaparte, 1796, vii. 326
- Collier, Jeremy, castigates play writers, v. 207
- Collingwood, Cuthbert, commands the Excellent at the battle of St. Vincent; supports Nelson in the contest, vii. 336; watches the French and Spanish fleet, 442; aids Nelson in gaining the victory of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805, 446-448; his grief for the loss of Nelson, 447, 448; his advice to Duckworth, 484
- Collins, publication of his "Eclogues," 1742, and "Odes," 1746, vii. 87
- Collins, character of his paintings, viii. 155
- Collot d'Herbois aids in destroying Lyon, 1793, vii. 285
- Colonization, systematic, plan of, proposed by Charles Buller, viii. 501
- Combermere, viscount, commander-in-chief of India, viii. 221; bombards Bhurtpore, Nov. 23, 1825, and captures it, Jan. 18, 221, 222
- Combination laws passed in the 18th century; repealed in the 19th, vi. 184-186
- Committee of Public Salvation instituted 1793, vii. 273
- Companies, mania for, 1689-1714, v. 41
- Comprehension Bill introduced, not passed, 1689, v. 73
- Compton, Henry, bishop of London, preaches the sermon at the opening of St. Paul's cathedral, Dec. 2, 1797, v. 200
- Compton, sir Spencer, treasurer of Prince of Wales, 1727, vi. 57; speaker of the House of Commons, *ib.*; Walpole draws up the royal speech for him; disappointed at not obtaining the premiership, 58; first lord of the Treasury, 1742, 320
- Conan, the leader of the British forces under Maximus, founds a colony in Brittany, A.D. 388, i. 54, 55
- Condé, Prince de, flies from Paris, 1789, vii. 174
- Condé, surrendered to the Allies, July, 1793, vii. 282
- Condorcet, a republican, vii. 203, 204; a left side member of the Legislative Assembly, 205
- Confans, a French admiral, defeated by Hawke, 1759, vi. 239, 240
- Congress. See Hague, Verona, Vienna, Laybach, Carlsbad, Troppau, Radstadt.
- Congreve, his estimate of the female character of his day, v. 419
- Coningsby, lord, impeaches the earl of Oxford, 1715, vi. 5
- Constable, character of his painting, viii. 154
- Constantine, accession of, to the government of Britain, i. 32; glowing account of prosperous state of Britain under, 33
- Constantine, raised to the imperial throne by the aid of the army in Britain, A.D. 306, i. 51; the civil government of Britain remodelled by, *ib.*; death of, A.D. 337, 52
- Constantinople, treaty of, July 8, 1833, viii. 383
- Constantius, the emperor, supports the authority of Paulus, and applauds his savage cruelties, i. 53
- Constitutional Charter issued by Louis XVIII., 1814, viii. 21, 22
- Contades, mareschal de, defeated by Ferdinand, 1759, vi. 235, 236
- Contemporary sovereigns, tables of, i. 491, 492;

- ii. 500; iii. 499; iv. 461; v. 475, 476; vi. 465, 466; vii. 574, 575; viii. 568, 569
- Convention, English, of 1689, declared a parliament, v. 69, 70
- Convention, Scotch, of 1689, proceedings of, v. 87-91
- Conversation, the, of the 18th century, vii. 106, 107
- Conway, general, takes the citadel of Aix, 1757, vi. 229; valour displayed in campaign of 1761, 250; votes against the ministry on the question of the legality of general warrants, 268; dismissed from his regiment and parliament for so doing, 269; secretary of state, 1763, 278; introduces the repeal of the American Stamp Act bill, 283; enthusiasm towards him for being the mover, 283, 284; secretary of state, 1765-1768, 285, 321; moves for the cessation of war, 434; uses harsh language towards Pitt, vii. 141
- Corningham, marquis of, lord steward; governor of Windsor Castle; delays swearing in the members of parliament, viii. 244, 245; post-master-general, 1834, 344; lord chamberlain, 381
- Cook, captain, his voyages and discoveries; visits Otaheite, New Zealand, and New South Wales; discovers the Society Islands, vii. 261, 262
- Cook, Thomas, chairman of E. I. Company; concerned in bribing members of parliament, v. 177
- Cooke, Henry, restorer of the Raffaele cartoons, v. 463
- Cooke, M.P. for Middlesex; death of vi. 296
- Cookham, its high parochial condition, viii. 337
- Cookworthy discovers a fine clay for porcelain, vii. 58
- Coote, sir Eyre, commander of the British forces in India, vii. 130; defeats Hyder Ali, July 1, and Aug. 27, 1781, 131
- Coote, sir Eyre, conducts the siege of Flushing, 1809, vii. 520
- Cope, sir John, commander-in-chief of Scotland, vi. 125; marches from Stirling in pursuit of the rebels, 1745; declines to encounter the prince's army amongst the mountains; marches on to Inverness, 126; embarks at Aberdeen; lands at Dunbar, Sept. 18; marches towards Edinburgh, 128; takes up his position at Preston to receive his opponent; where his troops are routed on the 22nd in the battle of Preston Pans, 129, 130
- Copenhagen, battle of, April 2, 1801, vii. 402-404; bombarded by the British, 1807, 490, 491
- Copley. See Lyndhurst.
- Copley, J. S., West's rival in painting; example of his style, viii. 151
- Copper mines and smelting, v. 14, 29
- Copyright Act passed, v. 413; service rendered to literature by, 413, 414; passing of the new Copyright Act, 1842; Macaulay's amendments, viii. 463-465; beneficial application of, to old copyrights about to expire, 465-468
- Coracles, small fishing boats, used by the Britons, i. 9
- Coram, captain. See Foundling.
- Corday, Charlotte, cause of her assassinating Marat; the deed is done, July 13, 1793; she is executed, vii. 278
- Cork capitulates to Marlborough, Sept. 29, 1690, v. 118
- Cornish, alderman, his attainder reversed, 1689, v. 95
- Corn-law, the first passed in England in 1463, ii. 108; effects of that passed 1815, viii. 54, 55, 178; a new act passed 1822, 178; relaxation of the, resisted, 1826, 200, 201; fears of their being repealed, 310, 311; general opposition manifested towards the Corn-laws; the Anti-Corn-law League, 436, 437; sir Robert Peel refuses to propose any alteration in the Corn-laws, 492, 493; after a prolonged debate sir Robert Peel's Bill is adopted, 493, 494; a Corn-bill for Canada passed, 501; debates on the, 513; proposed to be modified by sir R. Peel, 531; their repeal advocated by lord J. Russell, 532; different opinions of the Cabinet members as to their repeal, 532, 533; sir R. Peel's plan for a new Corn-law Bill, 537; debate on the bill, 538, 539; it is ultimately passed, 539, and received the Royal Assent, June, 1846, 540; banquet at Manchester to celebrate the repeal of the Corn-laws, 562
- Corn trade at the end of the 17th century, v. 31, 32
- Cornwall, mineral products and condition of, *temp.* William and Anne, v. 13, 14; agriculture of, vii. 24
- Cornwallis, Charles, sails from Cork with seven regiments, Feb. 1776; present at the battle of Brooklyn, vi. 370; follows Washington in his retreat as far as Trenton, 371; routs the Americans at the battle of the Brandywine, Sept. 13, 1777; occupies Philadelphia, 378; left in command of Charleston, 411; his severities towards deserters and prisoners, 412; defeats Gates at Camden, Aug. 16, 1780, *ib.*; his march through Carolina; crippled by the defeat of Tarleton at Cowpens, 1781, 423; defeats general Greene at Guilford, Mar. 15; recommends a vigorous attack upon Virginia, 424; marches into Virginia without orders; enters Charlottesville, and York Town, which last he fortifies, 425; besieged, 427; loses hope, and surrenders York Town, Gloucester, and his army, Oct. 19, 428; his approbation of the conduct of the French, 429; appointed governor-general of India, 1786; labours to improve the administration and finance; complains of the insufficient European troops, vii. 257; Tipoo forces him into a war; Cornwallis takes Bangalore, Mar. 21, 1791; defeats Tipoo, May 15; compelled to retreat by sickness and famine, 258; capture of Seringapatam, Feb. 1792; makes peace with Tipoo, Mar., 259; describes France's ability to carry on war in a state of anarchy, 310-311; unwilling to accept the command of the allied armies, 1794, 313; master-general of the ordnance; advice as to volunteers, 360; lord-lieutenant of Ireland and commander-in-chief, 1798; arrives in Dublin, June 20, 366; he softens the ferocity of the troops, 366-367; marches against the French under Humbert; and compels him to retreat to the quarters of general Lake, by whom the French are made to surrender, 368; accused of being too lenient, *ib.*; advocates the emancipation of the Catholics, 369-370; wishes to postpone the introduction of the Union measure, 371-372; his opinion of Grenville's answer to

- Bonaparte, 1800, 389; remarks of, on the influence of the king's narrow views on Irish affairs, 400; has no hopes of peace, 1801, 408; conducts the negotiations for peace at Amiens, 1801, 409; his interview with Napoleon, 409-410; difficulties in diplomacy, 410; peace of Amiens concluded, *ib.*; governor-general of India, 1805; died Oct. 5, 1805, 461
- Coronation oath, dubious construction of, v. 77; difficulties caused by this in George III.'s time, vii. 398, 431, 479; and in George IV.'s reign, viii. 236 *et seq.*
- Corporation and Test Acts, attempts to obtain the repeal of the, 1730, vi. 62, 63; vii. 187; repealed, 1828, viii. 232, 233
- Corruption, parliamentary, 1693, 4, v. 177, 178, vi. 44, 45
- Corry, chancellor of Irish exchequer; duels with Grattan, vii. 373-374
- Corsica ceded to France, 1768; Paoli's resistance, vi. 322, 323; revolt of, 1794; annexed to Great Britain; restored to France, vii. 315
- Corunna, battle of, Jan. 16, 1809, vii. 506
- Cossein, Meer, subahdar of Bengal; quarrels with the English; war for deposing him; murders 150 prisoners; defeated, vi. 332
- Costume, extensive use of hoop petticoats, v. 419; notes on the Highland, vi. 134-136; pride taken in dress by the gentlemen, *temp.* 1737-1783, vii. 106; Prince of Wales's, on his introduction to the house of peers, 1783, 137
- Cotton, the first mill, established by Arkwright, vii. 16, 49; trade in 1788, 44; John Kaye introduces the fly shuttle; improvements in machines for spinning, *ib.*; demand for yarn; Hargreaves completes his spinning jenny, 1767, 45; domestic cotton spinning about to cease, 46; Arkwright's invention of his patent spinning machine, 47, 48; difficulties of bringing it into general use overcome, 49; invention of the spinning mule by Crompton; the machine completed, 1779, 50; given to the public, 51; rush to engage in spinning, 51, 52; commencement of the system of employing factory children, 52; employment of steam engines in the manufacture of, *ib.*; the old spinning wheel and the modern spinning mill contrasted, 53; Cartwright's invention of the power loom, 53, 54; slow introduction into general use; number used in 1813, 1833, and 1856, 54; British import of American, in 1785, 1791, 1801, 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1859, viii. 7; attempts to grow, in India, 223, 224
- Cotton, sir S. See Combermere, viscount.
- Corthon shares in executing the Lyonnese, 1793, vii. 285; his cruelty, 309; and death, 1794, 310
- Country justices in the last century described, vii. 108
- Court Martial Bill rejected, 1757, vi. 220
- Courtenay, sir W. See Thorn.
- Courts of Law, established by Henry II., i. 283
- Covenanters, under Baillie, are defeated by Montrose in 1645, iv. 52; obtain the rule in Scotland, after the capture of Hamilton, in 1648, 95, their exaltation at the defeat and capture of Montrose, in 1650, 129; insurrection of, in the West of Scotland, in 1666, 294; cruelties practised towards, *ib.*; resistance of, to the Black Indulgence, 347; attempt of Lauderdale to reduce, by military force, 348; cruelties exercised towards, *ib.*; murder of archbishop Sharpe, 349; defeat Claverhouse at Drumclog, *ib.*; are defeated at Bothwell Bridge on June 22, 1679, *ib.*; moderation of Monmouth towards, 350; receive the name of Whig, *ib.*; cruelties inflicted on, by the duke of York and Claverhouse, 351; a Test Act passed against the Covenant in 1682, 366; fresh cruelties committed upon, 367; renewed and illegal persecutions of, in 1683, 375; fresh laws obtained against them by James II. in 1685, and the soldiery let loose upon them, 384
- Covent Garden Theatre built by Smirke, 1808, 1809, viii. 144
- Covered ways, or roads, of the Britons, in Wiltshire, continued existence of, i. 11
- Cox, David, character of his paintings, viii. 155
- Cowpens, battle of, Jan. 1781, vi. 423
- Cowper, William, earl, appointed lord keeper, 1705, v. 306; his faint hopes of peace with France, 361; reads George I.'s first speech to the English parliament, vi. 5; passes sentence of death, as lord high steward, upon the lords concerned in the rebellion of 1715, 19; his motion for the repeal of the pest house laws rejected, 47; opposes the passing of the bill of pains and penalties, 1723, 49
- Cowper, William; his description of the conversation of his time, vii. 106, 107; of the apathy of the clergy, 110, 111; quotations from his "Task," 171, 535; late appearance as a writer, viii. 112, 113; first volume published, 1784; and second in 1785; character of his writings; died 1800, 113; manners of his age as depicted by, 113, 114
- Crabbe, George, quotations from, vii. 7, 109; a poet of two periods, viii. 114; his early poems; those called "The Library" and "The Newspaper" noticed, 115; appearance of his volume containing the "Parish Register," 1807; of "The Borough," in 1810; of "Tales," in 1812; and of "Tales of the Hall," in 1819, 121; delineations of manners contained in his poems, 121, 122; died 1832, 467
- Cracow made a free republic, 1816, viii. 383
- Cradock, sir John, commands the British in Portugal, vii. 510; removed to Gibraltar, 511
- Craggs, postmaster-general, bribed, vi. 44; commits suicide, 45
- Craggs, James, appointed secretary at war, 1717, vi. 30; receives a bribe from the South Sea Company directors, 44; dies of small pox during the inquiry into the bribes connected with the South Sea Scheme, 1721, 45
- Cranbourne tried and executed for designing to kill Will. III. 1696, v. 191
- Cranmer, Thomas, sent with the ambassador to the crowning of the emperor Charles V., in 1530, ii. 329; writes a book to prove the invalidity of the king's marriage to Catherine, 330; unfeeling remark of, concerning the burning of Frith, 338; returns to England, and is made archbishop of Canterbury, 344; requests Henry's licence to pronounce on the divorce, and obtains it, 345; holds a court at Dunstable, Catherine refuses to appear, and he pronounces sentence of divorce on May 23,

- 1551, *ib.*; description of the coronation of Anne Boleyn by, 346; endeavours ineffectually to exempt sir Thomas More from taking an oath as to the illegality of the king's first marriage, 356; his letter to the king in favour of Anne Boleyn, 375; dissuades the king from putting the princess Mary to death, 382; servility of, 405; opposes the Act of the Six Articles, but ultimately submits to it, 420; consents to the Act declaring the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleves invalid, 427; his opinion of Cromwell, 429; discovers to the king the profligacy of Catherine Howard, 432; accused of heresy, but relieved by the king, 448; causes the Paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus to be translated into English, iii. 8; prepares the Book of Common Prayer, 12; signs the death-warrant of lord Thomas Seymour, 18; writes to Warwick and the confederated lords that Somerset is secured, 35; amount of participation of, in the burning of Joan Bocher, 39; book of Canon Laws issued by, 40; committed to the Tower on the accession of Mary, Nov. 14, 1553, 57; pleads not guilty to the charge of high treason, and withdraws his plea, 59; condemned for heresy at Oxford, 73; he recants, 91; publicly withdraws his recantation, and declares his repentance for having made it, 92; is burnt on March 21, 1556, 93
- Cranston, lord, present at Rodney's victory over De Grasse, 1782, vi. 438
- Cranford, general; his bravery at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, 1812; mortally wounded, vii. 548
- Craven dialect, specimens of the, vii. 29, 30
- Crayford, chalk caves at, i. 9
- Cressy, battle of, on Aug. 26, 1346, i. 460-462; won by the steady bravery of the yeomen of England, 463
- Crillon, due de, besieges Gibraltar, 1782, vi. 454
- Crime, prevalence of, 1692, v. 155
- Criminal laws, extreme severity of, *temp.* Henry VII., ii. 252, 253, 340-342; statute for the punishment of offences against property, passed in 1545, 471; reforms in the, viii. 62-64; 101, 322, 323, 376
- Cristall, sir Henry, Froissart's account of his captivity among the Irish, ii. 385
- Croft, James, a collier and enthusiastic agriculturist; his career and perseverance; a model of the modern British spirit, vii. 28, 29
- Croker, J. W., his intellectual powers; his steady opposition to the Reform bill, 1831, 279, 280
- Cromartie, lord, trial of; found guilty; pardoned, vi. 173, 174
- Cromlechs, supposed purpose of, i. 10
- Crompton, Samuel, inventor of the cotton mule, vii. 46, 50; his character, 49; secretes his machine from the rioters of 1779; works at it in secret, 50; he is ultimately compelled to give it to the public for 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*; general employment of his machine, 51
- Cromwell, Oliver, first appearance of, in the House of Commons, in 1629, iii. 403; presents a petition from Lilburne, imprisoned by the Star-Chamber, to the Long Parliament, in 1640, 444; seizes the magazine at Cambridge, and stops the transmission of the University plate to the king, 492; letter of, to the Commissioners at Cambridge, iv. 20; character of, 29; hazardous situation of, at the skirmish of Winceby, *ib.*; distinguished services of, at the battle of Marston Moor, 35; letter of, to his brother, concerning the battle, 36; brings a charge against the earl of Manchester, 37; thinks the army ought to be re-modelled, *ib.*; great importance of his military services, 41; active measures of, against the royalists, 42; letter of, announcing the result of Naseby battle, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, *ib.*; commands the right wing at battle of Naseby, 43; his conduct in it, 44; letter of, to Fairfax, announcing that he had taken 300 clubmen, 47; invests Bristol in company with Fairfax, *ib.*; his account of the surrender, 48; Winchester surrenders to, *ib.*; batters down Basing House, 48; his discipline of the Ironsides, 68; wishes to prevent the army being disbanded, in opposition to the Presbyterians, 69; organisation of the Adjutors, 70; leaves London, and joins the army, 71; waits on Charles at Royston, *ib.*; proposals of, and of the Independents, to Charles, 75; the king rejects them, 76; Cromwell and Ireton endeavour to serve the king, 79; they intercept a letter of the king's, 81; he breaks off his intercourse with the king, 82; conduct of, towards the Levellers, 87; suspicion that Charles made his escape from Hampton Court at the instigation of, *ib.*; tries to effect a reconciliation between the Presbyterians and Independents, 89; leaves London, to quell an outbreak in Wales, 91; takes Pembroke, 93; marches against the duke of Hamilton, 94; and defeats him at Preston, 95; enters Scotland, *ib.*; the victory throws both king and parliament into alarm, 97; returns from Scotland, 100; letter to Hammond, 101; arrives in London, 104; extraordinary religious enthusiasm displayed by, 106; conduct of, at the trial of the king, 110; speaks in favour of the petition of lord Capel, 116; puts down a mutiny in Whalley's regiment, 118; in conjunction with Fairfax suppresses the Levellers in the army, *ib.*; is presented with a service of plate by the Corporation of London, for putting down the Levellers, 119; leaves London for Ireland as lord-lieutenant there, 121; embarks at Milford Haven, *ib.*; arrives at Dublin, *ib.*; addresses the Irish, *ib.*; issues a proclamation, 122; takes Drogheda, Trim, Dundalk, and Wexford, 123; his account of the slaughters, *ib.*; meets with a stout resistance at Waterford, 124; Cork surrenders to him, 125; his policy in Ireland, 126; returns to London, 127; leaves Ireton as deputy in Ireland, *ib.*; arrival, and enthusiastic reception of, in London, 132; is created General of all the forces, *ib.*; marches to Scotland, *ib.*; meets with a vigorous resistance from Lesley, 133; his danger at Dunbar, *ib.*; position of his army at Dunbar, 134; gains the battle of Dunbar, on Sept. 3, 1650, 135; his letter to parliament, *ib.*; takes Perth, 136; letter of, to parliament, announcing the probable invasion of England by the Scotch army, 137; totally defeats it at Worcester, on Sept. 3, 1651, 138; and compels Charles II. to fly to France, 143;

description of his army, 144; returns to London, 146; his reforming policy, 147; urges the advancement of two great measures.—an Act of Amnesty, and a Law for the Election of future Parliaments, *ib.*; attends a conference at Lenthall's house on the settlement of the nation, 148; dialogue between Whitelocke and, 156; opposes the proposal for perpetuating the parliament, 157; conference at his residence at Whitehall, *ib.*; dissolves the Long Parliament, 158; and the Council of State, *ib.*; summons a parliament, 161; receives a despatch from Blake and Monk, announcing their victory over the Dutch fleet, 162; his Little Parliament meets on July 4, 1653, 163; character of the Little Parliament, *ib.*; speech of, to the Little Parliament, 164; its constitution is provisional, 165; it abolishes the Court of Chancery, 166; the Little Parliament resigns its authority into the hands of, 167; he is declared protector, Dec. 16, 1653, 168; remarks on, *ib.*; is made chancellor of Oxford, 171; patronises learning, 173; love for music, *ib.*; character of his government as protector, 177; incentives to assassinate, 179; sagacity and prudence of, *ib.*; royalist plot to assassinate, discovered and put down, 180; two of the conspirators, John Gerard and Peter Vowell, executed, *ib.*; tact displayed by, *ib.*; foreign policy of, displayed in promoting the union of the Protestant States of Europe; and in treaties and alliances with Sweden, France, and Portugal, 181; causes Don Pantaleon de Sa to be executed for murder, *ib.*; explains his policy to the first parliament of the protectorate, 182; speech of, on opening the session, 183; parliament questions his authority, 184; upon which he closes the door of the parliament house, 185; and admits those members only who sign a pledge to obey him, 186; is thrown from his coach, 188; temper of his parliament, *ib.*; dissolves it, 189; puts down a royalist rising, 191; refusal to pay taxes to, *ib.*; appoints major-generals for collecting the taxes, 192; conduct of the major-generals, *ib.*; toleration of, in religious matters, 193; greatness of, in his foreign policy, 194; practical spirit of, infused into his army, 195; increases the strength of the navy, *ib.*; disappointment of, at Venables not capturing Hispaniola, 196; his abhorrence of vice in the army, 197; interference of, in favour of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, 198; attempts of, to procure a settlement in England for the Jews, *ib.*; endeavours to obtain a pledge from the republican leaders not to oppose his government, 199; imprisons Vane, and other political opponents, *ib.*; conference of, with Ludlow, 200; speech of, at the meeting of his second parliament, 201; indications of a legislative mind displayed in the speech, 202; Napoleon compared with, *ib.*; public indignation at, for exalting members from the parliament, 203; Acts passed for security of his person, *ib.*; his part in the case of James Nayler, the Quaker, *ib.*; Sindercomb's plot against, 204; the trial, and death of, 205; his parliament congratulate him on his escape from it, 205; Parliament vote his being made king, 206; conferences on the subject, 207; declines to accept the title, 208; pamphlet entitled

"Killing no Murder" published, threatening death to, *ib.*; is inaugurated as protector, and invested with the kingly power, June 26, 1657, 209; re-admits the members he excluded from parliament, *ib.*; his daughter Mary is married to lord Falconbridge, and Frances to the earl of Warwick, *ib.*; parliament meets, 210; a second house, *ib.*; dissensions between him and the parliament, 211; it is dissolved by, *ib.*; puts down a royalist rising; several ringleaders are condemned and executed, 212; successes abroad, *ib.*; Dunkirk taken, 213; his family afflictions, 214; death, 215; and burial, 219; disinterred from Westminster Abbey, and buried at Tyburn, 248; notice of Cromwell's free trade policy towards Scotland, v. 215

Cromwell, Richard, proclaimed protector, Sept. 4, 1653, iv. 216; character of, 217; financial difficulties of, *ib.*; meeting of parliament, 218; bill passed for the recognition of his title, 219; hostility of the army towards, *ib.*; his weak government, 220; compelled to dissolve the parliament, *ib.*; his government ends, 221; restoration of Long Parliament, under the name of "The Rump," *ib.*; leaves Whitehall, *ib.*; he and his family pass into obscurity, *ib.*

Cromwell, Thomas, said to have been present at the sack of Rome, ii. 308; adheres to Wolsey on his fall, 322; defends him in parliament, 323; letter of, to Wolsey, 333; writes exhortations to Frith and Tyndale, the reformers, 338; becomes vicegerent, 365; issues a commission for the visitation of the monasteries, 366; unworthy use made of their property by, *ib.*; official corruption of, 368; effects a reconciliation between the princess Mary and her father, 383; absolute power of, in ecclesiastical affairs, 405; participation of, in the plunder of the religious houses, 413; measures taken by, to pack the parliament of 1539, 416; disgraceful conduct of, in procuring the attainder and condemnation of the aged countess of Salisbury, 423; promotes the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves, 424; dissatisfaction of the king with the match, 426; is arrested for treason, 428; demands a trial by law, 429; is attainted and executed, July 28, 1540, 430; injunctions of, for the keeping of a parish register-book of births, deaths, and marriages, 455

Crosbie, alias Clench, proposes to carry off William III., v. 187, 188

Crosby, Brass, lord mayor, 1771; decides a lawsuit against an officer of the House of Commons, who had arrested a printer for publishing the debates, vi. 317; ordered to attend before the bar of the House; committed to the Tower, 318; released, 319

Crowle, parliamentary proceedings against, 1751, vi. 186

Crown Point surprised by the Americans, 1775, vi. 350, 351

Crusades, the first preaching of, in 1095, i. 226; incentives offered for prosecuting, 227

Crusaders, progress of the first, i. 228, 229; rout of the body under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, 229

Cuesta, general, of the Spanish army, vii. 521; his temerity, 522; forsakes the charge of sick and wounded left him by Bonaparte, 523

- Culleys, they reinvigorate the agriculture of Northumberland, vii. 31
- Culloden, description of the moor of, vi. 161; battle of, April 16, 1746, 168; barbarous treatment of the wounded after the battle, 170
- Cullum, sir John, describes the agricultural improvements of Suffolk, vii. 6, 7.
- Cumberland, its population, products, and manufactures, v. 29, 30
- Cumberland, Henry Frederick, duke of, George III.'s brother; fined £10,000 on a charge of criminal conversation brought by lord Grosvenor; accompanies Mrs. Horton to Calais; there marries her; the pair are forbidden the Court; the king's disgust, vi. 330; from these circumstances emanated the Royal Marriage Act, 331
- Cumberland, William Augustus, duke of, second son of George II.; accompanies his father at the battle of Dettingen; commands the English left, vi. 111; commands the allied armies in the campaign of 1745; attacks the French at Fentonoy, May 11, 113; forms a column; its extraordinary march, and steady retreat, 114; marches after the rebels, 147; pursues their retreating army, 157; invests Carlisle, Dec. 21; it capitulates, Dec. 30; his hard terms to the garrison; summoned to London to command the forces against the threatened French invasion, 159; sent back to Scotland to retrieve the disasters of Falkirk, 162; arrives at Edinburgh, Jan. 30, 1746, 163; the sight of his army compels the Highlanders to fly from Stirling, 164; arrives at Aberdeen, 165; advances against the rebels, April 8; the passage of the Spey; reaches Nairn, 166; a night attack is attempted upon his camp; advances against the prince on Culloden Moor, 167; and gains a victory over him, April 16, 168; his unpopularity, 169; his view of the Rebellion, 170; anecdote of his insolence, 172; commands the British at the defeat at Laufeld, 1747, 180; George II. desires him to be Regent, 189; urges that Pitt and Temple be turned out of power, 221; driven out of Hanover by Richelieu; and the capitulation of Clester-Seven is agreed to between them; his father's anger, by whom he is insulted, 229; resigns his post of commander-in-chief, *ib.*; appointed to negotiate with Pitt for his return to power, 276
- Cumberland, duke of, Ernest Augustus, his political opinions, vii. 542; becomes king of Hanover, 1837, viii. 404; his intolerant and despotic government, 404, 405
- Cunningham, Alexander, description of the Highlanders by, v. 91
- Cunobelin, state of Britain during the period of, i. 8; power and dominion of, and state of civilisation in the reign of, 14, 15
- Currency. See Money.
- Curwen, M.P. for Carlisle; his account of Burke's intense hatred to French revolutionary principles, vii. 194, 195
- Curwen institutes an inquiry into the Poor Laws, 1816, viii. 63
- Custom House, London, built by Wren, v. 454
- Cutts, lord, his bravery before Namur, 1695, v. 180; captain of the Guards, 190; sent on before to commence the attack on the village of Blenheim, Aug. 13, 1704, v. 281; which order he performs, 282; takes part in the final struggle, 284
- Cymbeline. See Cunebelin.
- DAGGER-SCENE in Burke's speech, 1792, vii. 249, 251, 255
- D'Alegre, his escape from the Bastille, 1756, vii. 171
- D'Allegre, marquis, defeated by Marlborough, and taken prisoner, v. 303, 304
- Dalrymple, sir Hew.; mortification caused by his being appointed to command the troops in Portugal, vii. 500; recalled home, 503
- Dalrymple, sir John, one of the commissioners who invested William with the government, v. 90; master of Stair; secretary of state for Scotland; orders of, to Hill and Livingstone, regarding the rebel chiefs, 132; grudge of, against the Mac Donalds, of Glencoe, 133; suspected of having a "black design" against them, 134; letters of, connected with the Glencoe massacre, 136, 139; is implicated, by the commission of 1695, as the original cause of the massacre, 140; William dismisses him from his office, 141
- Dalton, John, author of the Atomic theory, viii. 130
- Dammaree, Daniel, his share in the riots of 1710, v. 357; he is tried for high treason, found guilty, but subsequently pardoned, 335, 336; becomes master of queen Anne's barge, 357
- Dampierre, general, commands the French republican army, 1793, vii. 281; killed in an attack on the allied forces, May 8, 281, 282
- Dance, architect of the Mansion House and Newgate, vii. 80
- Dane-gelt, payments of, i. 152; abolished by Edward the Confessor, 164
- Danes, or Northmen, ravages of, i. 78
- Danes invade Mercia, A.D. 868, i. 95; again in 870, and advance to East Anglia, 95, 96; obtain possession of Mercia and Northumbria, 101; massacre of, in England in 1002, 153
- Danton, G. J., a leader of the Cordeliers, vii. 205; calls the people to arms, Aug. 9, 1792, 224; appointed minister of justice, 226; encourages the September massacres, 230; protects Dumouriez against the Jacobins, 271; supports the establishment of the revolutionary Republic, 275; guillotined, 1794, 298
- Dantzic, duke of, the Tyrolese beat him back from their territory, vii. 516
- D'Arco, count, Bavarian general; defeated at Schellenburg, 1704, v. 278
- Dardanelles, Duckworth's expedition to the, 1807, vii. 484, 485
- D'Argenteau defeated at Montenotte, 1796, by Bonaparte, vii. 326
- Darien Company. See African and Indian Company.
- Darmstadt, prince of, assists sir G. Rooke in his expedition against Cadiz, 1702, v. 261; and at the capture of Gibraltar, 1704, 291; remains there in command of the garrison, *ib.*; he is besieged by the Spaniards, and makes a successful resistance, 292; joins Peterborough, 1705; urges the plan of besieging Barcelona; quarrels with Peterborough, 294; assists Peterborough in surprising Montjuich, but is killed in the attack, 295
- Darnley. See Mary of Scotland.
- Dartmouth, William Legge, lord; secretary of

- state, 1710, v. 363; dissuades, unsuccessfully, Anne from making twelve new peers, 330
- Dartmouth, lord; colonial secretary, 1773, vi. 336; privy seal, 1775, 360
- Darwin, Erasmus, curious character of his poems, resulting from his combining science with poetry, viii. 117
- Das Minas, a Portuguese general, defeated at Almanzar, 1707, v. 330
- D'Aubach, general, abandons Treves and Saarbruch, 1705, v. 302
- Daun, marshal, of the Austrian army; advances to relieve Prague, vi. 228; co-operates with Loudoun in surprising Frederick, 232
- D'Auverquerque, a friend of William III., v. 68; his conduct at Steinkirk, 153, 154; joins Marlborough with his army, 1705, 302; makes a feint attack on the weak portion of the French lines, 303; leads the Dutch cavalry at the battle of Ramilies, 1706, 309; dies, 1708, 340, 341
- Davies, Rowland, chaplain in the army; a bet of his illustrative of the gambling spirit of the age, v. 105; quotations from, illustrative of William's campaign in Ireland, 1690, 106, 108-110, 114-118
- Davoust, L. N., enters Berlin, Dec. 25, 1806, vii. 477
- Dawson, James, executed July, 1746, vi. 172
- Davy, sir Humphry, invents the safety lamp, 1815, viii. 130
- Dean Forest destroyed to make charcoal for smelting iron, v. 12
- Deane, Silas, the American agent at Paris, 1776, vi. 363; appointed to make a treaty of alliance with France, 372; his share in promoting incendiarism in England, 373, 374
- Decrès, admiral, minister of marine; persuades Napoleon to postpone the invasion of England, 1805, vii. 443
- Deccan, nizam of the, concludes an alliance with Cornwallis, vii. 258; his contingent to the English army, 378, 379; cedes his Mysore territory for British aid and protection, 454; his territories devastated by the Pindarees, viii. 216
- Declaratory bill passed, 1766, vi. 282
- Declaratory, Indian bill, passed, 1788, vii. 257
- Declaration of Independence. See American Declaration of Independence.
- Declaration of Pilnitz. See Pilnitz.
- Declaration of Rights, twice brought forward by Grattan, v. 446
- Dee, Dr. John, in trouble for casting the natiuities of queen Mary and the princess Elizabeth, iii. 97
- Defoe's (Daniel) "Journal of the Plague Year," notice of, iv. 271 *et seq.*; his account of the effect of shutting up the exchequer in 1671, 315; reason given by, why the dissenters opposed the Declaration of Indulgence, 320; statement of, that the persecution of the dissenter arose from political, not religious, motives, 325; his account of the excitement produced by the popish plot in 1678, 335; joins the insurrection of the duke of Monmouth in 1685, 391; his opinion of the Declaration of Indulgence, 419; remarks on Bristol by, v. 7; opinion of, on the bills in the northern counties of England, 9; description of Bath by, 10; London glass-houses used by vagrants for lodging in, supported by the statement of his "Colonel Jack," 18; stocking weaving noticed to be very extensively practised by, 19; the Lincolnshire fens noticed by, 21; account of Manchester by, 24; salmon referred to by, 30; account of agricultural counties referred to by, 32; opposes the drama, 207; probably the author of the Legion Memorial, 248; stir caused by his pamphlet on "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," 263; he is tried for writing seditious pamphlets, found guilty, and pilloried at the Royal Exchange, Cheapside, and Temple Bar, 1703, 264; publishes his "Hymn to the Pillory," *ib.*; and an account of the great storm, 1704, 269; his prejudiced remarks against maypoles, 272; Carleton's Memoirs erroneously ascribed to, 293; his "Review" appeared, 1704; his character and aim, 404; his honesty and independence, 414, 415; his power of personifying his characters, 444; the main principle of his writings, 445
- De Grasse lands a large force at James Town, vi. 425; his engagement with sir S. Hood, 1781, 426; defeated by Rodney, 1782; surrenders himself a prisoner, 437-439
- De la Place, captain, commanded the garrison at Ticonderoga; surrenders the fort, May 10, 1775, vi. 350, 351
- Delacroix, French minister for foreign affairs, considers the Rhine the boundary of France, vii. 330
- De la Rue gives Portland warning of the assassination plot, v. 190
- De Launay. See Launay.
- Delaval, admiral, his conduct in the battle of La Hogue, v. 149, 150
- Delli taken by the British, vii. 456
- Demerara retaken from the French, vi. 434
- Democrats, an American political party; its contests, leaders, and vicissitudes, viii. 3, 4, 13
- Dendermonde surrendered to Marlborough, Sept. 5, 1706, v. 310
- Deuham, sir John, the poet; surveyor general, v. 448
- Denia captured by the English, 1705, v. 294; besieged, 1708, 293
- Peuman, sir Thomas, counsel for the Derbyshire insurrectionists, 1817; his opinion of Brandreth, viii. 82; appointed queen's solicitor-general, 1820, 165; the conferences, in which he took part, for averting public proceedings against the Queen, fail in their object, 167, 168; boldness of his summing-up speech at the queen's trial, 171; attorney-general in the Grey ministry, 207; supports the bill for allowing counsel to prisoners, 369
- Denmark, George of. See George of Denmark
- Dennewitz, battle of, Sept. 6, 1813, vii. 563, 564
- Dennis, John, his rage at Pope's satire, v. 436
- Denouville persuades Blansac to surrender to Marlborough, v. 285
- De Pontis, French admiral, inability of, to take Gibraltar, 1704, v. 292
- De Précy, his defence of Lyon, and escape, 1793, vii. 284, 285
- Derby, earl of (E. G. S. Stanley), chief secretary for Ireland, 1830, viii. 267; speaks in favour of reform, 274; his hostile speeches against O'Connell, 1833, 319, 323, 324; his hostility with the agitators becoming so personal, he exchanges his Irish secretaryship for that

- of the colonies, 224; resists the appropriation of funds to be sanctioned by the Irish Church Reform Bill, 326; resolutions proposed by, for abolishing slavery in British colonies, 327, 328; debates on, and progress of the bill for this purpose; it becomes law, 328; resigns his secretaryship, 1834, 344; declines joining Peel's ministry, 353; takes part in the debate on the sugar duties, 438-439
- Derbyshire**, silk trade and lead mines of, v. 20, 21
- Derbyshire**, insurrection of, 1817, viii. 82, 83
- Derwentwater**, J. Kitchin, earl of, joins the pretender's army, 1715, vi. 11; impeached of high treason by Mr. Lechmere; he is tried and found guilty, 19; his wife implores the king to pardon him, *ib.*; he is executed on Tower Hill, Feb. 24, 1716, 20
- Desaix** present at the battle of the Pyramids, 1798, vii. 334; killed at Marengo, 1800, 395
- Desèze**, counsel for Louis XVI.; conducts his defence, vii. 250
- Desmoulins**, Camille, calls the Parisian mob to arms, 1789, v. 170
- Despard**, colonel E. M., execution of, and accomplices, for treason against the king, Feb. 21, 1803, vii. 422
- Desprez**, his account of the destruction of the French army, 1812, vii. 559
- D'Estaing**, admiral of the French fleet; his campaign of 1778, vi. 391, 392
- Detroit** captured by the Americans, 1812, viii. 9
- Dettingen**, battle of, June 27, 1743, vi. 111; note on, 119
- Deuxpoints**, count de, present at Cornwallis's surrender, 1781, vi. 428
- Devonshire**, Georgiana, duchess of, her interest in Fox's election, vii. 144
- Devonshire**, agriculture in; Dartmoor, vii. 23
- De Winter**, Dutch admiral; defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Camperdown, Oct. 11, 1797, vii. 348, 349
- De Witt**, John, concludes the Triple Alliance with Temple in 1668, iv. 398; chief administrator of Holland on the French invasion in 1672, 317; he and his brother murdered by the mob, 318
- D'Harrach**, count, Austrian ambassador at Spain; anecdote of, v. 243
- Dhuleep Sing** restored to power by the British, viii. 545
- Dickens**, Charles, voluminousness and character of his writings, viii. 469, 475, 478
- Dickinson**, John, opposes the Revenue act, vi. 307
- Dickson**, sergeant, his capture of Manchester, 1745, vi. 145
- Dieppe**, bombarded, 1694, v. 172, 173
- Dillon**, panic of his troops, vii. 219
- Dinners**, style of, early part of the 18th century, v. 426, 427
- Diocletian**, persecution of Christians in Britain by, i. 51
- Dion Cassius**, relation of the discovery of Britain being an island, i. 29
- Disraeli**, Benjamin, his acrimonious remarks on sir R. Peel, viii. 517-527, 528, 529, 536, 537
- Disruption**, the, in the Scotch Church, 1843, viii. 503, 504
- Dissection of murderers**, law passed for the, 1752, vi. 190; subsequently repealed, 191
- Dissenters**, the sacramental test remains in force against 1689, v. 73; Toleration act for, passed, 73, 74; societies for the reformation of manners encouraged by the, after the revolution, 205; feud between the Church and, 1702, 262; Defoe's pamphlet on "the shortest way with the," 263, 264; they join the whig political party, 305; riots against, 1715, vi. 5, 6; toleration measures for the relief of, proposed, 1718, 35; they design a project for obtaining the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts; Walpole by a manoeuvre makes the attempt futile; they obtain partial relief occasionally from the Indemnity act; they obtain the repeal they sought for, 1828, 62, 63; they agitate for the repeal of the Test act, 1790, vii. 187; clamour raised against the, 195; the Birmingham riots chiefly directed against the, 195-198; bill for regulating the marriage of, 1836, viii. 371, 372
- Doddington**, G. B., his share in the quarrel between the Prince of Wales and George II., 1736, vi. 85; treasurer of the navy; resigned, 188; promises of offices from the Prince of Wales, 188, 189; intrigues with Bute against Pitt and his ministry, vi. 245; rejoices at Pitt's fall, 252
- Doehla**, J. C., his account of the surrender of the American army, 1781, vi. 428, 429
- Dolben**, M.P. for Liskeard, complains of the dangerous nature of Sacheverel's sermons, 1710, v. 348
- Domesday Book** of 1085, account of, i. 203; classes of the people shown by, 204; industry of the country, tenure of lands, and extent of forests, shown by, 205; the New Forest, 206; gardens and vineyard shown to exist by, 207; mills, mines, salt-works, and fisheries noticed by, 207, 208; condition of the people in cities and burghs shown by, 208, 209, 210; number of manors held by Normans in, 210, 211; Norman castles enumerated by, 211, 212; number of churches noticed by, 213
- Domestic architecture** of the fifteenth century, ii. 118; consumption of timber in, 119
- Dominica** captured by the English, 1761, vi. 249; by the French, 1778, 392; restored to the English, 1782, 458
- Donawert**. See Schellenberg.
- Donington Castle** built by Wilkins, viii. 145
- Donoowep** captured by sir A. Campbell, 1825, viii. 220
- Doric buildings**, viii. 144
- Dorset**, Lionel Cranfield, earl of; Lord Chamberlain, v. 68; implicated in the Preston plot of 1691, 126
- Dorsetshire**, agricultural improvements in; land enclosed; wretched state of its peasantry, vii. 22; and agricultural labourers, viii. 397-398
- D'Orvilliers**, count; commands the French fleet; engages the English off Ushant, 1778, vi. 393
- Dost Mahomed Khan**, the usurping ruler of Afghanistan, viii. 450; estranges himself from the British government, who declare war against him, 450, 451; and drive him from the kingdom; gains a battle over British troops; surrenders himself prisoner to the British, 453; released and returned to his sovereignty, 460
- Douay**, surrender of, to the allies, 1710, v. 362
- Douglas** exposes the perils of sending a Scotch colony to Darien, v. 217

- Dover, Roman lighthouse at, i. 17
- Dover Castle, ancient chapel in, doubtful statement of its having been built by King Lucius, i. 50; taken by the Normans, 186
- Downie, captain, his gallantry at Plattsburg, 1814, viii. 16
- Downing College, Cambridge, built by Wilkins, viii. 144, 145
- Drake, sir Francis, naval successes of, in 1585, iii. 185; successful expedition of, to Cadiz, to foil the purposed invasion by Spain, 215; Plymouth supplied with water by, 216; early exploits of, 220; sails with the fleet from Plymouth on July 19, to meet the Armada, 228; captures a valuable galleon, 230; attacks the Spanish fleet with fire-ships in Calais roads, 233; pursues the scattered ships after the fight off Gravelines, 234; his despatch to Walsingham, *ib.*; assists in the destruction of the Armada in action and in its flight, 236; with sir John Norris, heads an expedition to seat don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, 238, 239; takes Corunna, fails at Lisbon, but takes and burns Vigo, 239; with sir John Hawkins, sails in 1595 to attack the Spaniards in South America, but fails, and dies, 265
- Drake, the English minister at Bavaria; intrigues with France, vii. 432
- Drama, state of, in the time of Elizabeth, iii. 257; made an instrument of for attacking the Puritans, 258; the early Elizabethan, 299; Marlowe, Peele, Greene, &c., *ib.*; characteristics of Shakspeare, 301; Prynne's "Histrio-Mastix," a violent attack on Stage Plays, 411; support given to, by the four Inns of Court, 413; character of the English drama, temp. Charles I., 414; deteriorated in morals from that of Elizabeth, *ib.*; the playhouses shut up at the commencement of the Civil War in 1642, by the influence of the Puritans, 487; degraded condition of, during the time of Charles II., iv. 296; licentiousness of, end of 17th century; an order issued in 1697 to suppress it, v. 206; stage estimate of the female character in the beginning of the 18th century, 419, 420; Steele's relish for the drama, 420; he notices several plays, *ib.*; popularity of puppet shows and Italian operas, 424; the stage becomes political, vi. 89; the act for licensing plays, by which the Lord Chamberlain's interference with theatrical representations was legalised, 90; improved moral state of the theatre, 1774, 98, 99; public taste directed by Garrick, 99; Garrick's acting, 100
- Drapier. See Swift, vi. 51-53
- Dresden, peace of, Dec. 25, 1785, vi. 120; taken by Frederick, 1756; he spares the art specimens, 216; battles of, Aug. 24, 25, and 27, 1813, vii. 563
- Dress. See Costume.
- Drinking in the first half of the 18th century, v. 426
- Drouet aids the French royal family in attempting to escape from France, 1791, vii. 202
- Druidical sacrifices, i. 10; punishment of offenders, 14
- Druidism, Cæsar's statement that it was originated in Britain, i. 3; the system of, as described by Cæsar, 4
- Drummond, captain, his supposed murder, 1705, v. 312
- Drummond, Peel's private secretary; shot by mistake instead of sir R. Peel, viii. 500
- Drummond, Andrew, a London banker; suspected of favouring the Pretender; examined by government; found innocent; confidence in him restored; becomes the royal banker, vi. 152, 153
- Drummond, George, urges a vigorous resistance to the Pretender, 1745, vi. 127
- Drummond, James, joins the Pretender's son; is by him created duke of Perth, 1745; vi. 126; has differences with Lord Murray, 144; escapes from Scotland, 1746; death of, 153; skirmishes with the country people on the retreat, 157; unwillingness to forsake his men, 158
- Drummond, lord John, fails in seizing Edinburgh castle, 1715, vi. 9; guards the passage of the Spey; falls back on Cumberland's approach, 1746, 166
- Drummond, William, viscount Strathallan, commands the Stuart force at Perth, vi. 144; created viscount, 1711; taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir, 1715, 152; killed at Culloden, April 16, 1746, 153; commands the Highlanders at Sheriffmuir, 160
- Drumossie. See Culloden.
- Dryden, John, produces his "Absalom and Achitophel," preparatory to the indictment of Shaftesbury for high treason, iv. 384; and his poem of "The Medal," after the bill had been thrown out by the grand jury, *ib.*; publishes his "Hind and Panther," in 1687, 423; bust of, by Scheemakers, Westminster Abbey, v. 460
- Dubois-Cranceé, supersedes Kellermann in his command, vii. 285
- Du Chaila, persecutor of the Cevennes Protestants, v. 265
- Duckworth, sir J. T.; vice-admiral of the white; knight of the Bath, vii. 483; failure of his expedition to the Dardanelles, 484
- Ducos, a member of the French Directory, vii. 383; consul, 1799, 385
- Dudley, lord, introduces the smelting of iron with coal, v. 13
- Dudley and Ward, viscount, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Canning ministry, viii. 210; one of the Wellington ministry, 1828, 228; resigns, being succeeded in his secretaryship by the earl of Aberdeen, 234; his speech on the Reform bill, 1831, 282
- Duelling, prevalence of, first half of 18th century, v. 427
- Dugommier, replaces Cartaux in the command of the army before Toulon, 1793, vii. 289
- Dulwich gallery of pictures, viii. 151
- Dumont, Anthony, his part in Grandval's plot against William III., 1692, v. 152, 154
- Dumont, his remarks on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the abolition of feudal rights, vii. 176; on Mirabeau, 192, 193; on the French constitution of 1791, 204; his visit to England, 1791-1792, 209, 210; remarks on the September massacres, 1792, 230
- Dumonriez, C. F.; minister of foreign affairs, 1792, vii. 218; advocates war against Austria; plans the campaign, 219; advises the dismissal of Roland, 220; opposes the duke of Brunswick, 234; concludes a secret agreement with him, 235; the Austrians raise the siege of Lille on his approach; he gains the battle of Jemappes, Nov. 6, 236; the Austrians retreat before him; enters Antwerp, Nov. 30,

- 237, 271; marches into Holland; hatred of, by the Jacobins; takes Breda, Klundert, Gertruydenberg; is defeated at Neerwinden, Mar. 18, 1793, 271; deserts the Convention; makes overtures to join the prince of Coburg in re-establishing the constitutional monarchy; his army forsakes him; lives an exile in England till 1823, 272
- Duncan, Adam, admiral; deserted by several of his ships in the blockade of the Texel, vii. 341; stratagems for deceiving the Dutch, 348; sights the enemy on Oct. 11, 1797, and gives them a signal defeat in the battle of Camperdown, 348, 349
- Duncan, Rev. H., established a savings bank at Ruthwell, 1810, viii. 70
- Duncannon, viscount, helps to prepare the Reform bill, viii. 270; lord privy seal; first commissioner of the land revenue, 381
- Duncanson, major, his share in the Glencoe massacres, v. 137
- Duncombe, Thomas, his motion for hearing the petitioners on presenting the People's Charter rejected, viii. 496
- Dundas. See Melville, lord.
- Dundas, sir David, commands the allied troops at Toulon, 1793, vii. 289; second in command of the troops in Holland, 314; takes part in the British expedition to Holland, 1793, 386; commander-in-chief, Mar. 18, 1809, 517; discourages the expedition to Walcheren, *ib.*
- Dundee, viscount, wishes to make a compromise with William III. v. 88; the king refuses to do so, and upon the Convention giving an order to arrest Dundee, he escapes, and raises the clans, 92; meeting general Mackay, at the pass of Killiecrankie, he there defeats him, 93; but falls in the hour of victory, July 27, 1689, and with him the cause of James II., 94
- Dundonald, earl of, lord Cochrane; his account of the state of the navy, 1793, vii. 304, 305; his opinion of Nelson, 357; M.P. for Westminster, 1809; his enterprise in the Aix roads, April 11, vii. 510
- Dunkirk taken by the French under Turenne and the English under Lockhart, in 1658, and delivered to the English, iv. 213; sold by Charles II. to the French in 1662, 264; failure of the English to take, 1793, vii. 282
- Dunning holds aloof in the proceedings against Wilkes, 1769, vi. 292; his motion on the influence of the crown, 404, 405; pension granted to, 440
- Dunstan, St., early life and rise of, i. 130; becomes the chief adviser of Edred, 132; enforces celibacy on the clergy, and renders the national church more Romish, *ib.*; outrage of, at the coronation feast of Edwy, 133; banishment of, 134; miracles attributed to, 137; chief minister during the reign of Edgar, *ib.*; state of the church at the time of, 138, *et seq.*; alterations effected in, by, 141; reforms effected by, 142; despotic but vigorous government of, 145; arbitrary power of, 146; disputation with bishop Beornhelm at Calne, and asserted miracle, 147; crowns and curses Ethelred, 149, 150; dies in 988, 150
- Dunwallo, king, formation of roads in Britain by, i. 8
- Dupin signs the protest against the royal proceedings against the French press, 1830, viii. 252
- Dupleix, Joseph; governor of Pondicherry, vi. 201; aids the nizam of the Deccan, 202; he is compelled to give way before Clive, 205
- Dupont, a French general, defeated at Baylen by Castanos, vii. 500
- Durand, col., commands the garrison at Carlisle Castle, vi. 142
- Durham Cathedral, foundation of, i. 257
- Durham, low state of agriculture in, 1750-1800; famous for its breed of cattle, vii. 30
- Durham, earl of; lord privy seal, 1830, viii. 267; helps to prepare the Reform bill, 270; hostile speeches of, against lord Brougham, 1834, 347, 348; appointed lord high commissioner for appeasing the Canadian grievances, 407; his government and policy, 408, 409; lord Brougham's attack on his measures causes him to resign, 408; dies broken-hearted; his report on the affairs of British North America, 409
- D'Usson, a French general; surrenders Galway, 1691, v. 128
- Dutch, differences of the, with the Long Parliament, iv. 150; war with England commenced, 151; battles of Van Tromp and Ruyter with Blake, in 1652, 153-4; Van Tromp again defeated in 1653, 163; Van Tromp defeated and killed, 181; war of, with Charles II. in 1665, 268; sea-fight off Lowestoffe, 268, 277; De Ruyter's fight of four days against Monk, 279; their coasts ravaged, 282; their fleet enters the Medway, burns the ships there, and blockades London, in June 1667, 297; defeated in Southwold Bay by the duke of York, 316
- Dwyer reveals the Cato-street conspiracy to the home office, viii. 161
- Dyer, John, his poem of the "Fleece" referred to, giving an account of a weaver's labours, v. 5; other quotations from, vii. 44, 45
- EARTHQUAKE at Lisbon, 1755, Nov. 28, vi. 210
- Earthenware; the Staffordshire potteries the chief seat of the trade, v. 18; state of the trade at the beginning of the 18th century, 174, and 1857, vii. 57; chiefly promoted by Wedgwood and Cookworthy, 57, 58
- East India Company, charters granted for the incorporation of, iii. 346; first English factory at Surat founded in 1612, *ib.*; a new company is established, and called "The English Company," 1698, v. 203; the two are amalgamated four years afterwards, 204; seizes a vessel belonging to the Darien (African and Indian) Company, 313; retrospect of their affairs in India, 1745, vi. 201-205; the French company becomes their rival, and attack Madras, 1746, 201; and nearly undermine the English power; Clive enters the army, 202; organizes an attack upon Arcot, which he takes; he is besieged by rajah Sahib, 203; who relinquishes the siege, 204; Clive takes Trichinopoly in conjunction with major Lawrence; hostilities suspended, 205; Pitt institutes an inquiry into their affairs, 286; their pecuniary affairs in disorder; they petition parliament for a loan of a million and a half; a committee appointed to inquire into their affairs, 332; the directors quarrel; things go to ruin; matters mended by Clive's judicious measures, 333; their rotten financial position, 334; the Regulation Act; Warren Hastings, first governor-general; allowed to export teas

- free of duty to the American colonies, 335; Clavering, Monsell, and Francis appointed members of the council, 1774, vii. 125, 126; Fox proposes that the authority of, be transferred to a board of commissioners, 137; they refuse to bear the expenses of sending troops to India; they are compelled to do so by the passing of Pitt's Declaratory bill, 257; inquiry made into their affairs by the House of Commons, 1813; which results in several important measures, 215; renewal of their charter for twenty years, 1833; important alterations in the charter provisions; ceases to be a commercial company, 1834, 334; its trade with China abolished; effects of the abolition, 443, 444
- East India House designed by Holland, viii. 144
- East Indies, Thomas Coryat's account of the country, iii. 347; embassy of sir Thomas Roe to Agra, 1615-19, 348; his account of the Mogul rulers of Hindostan, 349; contrasted with the present state, 350
- Eastlake, sir C., sketching Napoleon, 1815, viii. 39
- Ebrington, M.P. for Devonshire, moves that the principles of the rejected Reform bill be not given up, viii. 284; moves that the king be implored to call a reform ministry, 296
- Ecclesiastical power, rapid growth of, in England from the Conquest to the time of Stephen, i. 254; numerous religious foundations established, 254, 255; Cistercian abbeys erected, 256; churches and cathedrals, 257, 258; such foundations a substitute for personal service in the crusades, and a commutation for crimes, 259
- Eckmuhl, battle of, April 22, 1809, vi. 515
- Economical Reform bill brought forward by Burke, 1780; his speech, vi. 402, 403; other motions proposed, 403-405; practical measures of Burke's bill rejected, 405; the bill is again introduced, 1782, 439; passed 440
- Eddystone lighthouses, their fates and constructors, v. 10, 11
- Eden, secretary for Ireland; moves for the repeal of the act asserting the independence of Ireland, 1782, vi. 446; his account of the anarchy in France, 1789, vii. 177
- Edgar, accession of in 760, i. 137; Dunstan the chief minister during the reign of, *ib.*; peaceful reign of, 142; licentiousness of, and story of Elfrida, 144; rowed down the Dee by kings, 145; arbitrary power of, 146; death of, in 975, 147
- Edgar Atheling chosen king by the Londoners, i. 186; submits to William the Conqueror, and is treated with kindness, 187; flies to Scotland, 192; invades England, with Sweyn, 192, 193; becomes a pensioner of William, 200; again flies to Scotland, 223
- Edgehill, battle of, on Oct. 23, 1642, iv. 4
- Edgeworth, abbé, attends Louis XVI. at his execution, vii. 252
- Edgeworth, Miss, her delineations of the Irish, viii. 126, 127
- Edinburgh, Charles Edward's entry into, 1745, vi. 125
- Edinburgh Castle held by the duke of Gordon for James II., 1689, v. 88-90; he surrenders it, 93
- Edinburgh Review started, 1802; its services to literature, viii. 127
- Edmund, St., king of East Anglia, defeated and slain by the Danes, in 870, i. 97; buried at St. Edmund's Bury, *ib.*
- Edmund the Etheling, accession of, in 940, i. 129; murdered, 129, 130
- Edmund Ironside, accession of in 1016, i. 155; successes of, against Canute, 156; divides the kingdom with Canute, and dies in 1016, *ib.*
- Edred, accession of, in 910, i. 131; revolt in Northumbria subdued by, 132; death of, in 956, *ib.*
- Edric, treachery of, to Ethelred and Edmund Ironside, i. 154, 155, 156
- Education, low state of, among the people in the beginning of the eighteenth century, v. 407; and also among ladies in higher grades of society, 418; Swift's remarks upon ladies' education, 421; Sunday-schools originated by Raikes, vii. 120; inquiry into the state of, moved for by Henry Brougham, 1816, viii. 69; the Education Commission, *ib.*; it merges into the Charity Commission; extent of instruction in 1816, 70; schoolmaster abroad, 1828, 229; benefits derived from the endowed grammar schools, 229, 230; schools and scholars, 1818 and 1833; Sunday schools and free schools, 230; diffusion of knowledge by the establishment of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a cheap and sound literature, the London Mechanics' Institution and others similar to it, the London University and King's College, 230, 231; increased popular desire for sound literature as shown by the circulation of the "Penny Magazine," 311, 312; lord Brougham's education resolutions, 359, 360; Walker's school, in the Devil's acre, the origin of the London ragged-schools; grants in aid of, 1834-1837, 399; the board of education constituted, 1839; general state of, in 1839, 400; increase of schools and scholars, 1831-1841, 401; neglect of, in the Brompton district, 415; sir J. Graham compelled to withdraw his education clauses in the Bill for regulating labour in factories, 515; government grant to Maynooth college; establishment of the three Irish secular colleges of Cork, Galway, and Belfast, 529
- Edward, succeeds his father Alfred in 901, i. 121; insurrection of Ethelwold against, *ib.*; repels the Northmen and the Welsh, and subdues East Anglia, 122; death of, in 924, *ib.*
- Edward the Martyr, accession of, in 975, i. 147; assassination of, in 978, 148
- Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred, brought up in Normandy, i. 155, 160; brought over to England by Hardicanute, 161; succeeds Hardicanute in 1042, 162; marries earl Godwin's daughter and neglects her, 162, 163; abolishes the Dane-gelt, 164; introduces Norman adherents and customs, *ib.*; is opposed by earl Godwin in his wish to punish summarily the rioters against earl Eustace of Boulogne, 166; banishes Harold and Godwin, *ib.*; imprisons his wife, 167; triumph of the Norman party, *ib.*; is forced to restore Godwin and Harold, 170; death of, in 1066, 176
- Edward I., born in 1239, i. 362; swears to the "Provisions of Oxford" in 1258, 372; refuses to be absolved by the pope from observing his oath, *ib.*; commands his father's forces in the civil war against the barons, 373; is defeated at the battle of Lewes, 374; wins the battle of Evesham, on Aug. 4, 1265,

- 376; storm on the day of, 377; crusade undertaken by, in 1269, 379; attempted to be assassinated at Jaffa, 381; his wife Eleanor of Castile sucks the poison from the wound, *ib.*; concludes a truce with the sultan, and returns to Europe in 1272, where he learns that his father is dead, *ib.*; succeeds "by the unanimous assent of the nobles and great uen," and is crowned, Aug. 19, 1274, 382; festivities at the coronation, 383; attacks Llewellyn prince of Wales, who is forced to submit to do homage, 384; various useful statutes passed in the first parliament of, 385; per-ecution and banishment of the Jews, 386; visits king Philip of France, at Amiens, *ib.*; first statute of mortmain, *ib.*; insurrection of the Welch, 387; Llewellyn is slain, and his brother executed, 388; final subjection of the Welch, and birth of prince Edward at Caernarvon, who is created prince of Wales in 1284, 389; statute passed by, for the settlement of Wales, 390; condition and manners of the people in the time of, 391, *et seq.*; negotiates a marriage for his son with the heiress of the crown of Scotland, but she dies, and the succession is disputed, 412; commences his war against the independence of Scotland, *ib.*; Statute of Confirmation of the Charters, giving the sole right of raising supplies to the people, on October 10, 1297, 413; is appointed umpire of the claimants to the Scottish crown, 414; demands an acknowledgment of his superiority as liege lord, 415; it is not given by the states, but assented to by Bruce and Balliol, and the crown is awarded to Balliol, who does homage, 416; subdues an insurrection in Wales, 417; invades Scotland, and compels Balliol to resign his crown to him, 418; receives the homage of the bishops and peers of Scotland, 419; revolt of Wallace against, 420; defeats the Scots at Falkirk, 421; the pope demands that the dispute should be left to his decision, and the claim is indignantly rejected by the parliament of Lincoln, 423; constitution of the parliament of Lincoln, *ib.*; again invades Scotland, and concludes a treaty excluding Wallace, *ib.*; besieges and takes Stirling, 424; causes Wallace and Fraser to be executed, 425; Robert Bruce the younger heads another revolt in 1305, *ib.*; assembles an army to attack Bruce, but dies before he reaches Scotland, on July 7, 1307, 426
- Edward II. succeeds his father in 1307, i. 427; conduct of, in his youth, 428; is crowned Feb. 24, 1308, *ib.*; recalls Gaveston, whom his father had banished, and marries Isabella of France, *ib.*; appoints Gaveston governor of Ireland, *ib.*; discontent occasioned by the favour shown to Gaveston, 429; Gaveston is exiled, and again recalled, *ib.*; is taken prisoner and hung in 1312, 430; successes of Robert Bruce against, 431; reconciles himself to the barons and marches into Scotland, 433; battle of Bannockburn on June 24, 1314, 434, 435; famine in England, 436; rise of the Despensers and wealth of, *ib.*; insurrection of the barons, by whom the Despensers are banished, 437; the sentence against the Despensers annulled by a parliament at York, *ib.*; overcomes the barons, and causes the earl of Lancaster to be executed, 438; invades Scotland, suffers from want of provisions, is obliged to retreat, 439; concludes a truce with Bruce, *ib.*; order of Knights Templars suppressed in England in 1308, *ib.*; the queen goes to France to conclude a treaty with Philip in 1325, 441; Roger Mortimer joins the queen at Paris, and returns with her and prince Edward in arms against the king in 1326, 442; Edward is deposed and imprisoned, and the Despensers are hung, 443; is murdered at Berkeley Castle in 1327, 444; wretched state of England during the reign of, 447, 448
- Edward III., son of Edward II., is invested with the foreign possessions in 1325, and does homage to the king of France, i. 411; joins his mother and Roger Mortimer in an insurrection against his father, 442; is declared guardian of the kingdom, 443; his father is deposed, and he is crowned, Jan. 29, 1327, *ib.*; first campaign of, against the Scots, 445; concludes a peace, recognising the independence of Scotland in 1328, *ib.*; marries Philippa of Hainault, *ib.*; seizure and execution of Mortimer, 446, 447; imprisonment of Isabella, 447; transition state of feudality in the time of, 448; growth of independence among the people, and the effect of the writings of Wycliffe and Chaucer upon, 450; establishment of the English language, *ib.*; supports Edward Balliol's claim to the Scottish crown, and wins the battle of Halidon Hill, 451; claims of, to the crown of France stated, 452; naval victory of Sluys gained by, 453; comparison of the peoples of England, France, and Flanders in the time of, *ib.*; supports James Artevide in his revolt against the count of Flanders, 454; relieves Jane de Montfort, besieged in Hennebon by Philip of France, 455; invades France with an army in 1346, *ib.*; the strength of his army consisted in the superiority of the English yeomen over the feudal nobles, *ib.*; statute providing that England should not be subject to France in case of his acquiring that kingdom, 456; early successes in the invasion, 457; march to and passage of the Somme, 458, 459; battle of Cressy, on Aug. 26, 1346, 460-462; Cressy, the victory of the yeomen, 463; battle of Neville's Cross, and capture of David Bruce by Queen Philippa, 464; siege of Calais, 465; surrender of and pardon of the six burghesses at the intercession of the queen, 466; Edward founds an English colony at Calais, 467; institution of the Order of the Garter in 1349, 468; decoration and enlargement by, of his palaces of Westminster and Windsor, 468, 469; great pestilence of the Black Plague in 1349, 469; mortality and misery occasioned by, 470; Statute of Labourers passed to mitigate the effects of, 470, 471; injustice and inefficiency of the statute, 472; he repels an invasion of the Scots, and ravages the Lothians, 474; the battle of Poitiers won by the Black Prince on Sept. 19, 1356, and John, king of France, taken prisoner, 475; chivalrous reception of John in London, 476; miseries occasioned in France by the invasion, and rise of the Jacquerie, 477; renewed invasion of France in 1359, *ib.*; peace of Brctigny concluded, 478; contrast of the state of the people of England and France, *ib.*; stipulations in

- favour of freedom by the Commons of England, 479; statutes passed for the distinction of ranks, *ib.*; accession of Charles V. in France, and resistance offered by, 483; war with France renewed, 485; resumes the title of king of France, 486; the French recover the conquests of Edward, *ib.*; his queen Philippa dies in 1369, and his son Edward dies in 1376, 487; Richard is presented to parliament as his successor, *ib.*; rising influence of the duke of Lancaster, and dotage of the king, *ib.*; dies on June 21, 1377, 488
- Edward the Black Prince accompanies his father in the invasion of France in 1346, i. 455; conduct of, at the battle of Cressy, 462, 463; ravages Gascony and Auvergne in 1355 and 1356, 474; cruelties of ancient war as compared with modern, *ib.*; wins the battle of Poitiers on Sept. 19, 1356; and takes prisoner John, king of France, 475, 476; chivalrous treatment of his captive, *ib.*; appointed prince of Aquitaine, 483; supports the cause of Peter the Cruel in Spain, 484; wins the battle of Najara in 1367, *ib.*; captures and releases Bertrand du Guesclin, 485; summoned by Charles V. to answer complaints of misgovernment, refuses, and war recommences, *ib.*; takes Limoges, concludes a truce, and returns to England, 486; dies in 1376, 487
- Edward IV. (earl of March) escapes with Warwick to Calais, after being declared traitors by the parliament at Coventry, ii. 143; is present at the battle of Northampton, *ib.*; succeeds his father as duke of York, on his defeat and death at Wakefield, Dec. 31, 1460, 145; enters London, and is proclaimed as king on March 4, 1461, 146; marches with Warwick to the North and wins the battle of Towton, 147; crowned June 29, 1461, 150; causes sir Baldwin Fulford to be executed, *ib.*; other Lancastrians attainted in parliament, 151; renewed attempts to restore Henry in 1462 and 1464, 152, 153; suppressed by the battle of Hexham, 153; Somerset beheaded, *ib.*; concludes a truce with Scotland, *ib.*; extravagance of, and debasement of the coin by, *ib.*; injury to the industry of the country, 154; arts of, to obtain popularity, *ib.*; marriage of, to Elizabeth Woodville, 155; marries his sister to the heir of the duke of Burgundy, 156; insurrection in Yorkshire against an impost, 158; Clarence and Warwick take him prisoner, *ib.*; he escapes, defeats them at Stamford, and they fly to France, 159; queen Margaret, with Warwick and Clarence, invade England, he is deserted, and Henry is restored, 160; he flies to Holland, 162; obtains some help from the duke of Burgundy, *ib.*; returns to England, and lands at Ravenspur, 163; is reconciled to Clarence, 164; wins the battle of Barnet, 165; defeats queen Margaret at Tewkesbury, on May 4, 1471, 166; insurrection of Falconbridge, suppressed by Richard, duke of Gloucester, 167; patronage of literature and printing by, 171; invades France, is cajoled by Lewis XI., and concludes the treaty of Picquiny, 173, 174; opposes the marriage of Clarence with the heiress of Burgundy, 175; accuses Clarence of treason, who is condemned, and dies in the Tower, *ib.*; war with Scotland in 1480, and the town of
- Berwick taken from the Scotch, 176; death of, on April 9, 1483, *ib.*
- Edward V., accession of, April 9, 1483, ii. 176; provision for the education of, *ib.*; discussions in the council of, 177; earl Rivers and others of his council arrested, 178; his mother and brother take sanctuary in Westminster, *ib.*; Gloucester appointed protector, 179; time of coronation appointed, 180; the duke of York removed to the Tower, 184; declared illegitimate by parliament, 186, 187; death of, with his brother, 188; evidence as to the murder of, considered, 188-192
- Edward VI., born Oct. 12, 1537, ii. 404; succeeds his father, Jan. 28, 1547, iii. 1; the duke of Somerset chosen protector, 2; influence of the young king's character, and journal of, 3; progress of the Reformation under, 8; repeal of Henry VIII.'s various statutes of treason, 9; dissatisfaction of, with the guardianship of Somerset, 17; insurrection in Cornwall and Devonshire against the innovations on the old religion, 21; siege of Exeter by the insurgents, 22; defeat of the insurgents at Cliff Heath, and numerous executions, 23; John Ket's Norfolk rebellion against inclosures, *ib.*; the rebels encamp on Mousheld heath, 24; their regular organisation, 25; defeat a royal army in Norwich, 26; the earl of Warwick defeats the rebels, on Aug. 27, 1549, 27; Ket and his brother hung, 28; notice in Edward's Journal of the confederacy of nobles against Somerset, 31; who removes him to Windsor Castle, 34; Somerset is arrested and sent to the Tower, 36; the protectorship revoked, *ib.*; new laws against the breaking of inclosures, 37; general pardon granted, except to Anabaptists, 38; persecution of that sect, and burning of Jean Bocher, 38, 39; aversion of Edward to signing the warrant for her execution, 38; Articles of Belief issued by, 40; popish bishops deprived of their sees, 41; remonstrates with the princess Mary against her use of the mass, *ib.*; Somerset restored to a place in the council, 42; Somerset again arrested, convicted of felony, and executed in Jan. 1551, 43; peace with France and restoration of Boulogne, 46; Northumberland the actual governor, *ib.*; becomes ill, *ib.*; makes a will altering the succession in favour of lady Jane Grey, 47; dies on July 6, 1553, *ib.*; character of, 48; educational institutions of, *ib.*; table of the female heirs to the crown named in the will of Henry VIII. and the devise of Edward VI., 49
- Edwin, king of Northumbria, receives Paulinus, i. 71; converted to Christianity by Paulinus, 72
- Edwy, accession of, in 956, i. 133; outrage of Dunstan during the coronation feast of, *ib.*; marriage of, with Elgiva, 134; revolt of Odo, and appointment of Edgar as joint king, *ib.*; is separated from Elgiva, *ib.*; death of in 960, 135
- Egalité. See Orleans, duc d'.
- Egbert, early years of, at the court of Charlemagne, i. 75; chosen king of Wessex in 800, 77; defeats Beornwulf, of Mercia, in 823, at Ellendune, and consolidates England, *ib.*; dies, 837, 79
- Egerton, colonel, unsuccessful results of his Mahratta expedition, vii. 129

- Egerton, lord F., urges the importance of reducing the paper duty, 1836, viii. 372
- Egremont, lord, secretary of state, 1761-3, vi. 253, 321; again secretary of state, 1763, 261; dies of apoplexy, 263
- Egyptians or gipsies, statute of Elizabeth against, iii. 272
- Ehrenbreitstein capitulates to the French, Jan. 1799, vii. 382
- El Arish seized by Jezzar, 1799, vii. 379; recovered by the Allies, 405
- Elchingen, battle of, 1805, vii. 444
- Eldon, John Scott, lord, his maiden speech on Fox's India bill, 1783, vii. 138; attorney-general; draws up the Traitorous Correspondence bill, 267; his prosecution speech against Hardy, 301; chancellor, 1801-1806, 401, 577; his opinion of the Volunteers, 429; against an administration on a, viii. 158, 204; his political opinions, vii. 542; opposes any repeal of the laws, viii. 62; his opinion of broad basis, 431; chancellor, 1807-1827, 481, 577; the criminal code, 63; advocates the abolition of the appeal of murder, 101, 102; considers the Manchester reform men as guilty of treason, 108; promotes the passing of the six acts, 1819, 109; recognises Caroline as queen of England, 165; opposes any measures unfavourable to the corn laws, 200, 201; his test of official fitness; anecdote of, at the duke of York's funeral, 1827, 202; resigns his chancellorship on the accession of the Canning ministry, 1827, 204; considers himself ill-used on being omitted from the Wellington ministry, 228; objects to the bill for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, 233; opposes the relief of Roman Catholics, 238; endeavours to persuade the king to refuse his assent to the measure, 240, 241; his fears for the destruction of the aristocracy by the Reform bill, 273; his speech against reform, 1831, 282, 283, against the repeal of the corn laws, 1833, 310, 311; laments his inability to obtain the rejection of the Municipal Reform bill, 364, 365
- Elections and election scenes, v. 305; vii. 144; viii. 98, 235, 236, 301, 302
- Elgin marbles purchased by government, 1816, viii. 150
- Elgiva, queen of Edwy, persecution of, by Dunstan and Odo, i. 134
- Elie, his share in the attack on the Bastille, 1789, vii. 173
- Eliot, sir John, committed to the Tower for his speech in the House of Commons on the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham, iii. 390; refuses to make any submission, and is released, *ib.*; assists in the debate on the Petition of Rights in 1628, 397; prepares protestations against popery and arbitrary taxation, 403; the Speaker held in the chair while they are voted, 404; is sent to the Tower, after the parliament had been dissolved in 1629, *ib.*; refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the King's Bench in matters committed in the House of Commons, 409; is recommitted to the Tower in March, 1629, and dies on November 27, 1632, *ib.*; his employments while imprisoned, 410; the judgment against him reversed after the Restoration, *ib.*
- Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV., takes sanctuary in Westminster with her second son the duke of York, ii. 178; the duke of York taken from under her care to join his brother in the Tower, 184; submits to Richard and leaves the sanctuary, 202; alleged harsh treatment of, by Henry VII. and confinement in the nunnery of Bermondsey, 214; dies in 1492, 231
- Elizabeth, queen, born Sept. 7, 1533, ii. 349; interview of, with Edward after Henry's death, iii. 2; is courted by lord Thomas Seymour, who is executed for treason, 16; joins Mary in her progress to London, 54; is present at the coronation of Mary, 57; is sent for from Ashbridge to court by Mary, 68; accused of a conspiracy with Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, and committed to the Tower, 69; letter of, to Mary, 70; is removed to Woodstock, 71; suspected of a knowledge of the Dudley conspiracy, in 1556, 98; letter of, to Mary, 99; declines a marriage with the duke of Savoy, 101; the Spanish ambassador's account of her character, 105; succeeds to the crown on Nov. 17, 1558, 107; refuses to attend mass on Christmas Day, 108; the parliament press her to marry, and she replies, 109; coronation and popularity of, 110; Mary's statutes in favour of popery repealed, 113; moderation of her proceedings, 114; peace concluded with France, 115; becomes the acknowledged head of the reformed religion, 116; lends assistance secretly to the Reformers of Scotland, 119; sends an army to the assistance of the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland, 120; concludes a peace with Scotland, in which she provides for the safety of the Reformers, 121; sends an ambassador to condole with Mary on the death of Francis II., 123; policy of, towards Mary, 124; refuses her a safe-conduct for her return from France to Scotland, *ib.*; increased public spirit of the people under, 129; restores the coin to its standard purity, 130; processions of, 131; sends aid to the French protestants, in 1563, 132; act against papists passed, requiring the oath of supremacy to be taken, *ib.*; Edmund and Arthur Pole convicted of conspiracy, and imprisoned for life, 133; Act against "fond and fantastical prophecies," *ib.*; continued refusal of, to declare Mary of Scotland her successor, 134 *et seq.*; recommends lord Robert Dudley to queen Mary as a husband, *ib.*; refuses to consent to her marriage with Darnley, 135; secretly aids Murray and the reforming nobles in their revolt against Mary, 138; becomes godmother to the infant James of Scotland, 143; interferes to procure an impartial trial of Bothwell, 147; remonstrates with the Scottish nobles against the imprisonment of Mary, 151; and more strongly against her extorted abdication, 152; embarrassment of the government of, on Mary's taking refuge in England, 156; question as to the justice of detaining Mary as a prisoner, 157; refuses to see Mary during the conference appointed to hear the charges against her, 158; anxiety of, for the safe custody of Mary, 160; commits the duke of Norfolk to the Tower for contracting to marry the queen of Scots, 161; insurrection in the North in favour of the Roman Catholic religion, *ib.*; touching story of lady Catherine Grey, 162; incorrectness of the statement that she died in the Tower, 163; intrigues of

Philip of Spain, and the Roman Catholics against, 168; the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland head a Roman Catholic insurrection in the north, 169; suppressed by the earl of Sussex, *ib.*; papal bull of excommunication against her, 170; new statute against papists, 171; she is urged to proceed criminally against Mary, *ib.*; trial of the duke of Norfolk on the discovery of a fresh intrigue, 173; reluctance of Elizabeth to order his execution, 174; massacre of St. Bartholomew's, 175; conduct of Elizabeth on receiving the news, 176; insecurity felt by, in consequence of the continued intrigues in favour of Mary, 177, 178; plots of the Jesuits in England against, 180; Campion and others executed, *ib.*; increased severities against the papists, 181; affords assistance to the Protestants in the Netherlands, *ib.*; declines the sovereignty of them offered to her, 181, 182; represses the ambitious views of Leicester, 183; naval successes of Drake, in 1585, 185; Walsingham's announcement of new conspiracies, *ib.*; conviction and execution of Parry, 186; Babington's conspiracy, 187; trial of the conspirators, 188; alleged participation of Mary in the plot, 189; Mary is transferred to Fotheringay, 190; letter of Elizabeth to James VI., 191; association for her protection, 194; statute for the protection of the queen's person, *ib.*; issues a commission for the trial of Mary under this statute, *ib.*; judgment is pronounced against Mary, 197; parliament urges the execution of the sentence, and the queen's reply, 199; continued hesitation of, 200; signs the warrant for Mary's execution, *ib.*; interview of, with Davison, *ib.*; endeavours to exonerate herself from the charge of having caused Mary's death, 203; slight grounds for the justification, 204; examination of the charge, in Davison's statement, that she desired that Mary might be privately assassinated, 205 *et seq.*; threatened invasion of England by Spain, 214; suspicions of, that James of Scotland intended to aid Spain, 216; fresh preparations made by Philip, 217; an army assembled at Tilbury, 219; measures taken for the defence of the coast, 221; speech of, to the army at Tilbury, 222; loyalty of the Roman Catholics, on the threatened invasion by Spain, 223; libels published abroad against the queen, 224; the Armada is sent forth, 225; its force, 226; the English fleet at Plymouth, and its force, 227; superiority of the mariners, *ib.*; notice of the commanders, 228; the fleet leaves Plymouth on July 19, 1588, to encounter the Armada, *ib.*; the successful fight up Channel, 230; tactics of the English fleet, 231; several actions off the Isle of Wight, on July 25, 232; the Armada attacked by English fire-ships in Calais-roads, 233; the last great fight, on July 29, 234; flight of the scattered Armada to the north, 235; destructive losses of the Armada in action and in its flight, 236; triumphal procession of the queen to St. Paul's, 237; expedition sent to Portugal to assist Don Antonio, 238; Vigo taken and burnt, 239; energy of the people shown by their volunteering against Philip, by their discoveries, and in their literature, 239, 240; religious sects in the second half of her reign, 241; progress of the Nonconformists, 242,

243; efforts of archbishop Whitgift to repress puritanism, 244; statutes against non-conforming protestants and popish recusants, in 1593, *ib.*; sends an expedition to aid Henry IV. and the Protestants of France, 260; indications of a contest with parliament for prerogative against privilege, 261; contests between the Crown and Commons, 262; Morrice sent to prison for a speech in the House of Commons, 263; extenuations of Elizabeth's conduct, *ib.*; attempt of Philip to procure her to be poisoned, 264; expeditions against the West Indies and against Cadiz, 265; statute passed for the relief of the poor, in 1597, 268; statute against vagabondage, 269; statute for regulating wages, 271; statute against Egyptians, or gipsies, 272; statute against the increase of buildings in London, 275; death of Burleigh, 278; and of Philip, 279; continued war with Spain, *ib.*; state of Ireland, 280 *et seq.*; Elizabeth quarrels with Essex, and appoints him lord lieutenant of Ireland, to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, 282; he fails, and returns to England, 283; interview of, with Essex, 283, 284; her exposition of her method of retaining the affection of the people, 285; commits Essex to "free custody," *ib.*; Essex attempts an insurrection, 287; it fails, and he surrenders, 288; is tried with the earl of Southampton, *ib.*; and is executed, on Feb. 25, 1601, 290; the Commons remonstrate against monopolies, 292; and she promises to abate them, 293; she dies, March 24, 1603, 294; note on Essex's ring, 295, 296

Elizabeth, daughter of James I., married to the elector palatine in 1613, iii. 362; her husband chosen king of Bohemia, on the Protestant interest, 377; the palatinate invaded by the Catholic powers, *ib.*; tardy and useless assistance afforded by James, *ib.*; the elector defeated at Prague, and expelled from the palatinate, 378

Elizabeth, princess, accompanies Louis in his flight from Paris, 1791, vi. 200-202; guillotined, 1794, vii. 298

Elizabeth, czarina of Russia, joins the coalition against Prussia, vi. 215; reigned, 1741-1762, 465

Elkington, Joseph, discovers the system of under drainage, vii. 26

Ellenborough, lord; lord chief justice, vii. 463; determines to preside in court, and to convict W. Hone, viii. 88; his harshness and persecution of the prisoner, who obtains a verdict of not guilty, *ib.*; presides over another trial with the same result, 89; conduct after the trial; contemplates resigning his office, 90; president of the Board of Control, 354; governor-general of India, 459; his proclamations to the people of India, 460, 461; makes war on the Mahrattas; recalled by the East India Company, 511

Ellesmere, lord, denies that Wellington was surprised at Waterloo, viii. 28, 29

Elliot, captain, superintendent at Canton; his proceedings; blockades Canton; his arrival at the Factory described, viii. 445; his futile attempts at negotiation, 447; settles the difficulties, 448

Elliot, general, governor of Gibraltar; his defence of the fort, 1782, vi. 451, 453, 454

Elliott, Mrs., quotation from, on the execution

- of Louis XVI., vii. 251, 252; anecdote by, of the French feeling towards Fox and Pitt, 270
- Elphinstone, major-general, appointed to command the British army in Cabul, viii. 453; his conference with Akbar Khan, 457; died April 23, 1842, 459
- Emmaun-Ghur, Napier's march to, and destruction of, viii. 508, 509
- Emigration, extent of, 1815-1852, viii. 409
- Emmanuel College chapel, Cambridge, built by Wren, v. 454
- Emmett, Robert, heads an insurrection in Dublin, July 23, 1803, vii. 426; trial and execution of, 427
- Empson, sir Richard and Edmund Dudley, ministers of Henry VII. in his extortions, ii. 240, 241; convicted, and executed for extortion, on the accession of Henry VIII., 258
- Enghien, duc d', arrest and murder of, 21 Mar., 1804, vii. 433
- Engraving, state of, temp. 1760-83, vii. 77; Strange and Woollett, *ib.*; mezzotint engraving and engravers, 78; Boydell, his large business in engravings, 78, 79; extension of the public taste for, viii. 156; Sharp, and other fine engravers, 156, 157; wood engraving revived by Bewick; his publications; lithography and its earliest cultivators, 157
- Enniskillen, the Irish Protestants take refuge in, 1689, v. 82; threatened siege of, 86
- Episcopal clergy, of Scotland, not well favoured towards the Test Act, v. 86; hatred of the Scotch to the, 87
- Episcopalians, their strength in Scotland, v. 130
- Erasmus's account of his pilgrimage to Walsingham and Canterbury, ii. 246; remarks of, on the ill condition of the houses, and the inattention to diet in England, 254; his compliment to the spirit of the people, *ib.*
- Ercole, Renaldo, duke of Modena, vii. 326; buys Bonaparte off his territories, 327
- Ernest Augustus of Hanover. See Cumberland.
- Erskine. See Mar, earl of.
- Erskine, Thomas, lord, defends lord George Gordon, 1781, vi. 410; his maiden speech, 1783; advocates Fox's India bill, vii. 138; defends Paine, 1792, 248; opposes the Traitorous Correspondence bill, 267; counsel for Thomas Hardy, 301; his reply to the attorney-general's charge, 302; defends Tooke and Thelwall, 303; passage from his speech for Hardy, 304; lord chancellor, 1806, 464, 577
- Espremeil arrested and imprisoned for opposing the establishment of "La Cour Pleniére," vii. 163
- Essayists; the "Tatler," commenced by Richard Steele, 1709, v. 402; its aim; it becomes the substitute of the old newspapers, 403; influence and objects of the, 406; their endeavours in diffusing knowledge, 407, 408; they direct the attention of the people to our old English ballads, and our standard poets, 408, 409; and create a general taste for reading, 413; their description of the pride and the coquette, 423; of puppet shows and the masquerade, 424, 425; their reprobation of drinking in excess, 426; of giving luxurious dinners, and of duelling, 427; the "Rambler," commenced by Johnson, 1750; the "Idler," 1758; the "Advertiser," issued 1752; the "World," 1753; and the "Connoisseur," 1754; Moore and Cambridge; Colman and Thornton, vii. 89
- Essequibo retaken by the French, vi. 434
- Essex, London supply of food from, vii. 8; extinction of saffron cultivation in, 9
- Essex, Robert Devereux, earl of, accompanies Drake in the expedition to attack Spain, iii. 239; early career of, 260; commands the expedition sent to aid Henry IV., *ib.*; defeats the attempt of Philip to poison Elizabeth, 264, 265; is appointed to the command of an expedition to attack Spain, 265; takes and burns Cadiz, in 1596, 266; commands another expedition with Raleigh, with whom he disagrees, *ib.*; quarrels with the queen, and is then appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in 1599, 282; fails to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, and returns to England, 283; interview of, with the queen, 284; is committed to 'free custody,' 285; schemes of, in favour of James, 286; attempts to raise an insurrection, 287; it fails, and he surrenders, 288; trial of, with his accomplice the earl of Southampton, *ib.*; conduct of Bacon, 289; the execution of Essex, on Feb. 25, 1601, 290; note on the story of the ring, 295, 296
- Essex, Robert Devereux, earl of, divorced from his wife, iii. 361; proclaimed a traitor by Charles I. as captain-general of the parliamentary army, 483; marches from London against the king on Sept. 9, 1642, 498; at Northampton, iv. 2; moves his army to Worcester, and is defeated by Rupert, 3; engages the royal forces at Edgehill, and marches to London, 7; indecision of, 10; Reading surrenders to, 15; relieves Gloucester, 22; surprises Cirencester, *ib.*; engages the royal forces at Newbury, 23; blockades Oxford, 33; disagreements between Waller and, 34; besieges Exeter, *ib.*; sad condition of, in Cornwall, 36; he leaves his troops, and his army is dispersed, 37; meeting at the house of, *ib.*; death of, Sept. 16, 1647, 65; medal struck in honour of, *ib.*
- Essling. See Aspern.
- Ethelbald, ravages in England by the Danes during the reign of, i. 79; aids his father in a battle against the Danes in 850, 80; had obtained the kingdom of Wessex from his father during his lifetime, 85; death of, *ib.*
- Ethelbert, king of Kent, power and dominions of, i. 66; receives the Christian missionary Augustin, 67; is converted, 68; account of the code of laws published by, 69, 70; death of, A.D. 616, 69
- Ethelbert, succeeds Ethelwulf, as king of Kent, i. 85; and his brother Ethelbald, as king of Wessex, in 860, *ib.*; dies, 866, 94
- Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred, energetic character, military successes, and death of, i. 122
- Ethelred, succeeds Ethelbert, 966, i. 94; death of, 100
- Ethelred the Unready, accession of in 978, i. 149; crowned and cursed by Dunstan, 149, 150; attacked by the Danes, under Sweyn, in 980; and following years, 151; pays tribute to them first in 991, *ib.*; continued in succeeding attacks, 152; massacre of the Danes by order of, in 1002, 153; is again attacked by Sweyn, and England is ravaged, *ib.*; Canterbury burnt by the Danes, 154; attacked again by Sweyn, king of Denmark, who proclaims

- himself king of England, 155; retires to Normandy, *ib.*; recalled to England, *ib.* death of, in 1016, *ib.*
- Ethelwulf, ravages in England by the Danes during the reign of, i. 79; journey of, to Rome, 82; death of in 858, 83
- Eugene, prince, commands the Austrian army, 1701, v. 250; becomes a confidant of Marlborough's, v. 277; sent to cover the Rhine in the campaign of 1704, *ib.*; announces the movements of the Gallo-Bavarian army to Marlborough, 280; having united his force with Marlborough's, they resolve to give the enemy battle, 281; marches against them, Aug. 13, and takes up his position on the right, in front of the elector, with difficulty, 281; his attacks upon whom meet with but slight success, 283; his troops are mistaken for those of the enemy, 284; joins the duke of Savoy's forces; defeats the French, and drives them out of Italy, 1706, 300; plans with Marlborough an attack upon France; crosses the Alps and the Var, and sets down before Toulon, July 25, 1707, 332; joins Marlborough, 336; directs the siege of Lille, 1708, 340; encamps with Marlborough and 100,000 men before Lille, June 21, 1709; Tournay surrenders, 343; aids in investing Douay, 1710, 362; visits London, 391; conducts the campaign of 1712, in co-operation with the duke of Ormond; opens the siege of Quesnoy; it surrenders, July 4, 392; he is deserted by the duke of Ormond, and defeated by Villars at Denain, July 24, 393; defeats the Turks at Peterwaradin, 1717, vi. 32; conducts the war against marshal Berwick, 1734, 71; died 1736, *ib.*
- Evans, sir De Lacy; commands the British Legion in Spain, viii. 373
- Evelyn, John, his uncertainty as to James II.'s whereabouts, v. 79; his grumble at Duncombe, 113; his house at Sayes Court is hired by William for Peter the Great, 1698, 211; notes on Wren, and the rebuilding of St. Paul's, 449; introduces Gibbons into notice, 459
- Evertsen, Dutch admiral, engaged in the defeat off Beachy Head, 1690, v. 111
- Evesham, battle of, Aug. 4, 1265, i. 376
- Ewart introduces the Counsel for Prisoners' bill twice, viii. 370
- Excise scheme, by Walpole; he fails in passing the bill embodying this scheme, 1733, vi. 69, 71
- Excommunication, small effect of, on the people, *temp.* John, i. 339, 340
- Exmouth, lord, concludes a treaty with Algiers; an outrage having been committed on the British, he is sent out with an expedition, viii. 48; his offered terms not being answered, 48, 49; he fights the battle of Algiers, Aug. 27, 1816, 49, 50; and on the following morning the Dey accepts the terms originally offered, 50
- Eylau, battle of, Feb. 9, 1807, vii. 481, 482
- FAIRFAX, sir Thomas, presents the people's petition to Charles I. at York, iii. 482; disputes the supremacy of the north with lord Newcastle, iv. 15; commands one of the parliamentary armies, 33; besieges Lathom house, 35; nominated general, 38; urges that Cromwell should be chief commander of the horse, 41; takes an active part in the battle of Naseby, 42, &c.; letter from Cromwell to, 47; Bristol invested by him and Cromwell, *ib.*; advances upon Oxford, 57; which surrenders to him, 64; secures the Bodleian library from spoliation, *ib.*; influence of, in the army, not so great as that of Cromwell's, 68; allows the king to have an interview with his children, 75; advances upon London, 77; it submits, 78; marches through London in triumph, 79; he and Cromwell put down the Levellers in the army, 86; fights the insurgents at Maidstone, and quells the insurrection, 93; invests London, which surrenders to him, *ib.*; orders sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle to be shot, *ib.*; his lady's conduct at the trial of Charles I., 109; suppresses the Levellers in the army, 118; unwilling to invade the Scots, 132; resigns his office of general, *ib.*
- Falcei, peace of, July 2, 1711, v. 389
- Falkirk, battle of, Jan. 17, 1746, vi. 161, 162
- Falkland, Lucius Cary, lord, charges of, against the lord chancellor Finch, iii. 442; becomes secretary of state, in 1641, 469; his tolerance and moderation the cause of his quitting the parliamentary party, 473; prince Rupert refuses to take directions through, iv. 3; death of, at battle of Newbury, Sept. 20, 1643, 24; character of, and conduct at battle of Newbury, *ib.*
- Falkland Islands, vicissitudes of the, vi. 323
- Family Compact, treaty known as the, Aug. 15, 1761, vi. 251, 467
- Famine in England, and terrible effects of in 1258, i. 371
- Fancourt, colonel, slain, 1806, in attempting to save his men from mutinied sepoy, vii. 462
- Farnham, a great provincial corn market formerly, v. 32
- Fastolf, sir John, wins the battle of Herrings, ii. 83; degraded from the Order of the Garter for cowardice at the battle of Patay, 88
- Fearney, William, his share in capturing the San Josef, 1797, vii. 337
- Federation fête at Paris, July 14, 1790, vii. 188, 189
- Females, political zeal of, first half of 18th century, v. 417, 418; employments and dress of, 418, 419; estimate of their character, 419, 420
- Fens, drainage of the Lincolnshire, v. 21, 22; vii. 14, 15
- Fenwick, sir John, implicated by Goodman in the Invasion plot, 1696, v. 196; there being deficient legal evidence to convict him, he is attainted and executed, Jan. 28, 1697, 197
- Ferand, a deputy in the French Convention; murdered, 1795, vii. 321
- Ferdinand of Castile marries his daughter Catherine to prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., ii. 235; uses the English army for the furtherance of his own plans, 264; concludes a truce with France, 267; dies in 1516, and is succeeded by his grandson, Charles V., 275
- Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies. See Ferdinand IV. of Naples.
- Ferdinand III., grand-duke of Tuscany; recognises the French republic, vii. 326
- Ferdinand IV. of Naples, 1759-1806, vi. 466; vii. 575; flies to Palermo, 1799, vii. 382; 1806.

- 473; reascends the throne, 1815; in 1816 he assumed the title of Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies, succeeded by Francis in 1825, 575
- Ferdinand VII. of Spain, solicits Napoleon's protection, 1808, vii. 497; Charles IV. abdicates the crown in favour of, Mar. 19, 498; falls into Napoleon's power, *ib.*; proclaimed king of Spain, 1808; war declared against France, 499; recognised by Napoleon as king of Spain, 1814, 568, 574; released by the French, 1823, viii. 183; died 1833, 268, 373
- Ferdinand, Don, duke of Parma, vii. 326; buys Napoleon off his territories, 327
- Ferguson, his march on Solignac hindered, vii. 502, 503
- Ferozeshah, battle of, Dec. 21 and 22, 1845, viii. 544, 545
- Fersen, count de, aids in contriving Louis's flight from Paris, 1791, vi. 290, 201
- Feudal system introduced into England by William the Conqueror, i. 214; exactions imposed through it by William, 215; substitution of rent and wages for feudal services, ii. 108; death struggle of, *temp.* Henry VI. 129
- Feudality, transition state of, *temp.* Edw. III. i. 448; description of, as given by Froissart, 449; military spirit fostered by, *ib.*
- Feudal rights abolished in France, 1789, vii. 176
- Feuillans, a French political party, twice obtains the administration of affairs, 1792, vii. 217, 218, 220
- Fielding, Henry, produces his "Pasquin," 1737, vi. 90; his "Inquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers," 1750; places of entertainment; drunkenness, 191; gaming among the vulgar; his account of the state of London, 192; his "Adventures of Joseph Andrews," published, 1742; its success; Johnson's opinion of, vii. 83; "Jonathan Wild," published, 1743; "Tom Jones," 1749, 89; "Amelia," 1751; died 1754, *ib.*; description of contemporary manners by, 91-94, 107, 113, 114, 120
- Fieschi. See Louis Philippe, viii. 374
- Fire of London. See London.
- Firmin, his scheme for employing the poor; his religious tenets; his death puts a stop to the printing of Socinian books, v. 205
- Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester, is accused of participation in the treason of the Holy Maid of Kent, ii. 354; is sent to the Tower for refusing to swear to the illegality of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine, 356; is tried, convicted, and executed, 362-364
- Fisher, captain, communicates to Portland a design against William's life, v. 189
- Fitzgerald, lord Edward, brother of the duke of Leinster, vii. 363; a member of the Irish Directory; on the arrest of the other members he conceals himself; his house surrounded by the military; he resists, kills the magistrate, and is himself shot, 364; died June 5, 1798, *ib.*
- Fitzgerald, captain Robert, saves Dublin from being plundered and burnt, 1690, v. 114
- Fitzgerald, Vesey, president of the Board of Trade, viii. 234; influence among the Clare Roman Catholics, 235
- Fitzharris, lord, description of Pitt's feelings on lord Melville being censured by parliament, 1805, vii. 439
- Fitzherbert, Mrs., marries the Prince of Wales (George IV.), Dec. 21, 1787, vii. 152
- Fitz-Osbert, or William with the Long Beard, complains to Richard I. in 1100, of civic corruptions and oppressions, raises an insurrection, is stabbed and hanged, i. 320, 321
- Fitzwilliam, earl, lord lieutenant of Ireland; recalled the same year, vii. 216, 362; dismissed his lord lieutenancy of the West Riding, viii. 108
- Flaxman, John, an eminent sculptor vii. 79, 80; high character of his designs, viii. 149
- Fleet prison, state of the, 1729, 1730, vi. 63, 64
- Flesselles, mayor of Paris, shot, July 1789, vii. 174
- Fletcher of Saltoun, his opinion on the relative positions of England and Scotland, v. 214
- Fletcher, lieutenant-colonel, helps Wellington in constructing the lines of Torres Vedras, vii. 524
- Fleurus, battle of, 1690, v. 120; May 29, 1794, vii. 312
- Fleury, cardinal, prime minister of Louis XV., vi. 54; his offers to the English, 96
- Flitcroft, architect of Woburn House, v. 458
- Flodden Field, battle of, on Sept. 9, 1513, ii. 271, 272
- Florida ceded to Spain, 1782, vi. 458; to Great Britain, 1763, 467; to the United States, 1820, viii. 382
- Flushing, failure of the British to take, 1809, vii. 519, 520
- Foley, captain, commander of the Goliath at the battle of the Nile, 1798, vii. 356; present at the battle of Copenhagen, 1801, 404
- Folly, the coffee-house; its visitors, v. 57, 58
- Fontainebleau, peace of, Sept. 2, 1679, v. 388; treaty of, vii. 495; concordat at, Jan. 25, 1813, 580
- Foutenoy, battle of, May 11, 1745, vi. 113, 114
- Fonthill erected by Wyatt, viii. 141
- Food, supply of London with, 19th century, viii. 387-389
- Forbes, Duncan, lord advocate, 1736, vi. 83; conducts the inquiry into the Porteous riots, *ib.*; proposed the enlisting of Scotch regiments, 116, 117; MacDonald informs him of Charles Edward's descent upon Scotland, 123; considers it rash and desperate, 125
- Forster commands the English in the Pretender's army, vi. 11; assumes the command of the whole army on English ground, 12, 13; his preparations for the enemy, 13, 14; tries to obtain favourable terms of surrender, 14; escapes from Newgate, 21, 22
- Fort Augustus destroyed by the Highlanders, vi. 165
- Fort Boyer captured by the British, Feb. 1815, viii. 19
- Fort Edward taken by Burgoyne, 1777, vi. 379
- Fort St. George capitulates to the British, 1746, vi. 201
- Foster, speaker of Irish House of Commons; his passing the Union bill described, vii. 376, 376
- Foster, John, his "Essays," viii. 129
- Fouché, his share in the execution of the Lyonsese, 1793, vii. 285, 286; assists Bonaparte's intrigues, 383
- Foulon, intendant of marine, vii. 170; murdered by the mob, 175; La Fayette attempts to save him, *ib.*

- Foundling Hospital established by captain Coram; it promotes, instead of repressing, the great social evil, vii. 118, 119
- Fourbin, admiral, commands the fleet conveying the pretender James and his force to Scotland; he fails in making a landing and returns to Dunkirk, 1708, v. 335
- Fox, Charles James, his first speech in parliament, 1769, vi. 293; indignation of, at government's conduct towards Burgoyne, 382, 383; leader of his party; character, 432; strong language used by, in moving for an amendment of the king's address; motion lost, 433; secretary of state, 1782, 436; his resolution to carry Burke's Economical Reform bill, 439, 440; moves the repeal of the statute asserting Ireland's dependence, 447; has differences with Shelburne in the negotiations with Franklin for a treaty of peace, 450; resigns his secretaryship, *ib.*; mistake of, 451; commencement of the party conflict between Pitt and, 459; secretary of state, 1782, 469; excesses in gambling, and remarkable elasticity of mind, vii. 105; coalesces with lord North, appointed secretary of state, 135; re-elected for Westminster; unpopularity, *ib.*; his India bill; proposes to govern India by a board, 137; bill carried in the Commons, 138; rejected by the Lords, 138, 139; the king orders him to give up his office, 139; contests the seat for Westminster; enthusiasm of the duchess of Devonshire in his cause; fails, but takes his seat as a Scotch representative, 144; considers France England's natural foe, 149; denies that the prince of Wales had married Mrs. Fitzherbert, 152; renounces the prince's acquaintance on hearing that such really was the case, 153; supports the prince's claim to the regency, *ib.*; in raptures on hearing of the fall of the Bastille, 183; opposes the army estimates, 186; disputes with Burke, 186, 187; proposes the abolition of the Corporation and Test acts, 187; differs with Burke in his opinion on the new constitution of France, 193, 194; which results in a breach of friendship, 194; emotion evinced by, *ib.*; favours the abolition of the slave trade, 212; his Libel bill; difficulty of passing it through the Lords, 212, 213; attempts made by lord Loughborough to bring about a coalition between Pitt and, 213; his opinion of the September massacres, 1792, 231; joy of, at the Prussian retreat, 236; anxiety for Louis's fate; proposes that the national sense against his execution be made known to France, 243; Portland and other whigs separate from Fox, and join Pitt's party, 245; opposes Pitt's Indian Declaratory bill, 1788, 257; opposes the policy of warring with France, 265, 266; and the Traitorous Correspondence bill, 267; popularity of, in France, 270; proposes that peace be re-established with France, 276; defends the duke of York and blames Pitt for the Dunkirk failure, 1793, 283; speech of, on the stability of the Jacobin government, 292; his indignation at the project of assimilating the English and Scottish laws on sedition and leasing-making, 299; his indignation at Pitt's coercive measures; dreads the approach of absolutism, 324; secedes from the whig party, 350; again appears in his place in parliament, Jan. 1800, 390; desires peace, 418; his admiration of Pitt's speech, 424; the king refuses to admit him to his counsels, 1804, 431; secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1806, 464; the king becomes reconciled to, 465; declining health of, 466; died Sept. 13, 1806, 466, 470; his last speech in parliament, 468; fails in obtaining peace, 468, 470; buried with public honours, Oct. 10, 470; rivalry with Pitt, 471
- Fox, Henry, lord Holland, his opinion of the rebellion of 1745, vi. 133; married the duke of Richmond's daughter clandestinely; opposes the marriage act of 1753, 193; Newcastle offers him the secretaryship of state with the lead of the Commons; refuses them, 198, 199; obtains a seat in the cabinet, deserting Pitt, 1751, 200; favours the bringing over foreign troops for the defence of this country, 212; secretary of state; resigns this office, Oct. 1756, 217; created lord Holland, 1763; retires from public affairs; retaining his office of paymaster, 261
- Fox, commodore, takes 40 French ships, 1747, vi. 179
- France, rival factions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs, during the reign of Charles VI., ii. 51; distress occasioned by, 67; a great cause of the successes of Henry V., *ib.*; the Armagnacs massacred and expelled from Paris by the mob in 1418, 68; duke of Burgundy murdered at Montereau, 71; accession of Charles VII. to the throne in 1422, 77; Charles VII. is conducted to Rheims by Joan of Arc, and crowned there in 1430, 89; invaded by Edward IV. in 1475, 173; treaty of peace with England agreed to at Piquigny, *ib.*
- Francis I. succeeds to the throne of France in January 1515, ii. 275; commences war against Charles V. and takes Milan, *ib.*; meets Henry VIII. in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 282-285; is taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia in 1525, 301; is released by Charles V. on agreeing to very severe terms, 305; project of, for invading England and marching to London, 444; death of, in 1547, iii. 4
- Francis I. of Austria. See Francis II. of Germany.
- Francis II. of Germany, succeeds Leopold as king of Hungary, 1792, vii. 217; rules Lombardy, 326; welcomes the Russians into Moravia, 382; joins the coalition against France, *ib.*; joins his army at Ansterlitz; interview with Napoleon; his cessions by the peace of Presburg, 450; emperor of Germany, 1792-1806; Francis I. of Austria, 1806-1835, 574; viii. 268
- Francis, John, his attempt on the Queen's life, 1842, viii. 497
- Francis, sir Philip, said to be the author of Junius's letters, vi. 295; reports the speeches of Mansfield and Chatham, 1770, 301; appointed a member of the Calcutta council; opposes Hastings; brings charges of corruption against him, vii. 126; immoralities of; assumes the governor-general's power on hearing of Hastings's resignation, 127; duels with Hastings; wounded; resigns office; returns to England, 130; his speech on our alliance with France, 149
- Franklin, Benjamin, printer of the "Craftsman;" convicted of libel for writing an article therein, 1731, vi. 67; opposes the passing of the Stamp Act, 1765, 272; recom-

- mends the Americans to submit for a while, *ib.*; examined by the House of Commons on the American Stamp Act; the condition of the North American colonies, 280; the temper of the colonists towards Great Britain before 1763; the American spirit and resolution never to pay the stamp duty, 281; appears before the lords of the council, as agent for Massachusetts; insulted by them; dismissed his post of deputy postmaster-general, 338; returns to America; deprecates attempting to restore the interests between England and America, 353; but still shrinks from war, 354; his conference with lord Howe; despatched to Paris to procure a treaty of alliance with the French court; lands in France, Dec. 8, 1776; presents a memorial to count de Vergennes, 372; his reception in the Parisian court circles; his influence upon the national thought, 373; besieged by applications to recommend officers for the American service, 377; minister plenipotentiary of the United States, May 1779; entrusts Paul Jones with the command of an expedition against the British coasts, 397; his predictions of the future of America, 422; negotiates with Shelburne and Fox for a treaty of peace, 449, 450; one of the commissioners for settling the articles of peace between England and America; signs the preliminaries, Nov. 30, 1783, 457; recommends amity between England and America, 460
- Frank-pledge, nature of, i. 117
- Fraser, John. See Mac Iver.
- Frazer, general, repulsed at Alexandria, 1807, vii. 485
- Frederick, Prince of Wales; his income dependent upon the will of his father, George II., vi. 58, 59; his arrival in England, 1728; fails in obtaining princess Wilhelmina of Prussia in marriage, 61; his popularity; marries the princess of Saxe-Gotha, April 27, 1736, 84; opposes his father; applies to parliament for an increase of income, 85; fails in obtaining it, *ib.*; will not allow his wife to be confined at Hampton Court; hurries her to St. James's, *ib.*; where she gives birth to a girl; the king's anger at his conduct; he is banished from St. James's; removes to Norfolk House, 1737, 86; his popularity increases, *ib.*; his mother refuses to see him on her dying bed, *ib.*; his son George Augustus (afterwards George III.) born, May 25, 1738, 91; his apparent reconciliation with his father, 108; his death, March 20, 1751, 188; receives but few honours at his burial; his son George created Prince of Wales; a revenue is assigned to his widow, 189; who dies Feb. 1772, 338
- Frederick I. of Prussia; elector of Brandenburg; fights against the French at Fleurus, v. 120; present at the congress at the Hague, 122; invested with the Garter, 122, 123; his character, 123; concludes a treaty with Marlborough, 1704, 287; reigns 1701-1713, 475
- Frederick II., king of Prussia, succeeds Frederick William I., 1740, vi. 102, 465; lays claim to Silesia, vi. 105; it not being recognised he invades the country; secures the greater part of it; defeats general Neipperg at Molwitz, April 10, 1741; his conduct in the battle, 106; again presses the cession of Silesia; his demand refused; and the Austrians receive a second defeat from him, May 17, 1742; enters into a treaty with Great Britain and Hungary, 107; overruns Bohemia, 112; treaty between George II. and, concluded at Westminster, Jan. 16, 1756, 215; his power as a king; suddenly commences war, *ib.*; takes Dresden, Sept. 10; blockades Pirna; spares the picture gallery at Dresden; obtains possession of the State papers; defeats the Austrians at Losowitz, Oct. 1; Pirna surrenders; retires into winter quarters, 216; receives 200,000*l.* from the British government, 1757, 219; commences his second campaign, April; his character; marches into Bohemia; defeats the Austrians in the battle of Prague, May 6; bombards Prague; defeated by the Austrian marshal Daun at the battle of Kolin, June 17, 228; defeats prince de Soubise at Rosbach, Nov. 5, and prince Charles de Lorraine at Lenthén, Dec. 5, 231; a subsidy of 670,000*l.* voted to, by the British government, 232; defeats the Russians at Zorndorf, Aug. 25, 1758, 233; popularity of, among the English, *ib.*; surprised by the Austrians; his presence of mind saves the troops, 234; defeated by the Russians at Knersdorf; wins the victories of Legnitz and Torgau, 240; his unsuccessful campaign; writes to Pitt, who promises the king's support, 250; Bute refuses him his subsidy, 254; succeeded by Frederick William II., 1786, 465
- Frederick IV. of Denmark, 1699-1730, v. 476, vi. 466; his conquests, and contest with Charles XII. vi. 27
- Frederick VI. of Denmark, crown prince; refuses the demands of the English envoy, vii. 490; declares war against Great Britain, 491; ascends the throne, 1808, 575; present at the Vienna congress, viii. 42
- Frederick William I. of Prussia, 1713-1740, v. 475, vi. 465; wars against Charles XII., 1715, vi. 27; died May 31, 1740, 102
- Frederick William II. of Prussia, 1786-1797, vi. 465; vii. 574; succeeds Frederick the Great, 150; interviews with the emperor of Germany; they issue the declaration of Pilmitz, 207; surrender of Mayence to, 1793, 282; obtains a subsidy from England, 311; his Polish raid, 1794, 314, 315
- Frederick William III. of Prussia succeeds Frederick William II., 1797, vii. 574, takes the part of Orange against France, 150, 151; his wavering conduct; joins France, 1805, 450; bribed into hostilities with Britain, 471; uneasiness of his ties with France, 472; commands the Prussian armies, 1806, 475; defeated at Jena, 476, 477; rejects Napoleon's overtures for peace, 482; concludes an alliance with Russia, 561; his meeting with Alexander at Leipzig, 1813, 565; present at the Vienna congress, 1815, viii. 42
- Fremantle, captain, his account of and conduct at the battle of Copenhagen, 1801, vii. 403-405
- Frere, J. H., writer in the "Anti-Jacobin," vii. 345; British ambassador in Spain; advises Moore to advance on Madrid, vii. 505
- Fronais aids in massacring the Toulonese, 1793, vii. 291
- Friedland, battle of, June 14, 1807, vii. 487
- Friend, sir John, trial of, v. 191
- Frobisher, sir Martin, expeditions of, to the Polar seas, iii. 220; takes part in the attack

- on the Armada, 223; takes Brest from the Spaniards in 1594, and is killed, 265
- Froissart, sir John, picture of chivalry by, i. 449
- Froude, Mr., view of, as to state interference in social affairs, ii. 15-18
- Fuenterabia captured by the French, 1719, vi. 37
- Fuentes, count de, ordered to leave London, 1762, vi. 254
- Fuentes de Onoro, battle of, May 5, 1811, vii. 538
- Furniture and utensils, notice of those in use in the 15th century, ii. 120
- Fuseli, his paintings, viii. 151, 152
- GAGE**, general, supersedes Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts; appointed the colonial commander-in-chief, 1774, vi. 344; coldly received at Boston; fortifies Boston isthmus, *ib.*; orders a detachment to destroy the military stores at Concord, 348; offers pardon to all on certain conditions, excepting Hancock and S. Adams, 355; called home, 360
- Gainsborough, Thomas, exhibits at the Royal Academy, 1769, vii. 71; portrait and landscape painter, 73; his merits and excellencies, 73, 74
- Galgacus, resistance of, to the invasion of Agricola, i. 27; doubtful speech, and defeat of, 27, 28
- Galissoniere, admiral La; engages Byng, 1756, vi. 213
- Galt, John, died 1839; his novels, viii. 467
- Galway, lord; he is defeated by the French and Spaniards on the plains of Almanza, v. 330; placed at the bar of the House of Lords to give an account of his proceedings in Spain, 368
- Galway surrenders to Ginkell, v. 128
- Gambier, admiral lord, commands the expedition against Copenhagen, 1807, vii. 490; commands the expedition against the French in Aix roads, 1809; fails to assist heartily his subordinate officer, lord Cochrane; tried by court martial and acquitted, 510; British commissioner for concluding the peace of Ghent, viii. 19
- Game laws, viii. 70, 71
- Game in Anne's reign, v. 428, 429; in those of George I. and II., vii. 103, 104-106
- Ganganelli. See Clement XIV.
- Gaols, inquiry into the state of the, 1729, 1730, vi. 63; the fraud and extortion of the wardens of the Fleet; shocking case of cruelty towards captain Macphedris by Bambridge, 64; the horrors of the Marshalsea prison, 65; public attention drawn to the state of the, by Howard, vii. 117, 118; state of prisons in England and Scotland, viii. 370, 371
- Garat, his visit to England, 1791, 1792, vii. 209, 210
- Gardiner, colonel, killed at Preston Pans, 1745, vi. 130; Dr. Doddridge's account of his death, *ib.*
- Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester supports the king's supremacy, but opposes the Reformation, ii. 446; becomes a great heretic hunter, *ib.*; prepares articles for queen Catherine Parr's impeachment, but the king rejects them, 450; objects to the printing of a book of homilies, and of a translation of Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament, iii. 8; continued resistance of, to the Reformation, 14; deprived of his bishopric and committed to the Tower in 1550, in the reign of Edward VI., 41; consents to use the Common Prayer, 43; released on the accession of Mary, 54; is made lord chancellor, 57; sermon of, before Mary, exhorting her to severity, 65; exertions of, to suppress heresy, 79; colloquy of, with Rogers, 82; increased severity of, against the married clergy, 86; death of, 95
- Garnet, Henry, the Jesuit, tried for his complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, iii. 336; his doctrine of equivocation, 337
- Garrick improves the tone of the stage, v. 420; his Shaksperian acting, vii. 99, 100
- Garter, the order of the, instituted by Edward III. in 1349, i. 468
- Gas, Pall Mall lighted by, 1807; its introduction has considerable influence in preventing crime; opposition shown to it by the partizans of the persons employed in the whale fisheries, viii. 66
- Gascoigne, general, moves for a diminution in the number of parliamentary members, viii. 276
- Gastanga, marquis of, governor of the Netherlands; represents Charles of Spain at the Hague congress, 1691, v. 122
- Gates, general in the United States army, vi. 379; encamps on Behmus' heights; compels Burgoyne to yield with the honours of war, 1777, 380
- Gaul, Druidism in, i. 3; Caesar's account of the Druidical judges of, 13
- Gauls, the, assisted by the Britons, i. 2
- Gaveston, Piers. See Edward II.
- Gawilghur taken by the British, Dec. 15, 1803, vii. 460
- Gay, author of the Beggar's Opera, v. 424
- Gaza surrendered to the French, March 25, 1799, vii. 379
- Gazi Hassan resists the Russians; capitan pasha, vi. 326
- General warrants, debates on the legality of; officers dismissed for voting their illegality, vi. 267-269, 272
- Genoa, annexation of, to France, 1805, vii. 440, 441
- Gentleman, country, character and description of, the *temp.* William and Anne, v. 353-356, 410, 411; *temp.* Geo. III. viii. 113
- Gentleman's magazine started by Cave, 1731, vii. 84
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, fables of, i. 2
- George of Denmark marries queen Anne, 1689, v. 98; votes for the Occasional Conformity bill, 263; lord high admiral, 333; died October, 1708, 338
- George I., elector of Hanover, 1698, v. 241; refuses to co-operate with Marlborough, 307; becomes heir-apparent on the death of his mother, the princess Sophia; born May 28, 1660, 399; proclaimed king on the death of queen Anne, 1714; lands at Greenwich, Sept. 18, vi. 2; personal appearance and character, *ib.*; Sophia, princess of Zell, and the Königsmark tragedy, 3; his account of an early impression as king of England, 4; coronation of, October 20; opens his first parliament, March 17, 1715, 5; speech on adjourning parliament, 6; speech on opening parliament,

- 1716, 19; refusaes to see lady Nithsdale's petition; appealed to for mercy towards the rebel lords; his power to pardon affirmed, 20; leaves for Germany; his awkward position as king of England, 26, 27; his hostility towards Russia; jealousy of his son, 28; dismisses Townshend his secretaryship; offers him the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, *ib.*; announcements on opening parliament, 1717, of the triple alliance, and Gyllenberg's arrest, 29; quarrels with the prince of Wales, 32; speech on opening parliament, 1718, 35; recommends the settling of the peerage question, 37, 38; recommends the consideration of the national debts, 40; dissuaded from going to Hanover, 1722, 48; James' proposal to, 49; announces the treaty of Hanover, 1725, 55; speech at closing the session, 1727, sets out for Hanover, June 3; dies on his journey, June 10, 56
- George II., his father's jealousy of him, 1716, vi. 28; appointed guardian of the realm during George I.'s absence in Hanover, *ib.*; quarrels with his father, 1717, 32, 33; banished from the royal residence; sets up an opposition court at Leicester House; the earl of Berkeley makes a proposal to George I. to seize him and carry him to America, 33; governor of a Welsh copper company, 41; succeeds his father to the throne of England, June, 1727, 57; R. Walpole obtains a confirmation of his power through queen Caroline's influence, and by bribing the king, 58; the civil list revenue settled on him as income, *ib.*; his son, Frederick, prince of Wales, dependent upon him for his income, 58, 59; fought at Oudenarde and Dettingen; influence of the queen over, 59; conduct of, towards the prince of Wales, 61; remarks on opening parliament, 1732; strikes Pulteney's name off the privy council list, 66; determined to stand by Walpole, 70; speech on opening parliament, 1734, 71, 72; his warlike desires, 72; visits Hanover; returns to England, Oct. 22, 1735, 77; his unpopularity; pasquinade on, 84; returns to England, Dec. 1736; quarrels with his son, 85; banishes him from St. James' palace, 86; illness of the queen; and death, Nov. 20, 1737, 86-88; his grief, 87, 88; the birth of George III. excites in him a stronger jealousy towards his son, 91; announces the convention with Spain on opening parliament, 1739, 94; calls upon parliament for support against Spain, 96; speech to parliament, 1740, 101; goes to Hanover, 1741; concludes a treaty of neutrality without his minister's knowledge, 103; exults at the results of his mediation between Hungary and Prussia, 107; reconciled to his son, whom he admits to court, 108; national jealousy roused by his taking Hanoverian troops into English pay, 109; prorogues parliament; lends his army to Maria Theresa; departs for Germany, 110; joins his army, June, 19, 1743; commands the rear guard; his gallantry; gains the battle of Dettingen, June 27; and expels the French from Germany; his enthusiastic reception in England, 111; restrained from leaving England, 1744, 112; returns from Hanover, Aug. 31, 1745, 137; Andrew Drummond becomes his private banker, 153; refuses to nominate Pitt secretary at war, 179; speech on opening parliament, 1747, 181; death of the prince of Wales, March 20, 1751, 188; his grandson assumes the title; desires the duke of Cumberland to be sole regent, 189; asks for increased forces, 201; goes to Hanover; ministerial difficulties about subsidies, 208; his address; supported by Hamilton and Fox; opposed by Pitt, 210; introduces Hessian troops for England's defence, 212; speech of, 1756; forms a treaty with Frederick of Prussia, 214, 215; different tone of speech, 1756; his real opinions, 218; asks parliament for a subsidy to Prussia, 219; attempts made to dupe, 220; his strong dislike to Pitt and Temple; fails to form a ministry, 221; finally compelled to accept the Pitt administration, 222; his anger at the duke of Cumberland, 229; refuses to ratify the convention of Closter-Seven, 231; recommends a Prussian subsidy, 232; death of, Oct. 25, 1760, 240
- George III. born May 24, O. S. 1738, vi. 91; attains his majority; entreats not to be separated from his mother, 216; lord Bute is made his groom of the stole, 217; succeeds George II. as king, 1760; his conduct on hearing of his father's death, 241; character and education, 242, 243; Bute's influence over, 244; opens parliament, Nov. 15, *ib.*; his speech; the Commons vote him £800,000; his enthusiastic reception by the people; policy of his reign, 245; recommends an act for securing the independence of judges, 246; marriage projects; his choice falls upon princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 247; whom he marries, Sept. 8, 1761; her character and appearance, 248; coronation, Sept. 22, 249; gives Pitt a pension, 252; promises a vigorous prosecution of the war, 253; resolves on war with Spain, 254; speech of, 1762, 256; Bute attempts to uphold the principle of prerogative, 260; speech on the peace, 1763, and its advantages, 261, 262; desires to govern and form a ministry of his own, 264; his sensitiveness on the general warrants question, 268; orders Conway and others voting against the ministry to be dismissed their offices, 269; illness of, 275; his indignation at the conduct of his ministers in the Regency bill matter induces him to offer Pitt the premiership; Pitt's terms, 276; Temple persuades Pitt to break off the negotiations; his disgust at the conduct of Grenville and Bedford, 277; orders the suppression of the American disturbances, 279; his right to make laws for the colonies declared, 282; expresses himself as being now for and now against the repeal of the Stamp act, 283; seeks Pitt's advice as to a new ministry, 285; urges Pitt's expulsion from parliament, 292; Junius' address to; speech on proroguing parliament, 1769; his graziers' speech on opening parliament, 1770, 300; offers North the lord commissionership of the treasury, 305; speech, 1768, on North American proceedings, 308; address and remonstrance of the city of London to, 314, 315; his harsh reply, 314; a second remonstrance presented to, by Beckford, with a speech; no intimation having previously been given he is at a loss what to do, 315; his indignation at the lord mayor's charging a House of Commons' officer with assault for arresting Miller, 2

printer, 317; speech on opening the session, 1770, 323; imprisonment of his sister the queen of Denmark; obtains her release, 330; requests parliament to amend the laws respecting royal marriages, 330, 331; message to parliament on the Boston outrages, 338; his letter to North favouring military measures against America, 339; speech, 1774, 345; his answer to a remonstrance presented by Wilkes, 348; his estimate of the value of addresses; speech, 1775, on the American war, 359; the petition of congress to, rejected, 360; his opinion of Chatham's speech advising a cessation of hostilities with America, 376; speech, 1777, 380; announces a treaty between France and America, and withdrawal of the British minister from Paris, 387; his surprise at Chatham's being buried with public honours, 390; rejoices at the rejection of Burke's Economical Reform bill, 405; takes measures for repressing the riots of 1780, 408; holds a council to explain the riot act; his opinion of the right construction, 409; gives his claims on St. Eustatius to the army and navy, 420; inconsistency of his speech, 1781, 431, 432; his hatred of Fox, 432, 433; his reply to the address praying for a discontinuance of the war, 434, 435; his dislike of having the opposition for his ministers, 435; compelled to change his ministers, 435, 436; recommends economical reform, 440; expresses his concern at the discontent in Ireland, 446; appoints Shelburne to the lordship of the Treasury, 450; speech, 1782, announcing the independence of America, 458; his alleged incivility towards Jefferson and Adams, 460; Jefferson's testimony to this effect, 461, and that of Adams to the contrary, 462; fond of agricultural pursuits, vii. 18; chosen patron of the Royal Academy, 70; patronizes West; his delight in West's pictures, 74, 75; remarks on India, 1782, 136, 137; his dislike to Fox's India bill, 137, 138; dismisses the coalition ministry, 139; his firmness in retaining the Pitt ministry, 141, 142; speech, 1786, 147; announces the commercial treaty with France, 148; speech, 1787, 150, 151; refuses to help the prince of Wales to pay his debts, 152; attacked by insanity; the prince of Wales appointed Regent, 153, 154; recovers; public rejoicing; his gratitude to Pitt for his firm attachment, 155; speech, 1788, 156; speech, 1790, 184, 185; his coldness towards Talleyrand, 209; pacific speech, 1792, 210; dismisses the lord chancellor, Loughborough, 213; royal proclamation against seditious writings, 214; speech, 1792, 215; speech, Dec. 1792, 237; reconciled to lord Loughborough, 246; his popularity; calibre of his mind, 248, 249; asks for increased forces, 1793, 252; parliament's address to, 252, 253; announces France's declaration of war against Britain, 264; speech, 1793, 281; anecdote of, and Loughborough's constructive treason, 303; objects to his son's removal from his military command, 312, 313; speech, 1794, 316, 317; cuts Wilherforce, 318; orders lord Malmesbury to demand the princess Caroline for the prince of Wales, 318, 319; speech, 1795, 319; assailed by the mob; his courage, 323; holds a council to provide a remedy for the money

panic, 1797, 333; speech, 1797, 335; speech, 1798; congratulates the nation on the victory of the Nile, 338; speech, Nov. 1798; remarks on the volunteers and the Irish Union, 360; speech, 1799, 369; pernicious effects of his resistance to the proposed union with Ireland, 370; expresses his satisfaction at the measure, 371; remarks on the completion of the Union, 376; speech, July, 1799, 382; speech, 1801, 398; opposes any concessions to Catholics, 398, 399; again attacked by insanity, 400, 401; attributes its cause to Pitt's conduct, 401; speech, 1802, alludes to France's encroachments, 417; Despard's conspiracy for killing; message to parliament for calling out the militia, 422; reviews the volunteers, Oct. 1803, 429; another attack of insanity, Feb. 12 to April, 1804, 430; refuses Pitt's request for an administration on a broad basis, but offers him the premiership under certain prescribed limitations, which Pitt accepts, May, 1804; opposes Catholic emancipation, 431; curious incident in reading his speech on proroguing parliament, 1804; indications of a new grand-alliance, 436; Napoleon's letter to, 437; desires Grenville to form a ministry, 463; requires a pledge of the Grenville ministry, which causes them to resign, 478, 479; opposes the Roman Catholic enlistment bill, 479; sympathy of the people with, on account of his infirmities; nearly blind, 480, 481; speech, 1807, 487; speech, 1808, 492, 493; his high opinion of Wellington, 525; celebration of "The Jubilee," the fiftieth year of his reign, 526; speech, 1810; alludes to the Peninsular war, 528; the distressing condition of his daughter brings on his last attack of insanity, Oct. 1810, 533; death of, Jan. 19, 1820, viii. 110

George IV. born Aug. 12, 1762, vi. 276; introduced to the House of Peers, 1783; Carlton House assigned him as a residence, vii. 137; his income, 151; embarrassed by debts; marries Mrs. Fitzherbert, 152; his claims to the Regency disputed, 153, 154; Pitt's proposition for restricting his power as regent, 154; his first speech in parliament, 214; the princess Caroline of Brunswick demanded in marriage for him, 318, 319; her character, arrival in England, and meeting with the prince; they are married, April 8, 1795, 319; George III. causes an inquiry to be made as to the princess's conduct, 465; re-appointed Regent, Feb. 5, 1811, 534, 535; restriction on, about to expire; his letter as to the choice of a ministry, 539; his character, 540; the formation of the Liverpool ministry, 541, 542; declaration of, on the American war, viii. 4, 5; speech, 1814, 15; message to parliament, 1815, 27; his unpopularity, 54; speech, 1817, on the state of the country; outraged; parliament addresses him on the subject, 78; speech, 1817, 84; serious illness of, 94; his dissension with his daughter, 94, 95; causes of his gloom; opens parliament by commission, 95; dissolves parliament, 1818, 98; speech, 1818, 99; speech, 1819, on the state of the country, 103; his satisfaction with the conduct of those who put down the Manchester reform meeting; his reply to the London address, 108; quiet transition from one reign to another, 110; patronises Nash

- 145; presents the Phigalcan marbles to the nation, 150; speech, 1820, alludes to the Cato-street conspiracy, 159; the queen Caroline debate, 162, 163; the queen intimates her intention to come to England, 163; his desire for divorce, and to have the queen tried for high treason; his differences with his cabinet, 163, 164; the ministerial propositions agreed to, 164; prepares for his coronation, 164, 165; opens parliament in person, and leaves the settling of his revenues to its disposal, 165; the queen's journey towards and arrival in England, 165, 166; message of, to parliament, and the green bag containing papers concerning the queen's conduct, which is laid before parliament; Canning (for government) and Brougham vindicate their respective conduct in the affair of queen Caroline, 166, 167; conferences for averting a public proceeding; these negotiations fail, 167, 168; Canning sends in his resignation, but the king insists on his retaining office; secret committee appointed, and the consequence of their report is that a bill of Pains and Penalties is brought against the queen; her trial commenced Aug. 7, 1820, 168; swarm of addresses presented to the queen, 168, 169; Brougham's defence; Denman's bold and unmeasured language, 170, 171; motions for the second and third reading carried, and abandonment of the bill of Penalties, 172; the national rejoicing thereat, *ib.*; discussions in the next session on the queen's affairs; she accepts a 50,000*l.* annuity, and all general interest in her ceases, 173; the king's coronation, July 19, 1821, 173, 174; the queen vainly attempts to be present at the ceremonial; she dies Aug. 7; the king sails for Dublin, Aug. 1; the passage of the queen's remains through the city to Brunswick causes a riot; Canning having resigned, the king refuses to allow of his re-admission into the cabinet, 174; speech, 1822, on Irish outrage and agricultural distress, 178; embarks at Greenwich for Scotland, Aug. 10, 1822; lands at Leith, Aug. 18; his cordial reception, 179; speech, 1824, 183; his manifesto, 184; fails to obtain Canning's dismissal; foreign influence upon the king; speech, 1825; recognises the South American republics, 185; speeches of, illustrative of the suddenness of the money panic of 1825, 195; his difficulty in choosing a new ministry, 204; his unreservedness in talking of State affairs, 206, 207; his compassion for Canning's ill-health, 208; his share in the negotiations preceding Canning's premiership, 211; desires Wellington to form a ministry, 227; speech, 1828, 228, 229; refuses to acquiesce in the emancipation of Roman Catholics; gives a reluctant consent to a passage to that effect in his speech; speech, 1829, 237; dismisses the Wellington ministry, but foreseeing the difficulties of forming another, he recalls it, 238; his interviews with Eldon, 240, 241; speech, 1830, 242; illness of; his death, June 26, 1830; his position in life and character, 243
- Germaine, lord George Sackville; present at Minden; unable to understand prince Ferdinand's messages; tried by court martial; declared unfit for any military post, vi. 236; secretary of state, 1776-1782, 360, 465; approves of Cornwallis's severity in America, 423; refuses to sign any treaty giving independence to America; retires from office; created a peer, 434
- Germanus, the arrival of, in Britain, about 449, and his suppression of the Pelagian heresy, i. 60
- Gertruydenberg taken by Dumouriez, 1793, vii. 271
- Ghent surrenders to Marlborough, 1706, v. 310; to the French, 1708, 335; retaken by the Allies, 338; pacification of, Nov. 8, 1576, 385; peace of, Dec. 24, 1814, vii. 581; viii. 1; it concludes the war with America, 19
- Ghorka war, 1814, 1815, viii. 215
- Ghuznee, siege and capture of, by the British, 1839, viii. 452, 453; recapture, 459
- Gibbon, inconsistencies of the account given by Gildas the Britons after the departure of the Romans, pointed out by, 58; a member of parliament, 1774, vi. 343; describes a scene in the House of Commons, *ib.*; his experience of club life in London, vii. 104
- Gibbons, G., statue of Charles II. at Windsor Castle by, iv. 355
- Gibbs, architect of St. Martin's in the Fields, v. 457
- Gibbs, counsel for Hardy, 1794, vii. 301
- Gibraltar taken by Rooke and Darmstadt, Aug. 3, 1704, v. 291; besieged by the Spaniards ineffectually, 1727, vi. 55, 56; and again, 1779-82, 410, 451-4, 456; siege ended by the peace, 457
- Gibson, proceedings against, for obstructing a scrutiny into an election, 1751, vi. 186
- Gifford, William, supports the "Anti-Jacobin," vii. 345; destroys the Della Cruscan school by his "Baviad" and "Mæviad," viii. 117; edits the "Quarterly Review," 127, 128
- Gilbert, John, aids in constructing the Bridgewater Canal, vii. 41
- Gildas the historian, inconsistencies in the account of the Britons, given by, i. 58
- Gin act, 1736, vi. 78, 79
- Ginkell, earl of Athlone; captures Athlone, June 30, 1691, v. 127; defeats the Irish, under St. Ruth, at the battle of Aghrim, July 12, 128; takes Limerick, and quells all opposition to William's cause, *ib.*; accompanies William in his campaign of 1695; 178 *et seq.*
- Girondins, a French political party, vii. 205; obtains the administration of affairs, 218; dismissed from power, 220; they desire a Republic, 224; their power and policy, 233, 234; they vote the abolition of royalty, 234; and the death of the king, 251; insurrection against them, 277, 278; its political existence extinguished, 278; their triumph in the provinces, 284
- Girtin, Thomas, his water-colour paintings, viii. 155
- Gladsmuir. See Preston Pans.
- Gladstone, W. E., remarks of, on the opium war, viii. 445, 446; colonial secretary, 535
- Glass, duty on; glass houses in Defoe's time, v. 18, 19; reduction of the duty on, 1831, viii. 271; and repeal, 1845; important results consequent thereon, 525, 526
- Glencoe: dislike of lord Breadalbane towards the MacDonalds of, v. 133; tardy submission of the chief Maclean to William's government,

- 134; letters of Dalrymple concerning the extirpation of the tribe of, 136; captain Campbell despatched to, with a troop of soldiers, 137; description of the glen; treacherous behaviour of Campbell, 138; perpetration of the massacre, Feb. 13, 1692, 139; inquiries are made into the massacre, 140; but no one is punished but Dalrymple, who is merely dismissed from his secretaryship, and Breadalbane who is imprisoned for a short time, and then pardoned, 141
- Glendower, Owen, heads a revolt of the Welsh against Henry IV. ii. 42; is declared prince of Wales, *ib.*; repulses the army of sir Edmund Mortimer, *ib.*; and that of the king, 43; concludes a treaty with, and receives assistance from France, 50; successful resistance of, *ib.*; is exempted from the general pardon of Henry IV. to the Welsh in 1411, 51; uncertain time of the death of, *ib.*
- Gloucester, Humphrey, duke of, appointed joint protector of Henry VI. with the duke of Bedford, ii. 76; marries Jacqueline of Hainault and quarrels with the duke of Burgundy, 78; the pope declares the marriage void, *ib.*; marries Eleanor Cobham, *ib.*; feuds between Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, *ib.*; continued struggle with Beaufort for predominance in the council, 93; his wife accused of sorcery, *ib.*; trial of the duchess with Bolingbroke and Southwell for sorcery and conspiracy, in 1440, 94; they are found guilty, the duchess imprisoned for life and Bolingbroke executed, 95; is arrested for high treason, and found dead in his bed on Feb. 28, 1447, 96
- Gloucester, duke of, son of princess Anne, died at Windsor, July 30, 1700; system upon which his education was pursued, v. 240
- Gloucester, William, duke of; George III.'s brother; born 1743; married Lady Waldegrave privately, 1766, vi. 330
- Glynn, serjeant, counsel for Wilkes, 1763, vi. 262; elected M.P. for Middlesex, 1769, 296
- Goddard, General, takes Ahmedabad and Bassein, vii. 129
- Goderich, F. J. Robinson, viscount; treasurer of the navy and president of the board of trade, viii. 158; chancellor of the exchequer; his sanguine views of the state of the country, 1825, 196; secretary of state for war and the colonies, 210; placed at the head of the government, 1827, 224; unable to reconcile Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson, he resigns, Jan. 9, 1828, 227; colonial secretary, 267; lord privy seal and earl of Ripon, 1833, 324; resigns, 1834, 344
- Godiva of Coventry, story of, i. 175
- Godolphin, lord, betrays the Brest expedition to James, v. 172; implicated by Fenwick with holding treasonous correspondence with James II., 197; made first commissioner of the treasury, 1701, 244; obtains a high place among queen Anne's councillors, 1702, 259; he calls the Whigs into public service, giving them the places formerly possessed by the Tories, 289; joins Marlborough in insisting on Harley's dismissal from office, 1708, 335; has to struggle for office in opposition to Harley, 349; Harley obtaining the upperhand, Godolphin is dismissed from office, 1710, 363
- Godoy, prince of Algarves; a favourite at the Spanish court, vii. 495; his schemes against the royal family, 497, 498; seized by the French, 498
- Godwin, earl, induces Alfred, son of Ethelred, to land in England to oppose king Harold, and betrays him, i. 161; importance of, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, 162; his daughter Edith is married to Edward, *ib.*; patriotism of, 163; origin and rise of, *ib.*; refuses to punish arbitrarily the men of Dover for the riot against earl Eustace, 166; is banished with his sons, Sweyn and Harold, *ib.*; is recalled, and the Anglo-Saxon party triumphs, 170; dies, *ib.*; his death a public calamity, 171
- Godwin, his improbable proposal to Canning, viii. 317
- Goethe served in the German army in the campaign of 1792, vii. 235
- Gohier, a member of the French Directory, vii. 383; imprisoned in the Luxembourg, 384
- Goldsmith, Oliver, his history of England published, 1771, vi. 158; asserts that the Marriage Act had impeded marriages, 194
- Goodman, concerned in the Assassination plot, v. 188; implicates Fenwick with plotting against William, 196; tampered with, 197
- Goodwin helps to suppress the Derbyshire insurrection, 1817, viii. 83
- Gordon, duke of, holds Edinburgh castle in favour of James II., v. 88; refuses to fire on the town at the instigation of some partizans of James II., 90; the castle is surrendered by him, 93
- Gordon, lord George, president of the Protestant Association; his fanaticism against the Papists; assembles 60,000 of his adherents at St. George's-fields; marches to Parliament, and presents his petition to repeal the act passed in favour of Roman Catholics, 1780, vi. 406, 407; from this resulted the "Gordon" riots, 408-410; committed to the Tower; tried and acquitted, 410
- Goree surrendered to the British, 1758, vi. 232, 233
- Gortz, baron, plans an insurrection in England, vi. 29
- Gospel Propagation Society established 1701, v. 60
- Gothic architecture and architects, 1784-1820, viii. 141, 142, 145
- Gough, sir Hugh, general; commands the British land forces in China, viii. 447; attacks Canton, 447, 448; defeats the Mahrattas at the battle of Maharajpooor, 1843, 511; advances to relieve Ferozpoor, 544; with sir H. Hardinge gains the battle of Ferozeshah, 544, 545; wins the battle of Sobraon, 545
- Goulburn, Henry, a British commissioner for concluding the peace of Ghent, viii. 19; chancellor of the exchequer, 264; secretary of state, 354; his motion on the London university, 357; his free-trade financial propositions, 437
- Gower, characteristics of his poetry, ii. 12
- Gower, earl, British minister at Paris, vii. 183; recalled Aug. 1792, 227
- Græme, colonel, employed to report on the marriageable princesses for George III. vi. 247
- Grafton, duke of, killed in attacking Cork, Oct. 9, 1690, v. 119
- Grafton, A. H. Fitzroy, duke of, visits Wilkes in the Tower, v. 262; secretary of state, 1765, vi. 278; resigns his office on account of Rock-

- ingham's weak administration, 1766, 284; appointed first lord of the treasury in Chatham's ministry, 1766, 285; becomes the real minister during Chatham's illness, 287; agonized by "Junius" attacks, 296; divorced from his wife; marries the duchess of Bedford's niece, 299; resigns Jan. 28, 1770, 305; accuses Hillsborough of suppressing some of the council minutes, 309, 310; first lord of the treasury, Aug. 2, 1766 to Sept. 12, 1767; Dec. 1, 1767 to Feb. 1770, 321; resigns his office of privy seal, 1775, 359
- Graham, general, wins the battle of Barroasa, 1811, vii. 538; captures San Sebastian, 566
- Graham, sir James, first lord of the admiralty, 1830, viii. 267; helps to prepare the parliamentary reform bill, 270; resigns his office, 1834, 344; declines joining Peel's ministry in 1834, 353; his motion against the Queen's advisers, 443, 445; introduces his bill for regulating labour in factories; compelled to withdraw his education clauses, 515; debate on the bill, 515, 516; ultimately passed, 516
- Grammont, duke de, his conduct at Dettingen, 1743, vi. 111; falls at Fontenoy, 1745, 114
- Granada ceded to England, 1782, vi. 458
- Granby, marquis of, second in command at Minden, 1759, vi. 236; commands the British in the campaign of 1761, 250; commander-in-chief; resigns, 1770, 304
- Grand Alliance formed by William, v. 250
- Grandval plans a design for assassinating William, v. 151, 152; tried by court-martial; executed, 154
- Grant, Charles, secretary for Ireland, viii. 158; joins the Wellington ministry, 228; resigns, 1828, 234; president of the board of control, 267
- Grant, R., moves for a regency, 1830, viii. 246; judge advocate general, 267
- Grantham, lord, secretary of state, 1782, vi. 450, 469
- Granville, earl. See Carteret.
- Grattan, Henry, champion of Irish liberty; his character, vi. 444; claims free trade and legislative independence as his country's right; supports the Roman Catholic relief bill, 446; fails twice in carrying his declaration of rights, 446; congratulates Ireland in having acquired her freedom; repeal of statute of George I. asserting the dependence of Ireland, 447; national acknowledgment to, 448; speech on parliamentary reform, vii. 361, 362; brings in a bill for repealing catholic disqualification, 362; states that he will not attend the House of Commons, 364; returned member for Wicklow, Jan. 1800; his orations against the Union, 373-375; duels with Mr. Corry, 373, 374; his last speech in favour of Catholic emancipation, viii. 102, 103; death of, May 14, 1820, 103
- Graves, admiral, his encounter with de Grasse, 1781, vi. 426
- Gray, his account of the trial of the rebel lords, 1746, vi. 173, 174; his description of Westmoreland, vii. 31
- Green, captain, prosecuted and executed for the supposed murder of captain Drummond, 1705, v. 313
- Green, attacked by rioters, 1768; tried for murder; acquitted, vi. 290, 291
- Greene, president of an American judicial court; refuses to release or exchange André, vi. 416
- Greene, general, commands the American army in Washington's absence, vi. 413; defeated at Guilford, 1781; compels the Britishers to fall back, 424; defeated at Camden, 425
- Greenwich Hospital, William determines to erect, v. 174, 175
- Gregg, a clerk of Harley's; he is detected in a correspondence with the French secretary of state; he is tried, convicted, and executed, v. 335
- Gregory, Pope, and the Anglo-Saxon slaves in Rome, Bede's story of, i. 64
- Grenada captured by the British, 1763, vi. 255
- Grenville, George, opposes Pitt's proposal to war with Spain, vi. 251; leader of the House of Commons, and treasurer of the navy, 253; opposes Pitt's German policy, *ib.*; secretary of state, 260; first lord of the treasury; chancellor of the exchequer, 1763; his ministry, 261; moves that duties be laid on articles of American commerce; a stamp duty on paper, and others, 271; his stamp act is passed, 1765, 272; and rouses the American spirit, 273, 274; refuses to put the princess dowager's name in the Regency bill; the king contemplates dismissing him, 276; but is obliged to retain him, 277; defends his stamp act against Pitt's oratory, 279; mobbed, 284; opposes Wilkes' expulsion from parliament; his emotion, 292, 293; his last speech in parliament; died Nov. 1770, 313; first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, 1763-5; secretary of state, 1762, 321
- Grenville, lady Hester. See Chatham, vi. 199, 252
- Grenville, sir Richard, heroic conduct of, in a naval fight with the Spaniards, iii. 261
- Grenville, Thomas, sent to negotiate with Franklin, 1782; returns from Paris, vi. 450; negotiates at Vienna, 1794, vii. 311; first lord of the admiralty, 1807, 483; plans an expedition to the Dardanelles, *ib.*; its failure, 484
- Grenville, lord W. W., secretary of state; his correspondence with Chauvelin, vii. 215, 249, 250; remonstrates against the aggressive measures adopted by France, 239; brings forward a Treasonable Attempts bill, 323; it is passed, 324; his hostile reply to Bonaparte's letter to the king, Jan. 1800, 388; opinion of statesmen on it, 389; his speech against Bonaparte, 390; succeeded as foreign secretary by lord Howkesbury, 1801, 401; administration of Fox and, 1806, 463, 464; first lord of the treasury, 464; weakness of his ministry after Fox's death, 478; they deliver up the seals of office, March 25, 1807, *ib.*; retires to Dropmore, viii. 177
- Grey, Charles, earl, his efforts in favour of reform in the representation of the people, 1792, vii. 213, 214; moves an address to the king to postpone the Irish Union, 374; first lord of the admiralty, 1806, 464; advocates resistance against Napoleon, 478; his remarks on the negotiations with France, 470; Dissenters' enlistment bill; the king opposes it, 479; applied to to form a government, 1812, 542; foreign secretary, 1806, 577; his speech against lord Sidmouth's unconstitutional conduct in the case of trials for libel, viii. 84

- 85; his attacks upon Canning; he charges him with having pledged himself not to press the Catholic question, 206; approves of the ready recognition of the New Orleans French government by parliament, 255; declares the necessity of reform in parliament, 262; formation of his ministry, 265, 266; principles of his government, 266; members of his ministry, 267; with lord Brougham he urges the king to dissolve parliament on the defeat of his ministry on the reform question, 276, 277; his speech explanatory of the proposed reform bill, 1831, 281; his reply to the principal arguments against the bill, 283; resists the entreaties of his friends to obtain the passage of the reform bill by the creation of peers, 294; replies to lord Lyndhurst's speech, 295; upon the king refusing to create peers his ministry resigns, 296; Wellington failing to form an administration, he is recalled; obtains the king's consent to the creation of peers; power not exercised, 299; passing of the reform bills, 300; introduces the coercion bill for Ireland, which is passed, 1833, 321, 323, 324; defends the commission for inquiring into the state of the Irish church against unjust imputations, 344; overpowered by his feelings in telling the Lords of his resignation, 1834, 345; cause of his resignation, 345, 346; great banquet to, at Edinburgh, 347, 348
- Grey, lady Jane, married to lord Guilford Dudley, proclaimed queen by Northumberland, June 10, 1653, iii. 51; conversation of, in prison respecting Northumberland's apostasy, 55; with her husband, lord Guilford Dudley, pleads guilty to the charge of high treason, 59; execution of both, and her remarkable fortitude, 66; memorial of, in the Beauchamp tower, *ib.*
- Griffiths, admiral, his accounts of the "La Vengeur's" story, vii. 307
- Grimaldi, marquis of; Spanish ambassador in France; signs the "Family compact," vi. 251
- Grosley, his remarks on England and Londoners, vii. 13
- Gross-Beeren, battle of, Aug. 23, 1813, vii. 563
- Erete advocates the ballot principle, viii. 335; supports the poor law amendment bill, 341, 342; and the Irish church appropriation motion, 344
- Grouchy appointed to watch Blücher at Waterloo, viii. 30
- Grumbkow, general, sent on a mission to Charles of Sweden, to whom he gives an account of Marlborough, v. 331
- Guadaloupe capitulated to the English, 1759, vi. 236
- Guest, general, governor of Edinburgh castle, 1745; the young pretender prevents food from going in; the governor fires upon the town; the prince revokes his order, vi. 132
- Guickwar, a Mahratta chieftain, takes no part against the British, vii. 455
- Guilds of trade, oppressions exercised by, i. 321
- Guiseard, marquis de, his early career; employed as a French spy in England; has a meeting with the queen; he is arrested March 8, 1711, his correspondence with France having been detected; he is taken before the council, where he stabs Harley with a pen-knife; he is killed by the councillors, v. 372
- Guizot, M., opinion of, as to the application of the Britons for Roman aid against the Piets and Scots, i. 53; his remarks on Canning's foreign policy, viii. 191; joins in protesting against the royal decrees of 1830, 251. 252; description of the meeting of Lafayette and the duke of Orleans; made minister of the interior, 255; at the head of the cabinet, 1832, 1836, 374; his official revelations respecting Louis Napoleon's enterprise, 375; his picture of English society, 402, 403; appointed to keep a watch over prince Napoleon's movements, 431; his return to England; satisfied of the goodwill of the natives to France, 433; with Soult succeeds Thiers in the ministry, 435; describes the difficulties of Peel's position, 441; his description of a visit to Westminster Abbey with Macaulay 470, 471; his Spanish marriage plans, 554, his conduct vindicated, 555; resigns his post as minister, 557
- Gunpowder plot. See James I.
- Guntzburg, battle at, 1805, vii. 444
- Gustavus III. of Sweden, succeeds Adolphus Frederic, 1771, vi. 465; agrees to subsidize an army to Spain, vii. 207; shot by Ankerstroem, March 6, 1792, 217
- Guy, an M.P. and secretary to the treasury; sent to the Tower for being bribed, v. 177
- Gwalior captured by the British, vii. 129; again occupied by them, viii. 511
- Gwyn, revives the idea of an academy of painting, vii. 68; his bridges, 82
- Gyllenberg, count, the Swedish envoy in London; arrested for intriguing to raise a rebellion in England, vi. 29
- HABEAS Corpus act passed in 1679, iv. 344; suspended, 1689, v. 76, 77; 1695, 185; 1722, vi. 48; 1794, vii. 300; 1800, 391; 1817, viii. 80; a second time in 1817, 84; the suspension repealed, 1818, 96
- Hadrian visits Britain, A.D. 120, and builds Hadrian's wall, i. 29, 30; character of, by Gibbon, *ib.*
- Hague, congress at the, 1691, v. 122-124; treaty of the, May 21, 1659, 387; triple alliance of the, January 4, 1717, 389
- Haileybury college, built by Wilkins, viii. 145
- Halidon Hill, battle of, July 19, 1333, i. 451
- Halifax, Charles Montague, earl of, forms part of William's new ministry in, 1693; his eloquence, v. 169; chancellor of the exchequer, 184; instrumental in establishing the standard of money, 1696, 196; first lord of the treasury, 1697, 198; impeached for advising a partition treaty, 246; loses his place in the privy council on Anne's accession, 1702, 259; votes an inquiry into the alleged danger of the Church, 306; patron of letters, 414, 415
- Halifax, George Savile, earl of, parliament endeavours to find some charge against him, v. 98
- Halifax, earl of, secretary of state, 1763-1765, vi. 261, 321; proceedings against, for arresting Wilkes and Wood, 268
- Hall, Robert, character of his preaching, viii. 124
- Hallam, Henry, character of his historical writings, viii. 472
- Italic, treaty of, 1610, v. 385; taken by the Bavarians, 1809, vii. 516

- Hamburg, peace of, May 22, 1762, vi. 467
- Hamilton, duke of. See Long Parliament, and Cromwell, Oliver.
- Hamilton, lieutenant-colonel, his share in the Glencoe massacre, v. 137
- Hamilton, duke of, president of the Scottish convention of estates, v. 88; alleged with others to have secreted soldiers in cellars and other places, *ib.*; causes the convention doors to be locked, 89; authorised by William, in 1693, to investigate the massacre of Glencoe, but the duke dying, the inquiry was not proceeded with till 1695, 140
- Hamilton, duke of; he disperses the Cameronians assembled to oppose the union, v. 327; killed in a duel with lord Mohun, 1712, 427
- Hamilton, Gerard, his speech in favour of the subsidies, 1755; from which he is known as single speech Hamilton, vi. 209
- Hamilton, John, governor of Carlisle; surrenders to the duke of Cumberland, 1745, vi. 159
- Hamilton, lady, aids Nelson at Naples; recommended to the national gratitude, vii. 355
- Hamilton, Richard, his baseness and treachery, v. 80; his faithlessness causes the son of sir W. Temple, who had pledged to his being faithful, to drown himself in the Thames, *ib.*; placed at the head of troops for bringing the Ulster protestants to subjection, 82; succeeds Maumont as commander of James II.'s forces, 84; is superseded by Rosen, *ib.*; leads the Irish cavalry at the battle of the Boyne, 108; is taken prisoner, 109
- Hampden, John, refuses in 1636, to pay the illegal assessment of Ship Money, iii. 421; contests the right in the Exchequer Court, 422; difference of the judges, but ultimate decision against him, *ib.*; increased importance of, after the trial, 423; sent as commissioner to attend the king on his visit to Scotland in 1641, 462; attempted to be seized by the king on Jan. 3, 1642, 475; is recalled when about to attack the royal army, iv. 10; takes an active part in the siege of Reading, and urges Essex to attack Oxford, 15; and to concentrate his forces, 16; is wounded at Chalgrove Field, *ib.*; dies June, 1643, *ib.*; character of, described by Clarendon, 17
- Hampden clubs for parliamentary reform, viii. 74, 75
- Hanau, battle of, 1813, vii. 565
- Hancock, John, proscribed by Gage, vi. 355
- Handel, statue of, by Roubiliac, v. 461
- Hanover, George, elector of. See George I.
- Hanover, treaty of, September 3, 1725, v. 390; vi. 55
- Hansard and Stockdale, case of, viii. 427
- Hanway, Jonas, his philanthropy; the first to use an umbrella in London, vii. 119
- Harcourt, sir S., conducts Sacheverel's defence, 1710, v. 353; lord chancellor, 368; his motions at Oxford's trial, vi. 30
- Harcourt, colonel, commands the Madras army, vii. 456
- Hardicanute, accession of, in 1039, i. 161; tyranny, dissoluteness, and death of, in 1042, *ib.*
- Hardinge, sir Henry, secretary at war, 1828, viii. 235; secretary for Ireland, 354; governor-general of India, 511, 544; his courtesy towards sir H. Gough, 544; shares with him the gaining of the Ferozeshah victory, 544, 545
- Hardware trade, *temp.* William and Anne, v. 17
- Hardwick, architect of Marylebone church, viii. 146
- Hardwicke, Philip York, earl of, chancellor 1737-1756, vi. 193, 320; introduces the Marriage bill, 1753, vi. 193; retires from his office, 1756, 218; negotiates with Newcastle and Pitt, 222; prepares George III.'s first speech in parliament, 244; speech on the independence of the judges, 1761, 246
- Hardy, sir C., commands a fleet; tactics, vi. 396, 397
- Hardy, captain, present at the battle of Copenhagen, vii. 403; and at Nelson's death at Trafalgar, 1805, 448
- Hardy, Thomas, trial of, for high treason, October, 1794, vii. 301; Erskine's defence, 301, 302; acquittal of, 302
- Hare, one of the conspirators against William's life, 1696, v. 187
- Hargreaves, James, completes his spinning-jenny, 1767, vii. 45; how he discovered it, 45, 46; mobbed and ill-used, 46
- Harlay, president of the French parliament, fails in obtaining peace from the Dutch, v. 176, 177; represents France at the Ryawick congress, 198
- Harley. See Oxford, earl of.
- Harlow, his painting, viii. 152, 153
- Harold succeeds Canute as king of Mercia and Northumbria, in 1035, i. 160; seduces Alfred, son of Ethelred, to land in England, and puts him to death, 161; death of, in 1039, *ib.*
- Harold, son of earl Godwin, banished with his father, i. 166; they return, and are favourably received by the inhabitants of London and Southwark, 170; restored to their dignities and possessions by the Witan, *ib.*; conduct and character of, during the reign of Edward, 172; sets out for Normandy, but is wrecked, made a prisoner by the earl of Ponthieu, but released by the interference of William of Normandy, 172, 173; assists William in his war against the duke of Brittany, *ib.*; swears to support William in his claims to the throne of England, 174; returns to England, and suppresses an insurrection in Northumbria, 175; marries, 176; the crown of England bestowed on him by the Witan in Sept. 1066, *ib.*; defeats his brother Tostig and the Norwegians, 180; is himself defeated and slain at Hastings in Oct. 1066, 181; buried at Waltham Abbey, 183
- Harrington, earl of, English ambassador at Spain, vi. 31
- Harris. See Malmesbury, earl of.
- Harris conspired against William's life, 1696, v. 187
- Harris, general, commands an Indian army; enters the Mysore territory, vii. 378
- Harrison improves the spinning wheel, vii. 45
- Harrison arrested at a Reform meeting, 1819, viii. 104
- Harrowby, earl of, foreign secretary of state, 1804, vii. 577; president of the council, viii. 158, 161; Cato-street conspiracy revealed to, by Hidon and Dwyer, 161; succeeded as pr-

- ident by the duke of Portland, 210; his partial advocacy of the Reform bill of 1832, 294, 295
- Harwich, a great port of the eastern coast; vicissitudes of its condition in the 18th century, v. 33
- Hastings, battle of, Oct. 13, 1066, i. 181; obstinate resistance of the Saxons at, 131.
- Hastings, marquis of. See Moira, lord.
- Hastings, Warren, first governor-general of India, vi. 335; vii. 124; previous career and conduct as governor of Bengal; nefarious bargains with the nabob of Oude, 124, 125; opposition towards, by the Indian council, 126; accused upon a charge of corruption by Nuncomar and others, *ib.*; disputes with Francis; Clavering illegally assumes the governor-generalship on the false announcement of his having resigned, 127, 128; reappointed at the expiration of his five years' term, 128; makes war against the Mahrattas, 129; duels with Francis, and quarrels with Impey, 130; pressed for money, 131; lays Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares, under heavy contributions; arrests him for neglect of payment, 132; a native insurrection compels him to release the rajah and quit the city; his heavy exactions from the nabobs and begums of Oude, 133, 134; his defence of his conduct in this case, 134; concludes peace with Tippoo Saib; his administration ceases, 1785, *ib.*; acquitted of all the charges brought against him, 1794, 318; examined before a committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, 1813, viii. 215
- Haughton, John, prior of the Charter House, with his brethren, refuses to take the oath of supremacy to Henry VIII., ii. 359; he is tried and executed, *ib.*
- Havannah, conquest of the, 1762, vi. 255, 256
- Haversham, lord, moves for inviting the princess Sophia to England, v. 306; his remarks on the Scotch, 314; denounces the naval miscarriages of 1707, 333
- Havre, bombarded by the British, 1694, v. 172, 173
- Hawke, admiral, sir E., defeats the French fleet off Belle Isle, Oct. 14, 1747, vi. 179; captures some French merchantmen, 1755, 208; supersedes Byng in the command of the fleet sent against the French, 1756, 213; sent out on an expedition against Rochefort; quarrels with Mordaunt, and nothing is done, 229; driven, by stormy weather, from before Brest, 239; attacks the French fleet in Quiberon Bay, Sept. 20, 1759, and gains a victory; intrepid conduct in the battle, 240
- Hawkesbury, lord. See Liverpool, earl of.
- Hawkesmoor, his architectural works, v. 456, 457
- Hawley, general, left in command of the English troops in Scotland by the duke of Cumberland, 1745, vi. 159; marches through Linlithgow to Falkirk; his contempt for the "undisciplined rabble," 160; he engages with them at Falkirk, Jan. 17, 1746; and is disgracefully defeated, 161; his retreat; causes several officers and soldiers to be tried by court-martial; two soldiers are shot, 162
- Hay, James, earl of Carlisle, lavish extravagance of king James towards, iii. 341; Clarendon's character of, *ib.*
- Hayden, count de, a Russian rear-admiral; present at the battle of Navarino, 1827, viii. 226, 227
- Haydon, his paintings, viii. 152
- Hazlitt, William, character of his essays, viii. 128, 129
- Head, sir Francis, governor of Canada; orders the "Caroline" to be burnt; repels the insurgents attacking Toronto, viii. 407
- Healey, Joseph, a reformer; tried and imprisoned, 1820, viii. 164
- Hearth money, v. 2, 3
- Hemskerck, Dutch painter; patronised by William III., v. 463
- Hengist and Horsa, landing of, in England, A.D. 449, i. 61
- Henley. See Northington.
- Henrietta Maria, advice of, to Charles, concerning Rupert, iv. 2; letter of, to Charles, *ib.*; lands at Burlington with an army, 12; letter of, to Charles, *ib.*; warning of, to her husband, 14; joins him, 18; her character, 19; enters Stratford-upon-Avon, and sleeps in Shakspeare's house, *ib.*; meets Charles on his first battle-field, *ib.*; conduct of, 27; goes to Exeter, 33; gives birth to a princess there, while being besieged by Essex, 34; flies to France, 36; condition of, at the Louvre, 142
- Henriot, death of, 1794, vii. 310
- Henry of Huntingdon, his account of the invasion of the Northmen or Danes, i. 78
- Henry, surnamed Beau-Clerc, knighted in 1086, i. 217; is bequeathed 5000 pounds of silver by his father, 218; assists his brother, duke Robert, at the siege of Rouen, and kills Conan, 222; becomes possessed of Mount St. Michael, and maintains a siege against its two brothers, 223; hastens to England and seizes on the crown treasures on the death of his brother William in 1100, 233; is crown d 234; publishes a charter of liberties, *ib.*; finds the necessity of English support against the Norman barons, 235; reforms effected by, *ib.*; marriage of, with Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling, 236; induces his brother Robert to relinquish his claim to the crown, to establish which he had invaded England, 237; subdues many of the disaffected barons, 238; quarrels with his brother for protecting Robert de Belèsme, *ib.*; fosters the disaffection of the barons in Normandy against Robert, 239; invades Normandy in 1105, *ib.*; wins the battle of Tenchebrai, and takes Robert prisoner, 240; the son of Robert is patronised by Louis of France, a war takes place, and the battle of Noyon is fought in 1119, 241; devastation of Normandy, 242; death of Matilda in 1118, *ib.*; marriage of his son William the Atheling, *ib.*; inhumanity of, towards the children of his natural daughter Juliana, wife of Eustace de Breteuil, 243; wreck of the Blanche-Nef, and the death of his son William, *ib.*; second marriage of Henry in 1121 with Adelaide, 244; declares his daughter Matilda, the widow of the emperor of Germany, his heir, in 1126, *ib.*; dies on Nov. 30, 1135, 246
- Henry II., born in 1133, i. 245, 268; early career and marriage of, 268; is acknowledged successor to Stephen, 269; crowned on Dec. 19, 1154, 270; beneficial vigour of, in the establishment of order, 271; makes Thomas

à Becket chancellor and his chief adviser in 1157, 273; character of, 274; sends Becket as ambassador to France, to contract a marriage between his eldest son and a daughter of the French king, 275; declines to surrender Maine and Anjou to his brother Geoffrey, and gives him a pension instead, 276; compels Malcolm of Scotland to surrender Cumberland and Northumberland, *ib.*; invades Wales, and is unsuccessful, 277; continental wars of, 279; creates Becket archbishop of Canterbury, 280; quarrels with him as to his claim for the resumption of church property, 283; state of secular law and establishment of law courts, 283, 284; evils of the clerical exemption from the secular law, 285; Constitutions of Clarendon passed to enforce the secular law, 286, 287; the pope refuses to confirm them, 287; Becket supports the pope's decision, is arraigned as a traitor, is found guilty, 288; and flies from England, 289; Henry convenes a synod at Oxford in 1166, which orders the persecution of heretics, 290; meets Becket at Touraine in 1170, and a hollow peace is effected, 291; Becket returns to England and is murdered, 292, 293; contrast of the characters of Henry and Becket, 294; first landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland in 1169, 296; commands Strongbow to return to England, who obeys, 297; goes himself to Ireland, and receives homage as feudal superior, 298; swears his innocence of Becket's murder before the pope's legate, and is absolved, *ib.*; facts of the story of Rosamund Clifford, 299; rebellion of his sons, *ib.*; imprisons his wife Eleanor, *ib.*; insurrection in England repressed, 300; William king of Scotland invades England, *ib.*; and is taken prisoner, 301; is liberated on doing homage to Henry, *ib.*; Henry does penance at the tomb of Becket, *ib.*; is reconciled to his eldest son, *ib.*; important reforms in the administration of justice effected by, 302; mission from Jerusalem in 1185 to urge him to undertake its relief, 303; resolves to take the cross in 1188, 304; his sons Richard and John join the king of France in a war against him, *ib.*; dies on July 6th, 1189, *ib.*

Henry III. succeeds his father John on Oct. 18, 1216, when only ten years old, and is crowned at Gloucester, Oct. 28, i. 356; the battle of Lincoln gained against the French army of prince Louis, 357; the regent Pembroke dies in 1219, and is succeeded by Hubert de Burgh, 358; redress of grievances obtained by the right preserved by the people to grant supplies, 359; the Charters confirmed for a third time in 1225 in order to obtain supplies, *ib.*; declares himself of age in 1227, and asserts his right to govern of his "own free will," *ib.*; denial of this doctrine by one of his judges, 360; quarrels with De Burgh, but together with the pope continues his exactions on the people, 361; satirical and political songs, 362; marries Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, in 1236, *ib.*; extortions of, 362, 363; tyrannical exercise of the privilege of purveyance, 363; sale of justice by, *ib.*; oppressions on the Londoners by, 364; disaffection occasioned, 365; repeated violation of the Charters by, 366; swears again to observe them,

367; ill success of his foreign enterprises, *ib.*; condition of the nation under, 368; value of money, and fluctuating prices of provisions in the reign of, 369; taxation of the industry of the people by, and resistance made to by the clergy, 370; famine in 1253, 371; parliament meets at Westminster, and demands the appointment of a commission, *ib.*; the 'Provisions of Oxford,' 372; obtains a dispensation from the pope to violate them, *ib.*; a civil war takes place headed by Simon de Montfort, 373; prince Edward commands for his father against the barons, *ib.*; taken prisoner at the battle of Lewes, 374; the queen collects troops abroad, but does not attempt to land in England, 375; burgesses summoned to parliament in 1264, by Simon de Montfort, *ib.*; released by the issue of the battle of Evesham, in which De Montfort is slain, 376; Award of Kenilworth, and efforts of the parliament to restore tranquillity, 378; continued resistance of Simon de Montfort the younger, *ib.*; dies, Nov. 16, 1272, 381

Henry IV. [see Hereford, duke of] ascends the throne, Sept. 30, 1399, ii. 37; confederacy of nobles against, 41; revolt of the Welsh under Owen Glendower against, 42; is repulsed by Glendower, 43; accused of the murder of Richard II., *ib.*; persecutes the followers of Wycliffe, 44; statute 'de heretico comburendo' passed for the suppression of the Lollards, 45; burning William Salter, *ib.*; the Commons pray for repeal of the statute, and he rejects the prayer, 46; signs a warrant for burning John Badby, *ib.*; France and Scotland refuse to acknowledge him as king, *ib.*; war with Scotland, and battle of Hemildon Hill on Sept. 14, 1402, 47; revolt of the Percies against, and its probable causes, 48; battle of Hately Field at Shrewsbury, 48, 49; politic clemency of Henry, *ib.*; hostilities with France, 50; revolt of Archbishop Scrope and others, *ib.*; suppression of the revolt, and execution of Scrope and Nottingham, *ib.*; continued struggle of the Welsh under Owen Glendower, *ib.*; invades France, 51; dies, March 20, 1413, 52

Henry V. knighted by Richard II. in 1399, when eleven years old, ii. 34; commands in Wales against the insurgents in 1402, 42; joins his father to oppose the revolt of the Percies, 48; is wounded at the battle of Shrewsbury, 49; obtains a victory over the Welsh in 1405, 50; early character of, 51; made captain of Calais, 52; proclaimed king, March 21, 1413, 53; clemency of, *ib.*; alleged conspiracy of the Lollards, headed by sir John Oldcastle in 1414 against, 54; suppressed, and all the conspirators pardoned except Oldcastle and eleven others, 56; claims the crown of France and the restoration of the old English possessions, *ib.*; injustice of the demands, 56; preparations for the invasion of France, *ib.*; conspiracy of the earl of Cambridge, lord Scrope, and others against, 57; lands near Harfleur, Aug. 14, 1415, *ib.*; nature of the forces, *ib.*; siege of Harfleur, 58; sickness of the English army, *ib.*; march from Harfleur, 59; passage of the Somme, 60; description of Agincourt and its locality, 61; battle of Agincourt on Oct. 25, 1415, 62-64; rejoicings in London on arrival of the

news, 65; triumphant entry of, into London, 66; the factions in France a cause of his success, 67; second expedition against France in 1417, *ib.*; takes Caen, *ib.*; besieges Rouen, 69; it surrenders after severe famine, 70; ineffectual conferences at Meulan, *ib.*; the duke of Burgundy murdered at an interview with the Dauphin at Montreuil, 71; concludes a treaty with Philip, the young duke of Burgundy, *ib.*; and the treaty of Troyes with Charles VI. on May 21, 1420, by which he was to marry Katherine and be recognised as heir to the crown on the death of Charles, *ib.*; Henry and his queen return to England, 72; ill effects of his conquests on the condition of England, *ib.*; the duke of Clarence killed, 73; releases James I. of Scotland, who accompanies him in his expedition to France in 1421, *ib.*; besieges and takes Meaux, 74; dies, Aug. 31, 1422, 75; estimate of the character of, *ib.*

Henry VI., born Dec. 6, 1421, ii. 74; succeeds his father, Sept. 1, 1422, and the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester are appointed Protectors by the parliament, 76; Charles VI. of France dies, and Henry is proclaimed king, 77; victory of Verneuil gained by the duke of Bedford, *ib.*; tutelage of, under the earl of Warwick, 79; apparent severity of Warwick's discipline, 79, 80; siege of Orleans commenced, 82; Orleans is relieved by Jean of Arc, 85; is crowned king of France, at Paris, on Dec. 17, 1430, 91; death of the duke of Bedford, 92; continued disgraces and losses in France, *ib.*; marries Margaret of Anjou, and surrenders or loses all the possessions in France, 93; the duke of Suffolk takes the side of cardinal Beaufort against the duke of Gloucester, 95; Gloucester and Beaufort die, 96; rise of the house of York, 130; power of the duke of Suffolk, 131; impeachment and banishment of Suffolk, *ib.*; his murder, 132; insurrection of Jack Cade in 1450, *ib.*; other revolts in England, 134; unpopularity of Somerset, on account of his losses in France, *ib.*; Henry becomes imbecile, 135; intrigues of the queen and Somerset to secure their power, 136; the duke of York elected Protector by the peers, *ib.*; the king recovers his faculties, 137; selfishness of the barons, *ib.*; Somerset is released from arrest, and York superseded, *ib.*; York marches towards London, *ib.*; first battle of St. Albans, on May 22, 1455, and death of Somerset, 138; is conducted to London by York, 139; a parliament summoned, and York made Protector a second time, *ib.*; the parliament not revolutionary, but influenced by a desire to remove oppressive taxation, 140; the Protectorate superseded in 1456, 141; attempts to reconcile the Lancastrian and York factions, *ib.*; commencement of the Civil War, in 1459, 142; battle of Blore Heath, *ib.*; is taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton, in 1460, 143; a parliament assembled at Westminster, and York claims the crown, 144; the peers effect a compromise that York should succeed on Henry's death, *ib.*; the queen resists the compromise, and assembles an army, *ib.*; battle of Wakefield, and death of York, Dec. 31, 1460, 145; Margaret advances to London, *ib.*; defeats Warwick in the second battle of St. Albans, and recaptures the king, 146;

Henry is deposed by parliament, and Edward IV. proclaimed, March 4, 1461, 146; battle of Towton, 147, 148; attainted in parliament for the death of Richard, duke of York, 151; renewed attempt of queen Margaret, in 1462, repulsed, 152; story of her throwing herself and son on the protection of an outlaw, *ib.*; renewed attempt against Edward, and loss of the battle of Hexham, 153; the king is recaptured, and committed to the Tower, and Margaret retires to the Continent, 157; Margaret is reconciled to Warwick, 159; invades England with Warwick and Clarence, Edward is deserted, and Henry restored, 160; Warwick and Clarence appointed Protectors, 162; is taken prisoner at the battle of Barnet, and re-committed to the Tower, 165; queen Margaret lands at Weymouth, assembles forces, and is defeated at the battle of Tewkesbury, 166; she is taken prisoner, 167; death of Henry, in May, 1471, and doubts as to the duke of Gloucester having been his murderer, 168

Henry VII. (earl of Richmond) taken by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, to Brittany, after the battle of Tewkesbury, ii. 169; the duke of Buckingham and bishop Morton put themselves in communication with, prevails to their revolt against Richard III., 196; assembles soldiers for a landing in England, 197; is prevented by a storm, 198; leaves Brittany to avoid being delivered up to Richard, 202; receives some forces from the king of France, and lands at Milford Haven, Aug. 7, 1485, 204; battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22, 206; crowned on the field of Bosworth, 208; parliamentary title to the crown given him, 209; marries Elizabeth of York, 210; suitability of the character of, for his times, 211; aversion of, to the House of York, *ib.*; imprisons the earl of Warwick, son of George, duke of Clarence, 212; insurrection against, headed by Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be earl of Warwick, *ib.*; suppression of the insurrection at the battle of Stoke, on June 4, 1487, 213; alleged harsh treatment of the dowager queen Elizabeth, 214; exhibits the real earl of Warwick to the people, 215; timid foreign policy of, 216; allows France to annex Brittany, 217; insurrection in the northern counties on account of oppressive taxation, *ib.*; the earl of Northumberland killed, but the insurrection suppressed by the earl of Surrey, *ib.*; invades France, in 1492, and invests Boulogne, 218; concludes a hurried peace on receiving a large sum of money from Charles VIII., *ib.*; probable motives for the peace, 219; demands the surrender of Perkin Warbeck from the duke of Burgundy, but compliance is evaded, 223; execution of sir William Stanley, and others, for corresponding with Warbeck, 224; concludes a treaty with the duke of Burgundy, by which Warbeck is compelled to go to Scotland, 225; statute of treason passed providing that subjects are bound to serve the king *de facto*, *ib.*; employment of spies by, 226; letters of Bothwell to, describing the position of Warbeck in Scotland in 1496, 227; is attacked by Warbeck and James IV., but they are compelled to retreat, 229; insurrection in Cornwall against renewed taxation, *ib.*; suppressed, 230; concludes a truce with James IV., by which Warbeck is forced to leave Scotland, *ib.*

Warbeck lands in Cornwall, attacks Exeter, and is repulsed, 230; is deserted, and flies to sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey, *ib.*; his treatment of Warbeck after his surrender, 231; Warbeck attempts to escape, is retaken, and confined in the Tower, 231; exhibited to the public, and reads his confession, 232; the earl of Warwick accused of treason, and of joining in conspiracy with Warbeck, *ib.*; they are both executed, in Nov. 1499, 233; commits Edward de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to the Tower, 234; marries his eldest son, Arthur, to the princess Catherine of Arragon, in 1501, 235; account of the royal court, *ib.*, his fondness for jewels, 236; erection of his palace at Richmond, and chapel at Westminster, *ib.*; encouragement by, of Cabot and his sons, *ib.*; passion of, for wealth, 237; concludes a treaty with Scotland, and gives Margaret, his daughter, in marriage to James IV., in 1502, 238; his son Arthur dies, *ib.*; marries Arthur's widow to his next son, Henry, after obtaining the pope's dispensation, *ib.*; his queen Elizabeth dies, 239; seeks for an advantageous marriage for himself, *ib.*; dies on April 21, 1509, 240; extortions of Henry through the agency of Empson and Dudley, 240, 241; depression of the aristocracy by, 241; originates the Star-chamber court, 242; few parliaments held during his reign, 243; progress of maritime discovery in his reign, 249

Henry VIII. succeeds his father, April 22, 1509, ii. 257; Empson and Dudley convicted and executed for extortion, 258; marriage of, to Catherine of Arragon, 259; remarkable modification of the coronation oath by, *ib.*; skill of, in music, 260, 261; interferes in favour of pope Julius II. in a war against France, 262; revives the claim to the crown of France, 263; claims a feudal superiority over Scotland, *ib.*; retains his sister's legacy, in order to compel her husband, James IV. of Scotland, to abandon the French alliance, 264; an army sent to Spain to invade Guienne, *ib.*; Wolsey, the almoner, acts as war-minister, *ib.*; rise of Wolsey, 265; the army returns from Spain without effecting its object, *ib.*; naval warfare, and mutual ravages on the coasts of France and England, 266; despotic measures of, for the security of the coast, 267; expedition of, to France, in 1513, *ib.*; ostentatious display of magnificence, *ib.*; the emperor Maximilian takes military service under him, 268; wins the Battle of the Spurs, *ib.*; Teroouenne and Tournay surrender, *ib.*; war with Scotland, 270; battle of Flodden Field, on Sept. 9, 1513, and death of James IV. of Scotland, 271, 272; ravages on both sides of the Scottish border, 274; attack by the French on Brighton, *ib.*; peace with France, and marriage of the princess Mary to Louis XII., *ib.*; death of Louis, and accession of Francis, 275; Henry asserts the rights of the crown against the claims of the clergy, 278; desires to be chosen emperor, and sends Pace on a mission to Germany, 280; Henry and Francis meet in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 282-258; meets Charles V. at Grave-lines, 286; conviction and execution of John Stafford, duke of Buckingham, 287; increasing despotism and cruelty of, 288; writes a book against Luther, "On the Seven Sacraments,"

290; Leo X. bestows on him, in 1521. the title of "Defender of the Faith," *ib.*; concludes a league with Charles V. against Francis I., 291; arbitrary measures of, to raise money, 292; riot of the Londoners on "Evil May Day" against the Flemish traders, 293, 294; parliament summoned, in 1523, and earnest debate on the granting of a subsidy, 295, 296; opposes the endeavour of his sister Margaret to obtain a divorce, 298; Scotland is invaded to enforce the removal of the duke of Albany from the regency, 299; the earl of Surrey destroys Jedburgh, and ravages the borders, *ib.*; the duke of Suffolk sent with an army to France, in 1523, which devastates the country, but has no other success, 300; resistance of the people to taxes levied without the authority of parliament, 301, 302; insurrection in Suffolk occasioned by, 302; the levy revoked, and the insurgents pardoned, 303; his opinion as to the war between the emperor and the pope, in 1527, 308; first agitation of the question of divorce from queen Catherine, 309; sends supplies to the pope while in confinement, 311; growing attachment of, to Anne Boleyn, 313, 314; war declared against the emperor, 314; the pope sends a commission for Wolsey and cardinal Campegius to inquire into the validity of his marriage, 315; interview of the legates with Catherine, 317; unpopularity of the divorce with the people, 318; opening of the legate commission, on June 18, 1529, *ib.*; Catherine refuses to acknowledge its jurisdiction, 319; is declared contumacious, *ib.*; Wolsey is deprived of the Great Seal, on Oct. 17, 1529, 320; creates sir Thomas More chancellor, 323; the parliament passes statutes against ecclesiastical abuses, 325; opposition of the clergy to the reading of the scriptures, 326; the king is released from his debts by act of parliament, 328; Christmas amusements of, and large sums lost by, at gambling, 329; sends the earl of Wiltshire and Craumer to obtain the pope's consent to the dissolution of his marriage, 330; opinions of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in favour of the divorce, 331; hypocrisy of the plea of conscience for desiring a divorce, *ib.*; grants a general pardon to Wolsey, who retires to his see, 332; causes him to be arrested for high treason, 334; unfeeling conduct of, on hearing of Wolsey's death, 335; commencement of the Reformation in England, 336; prosecutes the clergy for having submitted to Wolsey as legate, 337; fears being cited to Rome on the divorce cause, *ib.*; threatens the pope with the loss of his power in England, but persecutes reformers, 338; requires Frith and Tyndale to renounce their errors and to return from the Netherlands to England, *ib.*; the payment of annates to the see of Rome abolished by, in 1533, 339; increased cruelty and tyranny of, after the death of Wolsey, *ib.*; severe laws passed against poisoners, gipsies, vagabonds, and for punishing wanderers by death on a third offence, 340-342; goes with Anne Boleyn to France in 1532, to meet Francis, 343; marries Anne Boleyn, 344; Cranmer pronounces sentence of divorce, on May 23, 1533, 345; description of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, by Cranmer, 346; Catherine steadily refuses to renounce the title of queen, 348; princess Elizabeth born, Sept.

7, 1533, 349; statute forbidding appeals to Rome passed, 350; statute for the punishment of heresy, 351; Frith burnt, 352; statute vesting the succession in the issue of queen Anne, *ib.*; the Holy Maid of Kent and her visions, 353; she is tried and executed for treason, 354; Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, included in the charge, *ib.*; they are sent to the Tower for refusing to swear to the illegality of the king's first marriage, 356; Act of Supremacy passed, 357; Act of Succession passed, with new definitions of treason, *ib.*; execution of the monks of the Charterhouse for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, 359; Hollanders burnt for heresy, 361; the act allowing the free importation of books repealed, *ib.*; Fisher and More tried for treason, convicted, and executed, 362-364; Cromwell appointed vicegerent, 365; visitation of the monasteries, in 1535, 366; statute for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, 369; statutes passed for the regulation of trade and prices, 370; death of Catherine on Jan. 7, 1536, *ib.*; Anne Boleyn suspected of heresy, 371; May-day at Greenwich, 1536, 372; Anne Boleyn sent to the Tower, 373; her letter to the king, 374, 384; Cranmer's letter to the king, 375; true bills found against Anne Boleyn and others, 376; her trial and execution on May 19, 1536, 377; her dying speech, 378; marriage of Henry to Jane Seymour, on May 20, *ib.*; doubts as to the guilt of Anne, 380, 381; new law of succession passed, 382; state of Ireland, 385-388; rebellion of the Fitzgeralds in Ireland in 1534, 388; it is suppressed, and the Fitzgeralds executed, in violation of a promise given, 393; assumes the title of king of Ireland, 394; proclamation of, against holidays, 398; insurrection in Lincolnshire in 1536, occasioned by the proclamation, and the suppression of monastic establishments, 399; rude answer of, to the Lincolnshire petitioners, *ib.*; the insurrection suppressed, 400; insurrection in Yorkshire, headed by Robert Aske, *ib.*; crafty instructions of, to the duke of Norfolk, as to treating with the insurgents, 401; dissatisfaction of, with Norfolk, for granting a free pardon on their dispersion, *ib.*; renewal of the insurrection in Yorkshire in 1537, 402; the insurgents repulsed from Carlisle and Hull, martial law proclaimed, and many hung, *ib.*; execution of many of the leaders in London, 403; orders martial law to be proclaimed, which is to apply to monks and canons that be faulty, *ib.*; executions at Windsor for sympathy with the insurgents of the North, *ib.*; birth of Edward VI., and death of queen Jane Seymour, 404; negotiations abroad for a new wife, *ib.*; sanctions the printing of Coverdale's Bible, 405; disputes in Westminster Hall with John Lambert on the eucharist, 407; Lambert is burnt, 408; Act of 1539, for the dissolution of abbeyes, *ib.*; assigns pensiona to the abbots, monks, and others who surrender, 412; wasteful disposal of the possessions of the religious houses, 413; destruction of the buildings, 414; subserviency of the parliament summoned in 1539, 416; Acts passed for the dissolution of abbeyes, and to enable Henry to found and endow bishoprics, 417; projected appropriations of the monastic revenues, and their

subsequent misapplication, 418; suppresses the hospital of the Knights of St. John, 419; passing of the intolerant and atrocious statute of the Six Articles, in 1539, *ib.*; persecutions and executions under this statute, 421; preposterous claim of, to unlimited obedience, embodied in this statute, 422; causes the De la Pole family to be arrested, on Reginald Pole having written against his divorce, *ib.*; the aged countess of Salisbury, Pole's mother, executed in 1541, 423; marries Anne of Cleves, 425; dislikes her, 426; the marriage declared invalid, 427; causes Cromwell to be arrested, 428; and attainted of high treason, 429; Cromwell is executed, July 28, 1540, and on the same day Henry marries Catherine Howard, 430; heretics burnt for affirming the legality of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, and for denying his supremacy, 432; the profligacy of Catherine Howard revealed to him by Cranmer, *ib.*; promises her life on confession, but breaks the promise, 433; she is attainted and executed, Feb. 12, 1541, *ib.*; another new treason declared by the Act of attainder, 434; marries Catherine Parr, in July, 1543, *ib.*; endeavours to effect a marriage between his son Edward and Mary of Scotland, 436; sends the earl of Hertford to Scotland, who ravages it, burns Leith, and other places, 437-439; is opposed by cardinal Beaton in his claims to supremacy, and in his attempt on the independence of Scotland, 440; sanctions a proposal to assassinate Beaton, *ib.*; invades France with great pomp, having obtained a subsidy and a second extinction of his debts from parliament, in 1544, 442; besieges and takes Boulogne, 443; wants funds for providing land defences against a projected invasion by France, 444; peace concluded with France and Scotland, 445; continued persecution for heresies under Act of the Six Articles, 446, 447; relieves Cranmer from an accusation of heresy, 448; Anne Askew and others burnt, 449; queen Catherine Parr suspected of heresy, 450; the duke of Norfolk and earl of Surrey arrested on charges of high treason, 451; Surrey beheaded, and Norfolk remitted for execution, but escapes owing to the king's death, 452; death of Henry on Jan. 23, 1547, 453

Henry IV., of France, succeeds to the throne in August, 1589, iii. 259; English expedition sent in aid of, 260; abjures the Protestant religion, 265; concludes a separate treaty with Spain, 279; sends Sully to congratulate James I. on his accession, 309; is assassinated in 1610, 351; scheme of, for an European confederacy, *ib.*

Henry, Patrick, his early career, vi. 272; his eloquence in opposing the Stamp act, 1765, 273

Heptarchy, little interest afforded by the events of the, i. 71; incessant wars during the, 73

Hereford, Henry duke of (afterwards Henry IV.), quarrel of, with the duke of Norfolk, ii. 31; is banished, 32; his patrimony seized by Richard II., 33; lands at Ravenspur July 4, 1399, 34; interview of, with Richard II., 35; entry of, with the captive Richard, into London, 36; claims the crown, 38; his hereditary pretensions, 39; superior right of Edmund Mortimer, the progenitor of the House of York, 40. See Henry IV.

- Hereward heads an insurrection in 1072, in the Isle of Ely, i. 198; successes of, *ib.*; is compelled to submit to William I. 199; fate of, *ib.*
- Hermann, general, defeated by the French and Dutch, 1799, vii. 386
- Hero-worship, ancient tumuli, probable memorials of, i. 13
- Herries, J. C., chancellor of the exchequer, viii. 225; quarrels with Huskisson, 227; secretary at war, 354
- Herschell, sir William, discovered Uranus, 1781, viii. 129, 130; his great telescope erected at Slough, Aug. 28, 1798, 130
- Hertford, Edward Seymour earl of, commands the forces in the invasion of Scotland, and burns Leith, ii. 437; ravages the southern counties, 438; conceals for a time the will of Henry VIII., iii. 2; raised to the office of Protector by the executors of the will, and created duke of Somerset, *ib.*; endeavours to enforce the treaty for the marriage of Edward VI. with the queen of Scotland, 4; invades Scotland and proposes terms for an Union, 5, 6; wins the battle of Pinkie and returns to London, 7; causes Henry VIII.'s statutes of treason and other arbitrary laws to be repealed, 9; difficulties of the government of, arising from the circumstances of the times and his own character, 14; causes his brother, lord Thomas Seymour, to be attainted for treason, and signs the warrant for his execution, 16; probable guilt of Seymour, and justification of Somerset, 17; evidence of Sharrington against Seymour, 17, 18; ineffectual endeavours of Somerset to redress grievances, 19; proclamations against unreasonable prices and against inclosures, 20; insurrection in Cornwall and Devonshire against innovations in religion, 21; suppressed at the battle of Cliff, near Exeter, 23; insurrection of Ket the tanner in Norfolk, against inclosures, 24; suppressed by the earl of Warwick at Mousehold-heath, 27; marriage of Mary of Scotland to the dauphin of France, and war declared with both those countries, 28; successes of the Scotch, 29; becomes obnoxious to the nobility from his protection of the rights of the poor, 30, 31; confederacy of the nobles, headed by Warwick against, 32; issues a proclamation inviting the king's subjects to repair to Hampton Court, where Edward was, for the king's protection, 33; fails to get the support of the army or to move the people to rise in his favour, *ib.*; removes Edward to Windsor, 34; lord Russell and the army join Warwick, *ib.*; is arrested, 35; conveyed to the Tower, 36; articles exhibited against, 37; the Protectorship is revoked, he is imprisoned till Feb. 6, 1550, and fined, *ib.*; attempts of, to re-establish his power, 42; is arrested and tried for high treason, 43; acquitted of treason and found guilty of felony, *ib.*; is beheaded January 22, 1551, 43; character of, and his influence on the progress of the Reformation, 44
- Hertford, lord, English ambassador at Paris, vi. 268
- Hervey, lord, vice-chamberlain, 1730, vi. 62; duels with Pulteney; character of, 67; conversation of, with Walpole on Caroline's death, 87
- Hervey, colonel, advises Wellington to cease pursuing the enemy at Waterloo, viii. 36
- Hesse, elector of, subsidied by England, vi. 208
- Hewlet, lady, her bequest: discussion as to the claimants thereof, viii. 519, 520
- Hexham, battle of, May 15, 1464, ii. 153
- Hicks, Mrs., hanged for witchcraft, 1716, v. 430
- Hickson, an agent of the young Pretender; apprehended, vi. 132
- Hickson, his description of the evils of the poor-law system, viii. 339
- Hidon, Thomas, reveals the Cato-street conspiracy, viii. 161
- High and Low Church, introduction of the distinction of, v. 74
- Highlanders, description of the, by Cunningham, v. 91; government proceedings against the, 131, *et seq.*; their share in the rebellion of 1716, vi. 6-26; description of the; the Black Watch, or 42nd Regiment, 116, 117; aid the rebellion of 1745, 123-133; costume of, early part of 18th century, 134-136; their further operations in the rebellion of 1745, 1746, 140-149, 155-178; drafted into the British army by Chatham, 218
- Higs, Thomas, invents a machine similar to the "jenny," vii. 46, 47
- Highwaymen, 18th century, vii. 91, 92
- Hill, colonel, commands the garrison at Fort William, 1690, v. 131; his share in the Glencoe massacre, 132, 133, 137; declared not guilty by the Scotch parliament, 141
- Hill, captain, murders Mountford, the player, v. 160
- Hill, general, his struggle with Soult, Dec. 1813, vii. 567
- Hill, Frederic, first inspector of Scotch prisons; their state according to his reports, viii. 371
- Hill, sir G. F., vice-treasurer of Ireland, viii. 158
- Hill, M. D., M. P. for Hull; description of Agnew's Sabbath Observance bill, viii. 322; history of public opinion on the question of counsel for prisoners by, 369; 370
- Hill, Rowland, revolutionises the routine of the Post Office, viii. 390; his proposed penny postage plan; opposition to it; it is tried and found completely successful, 424, 425
- Hill, T. W., his remarks on Worcestershire potato cultivation, vii. 25, 26; engaged in the Birmingham riots, 1791, 196, 197
- Hillsborough, lord, secretary for the colonies, 1768-1772, vi. 306, 321, 469; orders Bernard to rescind the resolution adopted by the Massachusetts Assembly, to oppose the Revenue act, 307; accused of garbling the council minutes; appoints lord Bontetort governor of Virginia, in room of sir J. Amherst, 310; secretary of state, 1779-1782, 469
- Hisplo, sir Thomas, commands the army of the Deccan, viii. 216
- Hispaniola. See San Domingo.
- Historian, province of the, i. introd. iv.; duties of, introd. v.
- History, specimens of the false statements of, viii. 40, 41; differently treated by our leading historians, Macaulay, Hallam, and Carlyle, 470-473
- Hoadley, Dr. Benjamin; his treatises burnt by the mob, v. 355; bishop of Salisbury; urges

- Walpole to give the Dissenters promise of future relief, vi. 623
- Hobhouse, his objection to the income tax, vii. 360
- Hobhouse, sir J. C., secretary of state, viii. 324; president of the board of control, 381; his speech, moving a vote of thanks to the Indian army, 451
- Hocche, sergeant, commands a detachment of French guards in the riots, 1789, vii. 179; his exploits at Quiberon, 1795, 320; appointed to command the expedition to Ireland, 1796, 331
- Hofer, Andrew, leader of the Tyrolese insurrectionists, 1809, vii. 515; his exploits, 516; capture and death, Feb. 20, 1810, 517
- Hoffand, a river scenery painter, viii. 155
- Hogarth, William, the regenerator of modern English painting, v. 463, vii. 67; his character as a painter, v. 464; his pictures a delineation of cotemporary manners, 465, 466; dramatic character of his paintings and prints, *ib.*; the life of the streets as shown in his works, 446, 448; profligacy among the high and low ranks of society, 468; manners of the time as delineated in his pictures of the scene at the cockpit and at the gaming house, 469; that of the rake's levee, 470; marriage-in-la-mode, 471; in his election prints, 472; in his pictures of "The Sleeping Congregation," 473; and "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism, a medley," 474; attacked by Wilkes in the "North Briton," vi. 265; his caricature portrait of Wilkes; attacked by Churchill, 266; whose portrait he publishes, 267
- Hohenlinden, battle of, Dec. 3, 1800, vii. 396
- Hohenlohe, prince of, commands the Prussians at Jena, vii. 477
- Holbein, Hans, productions of, under Henry VIII., ii. 499
- Holbourne, admiral, shrinks from attacking the French, vi. 230
- Holerst, Thomas, remarks on Hardy's trial, vii. 301
- Holderness, earl of, secretary of state, 1751-1761, vi. 221, 237, 320; removed from this office, 1761, 246
- Holkar, a Mahratta chief, vii. 455; war declared against, 1804; subdued by the British, 461
- Holkar the younger aids the Pindarees in their war with the British, viii. 216; defeated Dec. 21, 1817, at the battle of Meehadpore; peace concluded with the British, Jan. 6, 1818, 217
- Holland, Henry, his architectural designs, viii. 144
- Holland, lord. See Fox, Henry.
- Holland, lord, remarks on lord North's conduct, 1781, vi. 432; his account of North's announcement of his resignation, 1782, 435; remarks on the income tax, vii. 360; a member of the Grenville ministry, 478; defends himself for defending lord Grey, 1827, viii. 206; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 267, 381
- Holland annexed to France, 1810, vii. 536
- Holmes, major, concerned in the assassination plot, 1696, v. 187, *et seq.*
- Holstein Beck, prince of, takes an active part in the battle of Blenheim, 1704, v. 283
- Holwell, his account of the tragedy of the Black Hole, vi. 222, 223
- Holy Alliance. See Alliance.
- Horne, John, his estimate of the Highland forces, 1745, vi. 128; his description of the battle of Falkirk, 160, 161
- Homildon-Hill, battle of, 14 Sept. 1402, ii. 47
- Hompesch, general, pursues the Gallo-Bavarian army after their defeat at Blenheim, v. 283
- Hone, William, prosecuted for libel, viii. 85, 86; his first, 86-88; second, 88; and third trials, 88, 89; in all he is found not guilty
- Hood, captain, present at the battle of the Nile, 1798, vii. 356
- Hood, sir Samuel, unable to hinder De Grasse's operations, 1781, vi. 421, 426; joined by Rodney, 1782, 436; compels the "Ville de Paris" to strike, 438; captures four French vessels, 439; sails against Toulon; negotiates with the inhabitants, vii. 286; the fleet and port are surrendered on his agreeing to support them in the restoration of peace and monarchy, 286, 287; compelled to evacuate the place by the French, 289, 290
- Hood, Thomas, his poetry, viii. 481, 482
- Hook, Theodore, his novels, viii. 467, 468
- Hooke, colonel, a Jacobite agent; offers French assistance to the Cameronians, and other Scots disaffected towards the government, v. 334
- Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, martyrdom of, iii. 83
- Hope, sir John, retreats through Spain, 1808, vii. 504, 506; succeeds to the command of the army on Moore's death; embarks his troops, 506; captures Baliz and the South Beveland, 1809, 519; battles against Soult, 1813, 567
- Horner, Francis, remarks of, on the reduction of the circulating medium, 1816, viii. 58; died Feb. 6, 1817, 91
- Horton, Mrs., her connection and marriage with the duke of Cumberland, vi. 330
- Hosier, admiral, blockades Porto Bello, vi. 55
- Hospitals, London medical, dates of the opening of, vii. 120
- Houchard, general in the French army; defeats the Austrians near Mondscoote, Sept. 8, 1793, vii. 282; the convention puts him to death for not stopping the English in their retreat from Dunkirk, 283
- Howard, Mrs. See Suffolk, lady.
- Howard, John, high sheriff of Bedfordshire; his philanthropical effort to remedy the state of prisoners; publication of his book "on prisons," 1777, vii. 117, 118
- Howe, Richard, earl; captain; captures two French vessels, 1755, vi. 208; takes Aix, 1757, 229; reinforces the troops in America; appointed one of the British commissioners, 364; employs conciliatory measures towards the Americans, 369; his negotiations with Franklin and others, 372; sails to Newport; hindered from engaging the enemy by a storm, 391; admiral; gives chase to the Brest fleet, vii. 306; gains a victory over it, June 1, 1794, 307; his personal visit to the fleet quells the mutiny at Spithead, 340
- Howe, major-general sir William, engaged in the battle of Breed's, or Bunker's hill, 1776, vi. 357; leads an attack against the Americans, 358; left in command of the British American army, 360; leaves Halifax; lands

- in Staten Island, 1776, 364; his letter to George Washington, Esq. refused, 369; gains the battle of Brooklyn, 370; his further operations against Washington, 1776, 370, 371, evacuates Jersey; his strategic movements, 1777, 373
- Howe, lord, slain at the head of his regiment in America, 1758, vi. 233
- Hudson's Bay Company, chartered 1670, v. 39
- Huggins, John, reprimanded for selling the wardenship of the Fleet, vi. 64
- Hull, port of, and trades, v. 28; whale fishery carried on by the vessels of, *ib.*; obtains parliamentary representation, 1832, viii. 307
- Hull, general, capitulates to Broek, 1812, viii. 8, 9
- Hullin aids in attacking the Bastille, 1789, vii. 173
- Humbert, general, commands the French force sent to Ireland, vii. 367; which surrenders to general Lake, Sept. 8, 1799, 368
- Hume, erroneous statement of, as to the condition of Britain in the third century, i. 33
- Hume, M.P. for Montrose; his complaints on behalf of queen Caroline, viii. 162; moves the issuing of a proclamation for her coronation, 173; his efforts to promote the recognition of true principles of financial economy, 232; votes for Littleton as speaker, 318; reviews the work of the session of 1836, 367
- "Hundred Days," account of the crisis called the, viii. 21; 26-37
- Hunne, Richard, persecution of, for heresy and being possessed of Wycliffe's books, ii. 277; violent death of, *ib.*; the bishop of London's chancellor accused of his murder, *ib.*
- Hunt, Henry, attends a meeting of the Hampden club in London, viii. 75; and also the Spa-field meeting, 76, 77; fails in being returned M.P. for Westminster, 98; presides over a reform meeting in Smithfield, 103, 104; takes the chair at the great reform meeting at Manchester, 1819, 105; he is arrested and tried, 108; found guilty and punished, 164
- Hunt, Leigh, his "Story of Rimini" published, 1816, vii. 121; charm and pleasantness of his essays, 129
- Hunt, Robert, his evidence of the assassination plot, 1696, v. 187, 189
- Huskisson, William, present at the taking of the Bastille; defends his conduct in the French revolution, vii. 183; praises Louis's firmness in the insurrection of the 20th of June, 1792, 221; first commissioner of Woods and Forests and Land revenue, viii. 158; president of the board of trade, Jan. 1823; obtains a seat in the Cabinet, 1825; develops a system of commercial policy on a broad and liberal basis; his reciprocity of duties bill passed, July 4, 1823, 189; clamour against his proposal to abolish the prohibitory duties on silk; vindicates his motives for advocating free trade, 190; he is eloquently defended by Canning, 190, 191; colonial secretary in the Goderich ministry, 1827, 225; his differences with Mr. Herries causes lord Goderich to resign, 227; joins the Wellington administration, 228; opposes the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, 233; compelled, for consistency's sake, to vote against the government, he retires from the ministry, 1828, 235; his speech on the power of steam; returned M. P. for Liverpool, 261; present at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, 261, 262; killed by an accident, Sept. 15, 1830, 262
- Huss, John, adopts the tenets of Wycliffe, ii. 53; is summoned to Constance and there burnt in 1415, 54
- Hussey, Dr., remarks of, on the state of Ireland, 1796, vii. 362, 363
- Hutchinson, colonel, studies the state of public affairs, iii. 448; conference of, with lord Newark, 483; defends Nottingham Castle with bravery, iv. 19; returned as member of parliament, 54; pre-ents a petition in favour of sir John Owen, 116, 117; goes to London, and submits like others, to Cromwell's government, 160; effects of the Civil War described by Mrs. Hutchinson, 170; she cites the colonel as a good example of an accomplished gentleman of the Independent party, 172; kind of life led by, after his retirement from public affairs, 173; reveals Lambert's plot to Oliver Cromwell, 212
- Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts, vi. 311; removes all the troops from Boston, 313; superseded in his post by general Gage, 344
- Hutchinson, general, engages the French at Castlebar, vii. 367; succeeds to the command of the army in Egypt; invests Cairo, 407
- Hutchinson, lord, appointed to offer queen Caroline an annuity under certain conditions, viii. 165, 166
- Hutton, William, established a circulating library at Birmingham, 1751, vii. 84; remarks on a handbill celebrating the fall of the Bastille, 1791, 166; his warehouse plundered by the Birmingham mob, 197
- Huy taken by Marlborough, 1703, v. 266; by Villeroy, 1705, 302
- Hyde, sir Edward. See Clarendon, earl of.
- Hyder-Ali defeats the English in Madras and obtains possession of the country, vi. 334; his inroad upon the Carnatic, vii. 130, 131; defeated by Coote, 131; death of, 1782, 134
- IBRAHIM BEY evacuates Cairo, 1798, vii. 354
- Ibrahim Pasha, proceedings of, at Navarino and the Morea, 1827, viii. 226
- Imhoff, Mrs., married Warren Hastings, vii. 127
- Impey, sir Elijah, chief justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta; causes Nuncomar to be tried for forgery, vii. 126; who is found guilty and executed, 127; quarrels with Hastings, 130; collects evidence against the begums of Oude, 133
- Impressment, system of, established by law, 1704, v. 274; evils of impressment exaggerated, viii. 5
- Inclosure bills passed, 1760-1779, vii. 4; 1789-1797, 335
- Income, Gregory King's scheme of the, of the various grades of society in 1688, v. 35, 36, 64; of clergy compared with that of other classes *temp.* queen Anne, 58
- Income-tax, first proposed by Pitt, 1798; objections to it, vii. 359, 360; proposed continuance of, 1816; opposition to it; the proposal rejected, viii. 51-53; renewal of, proposed by sir R. Peel, and resolved upon by parliament, notwithstanding great opposition, 495; re-imposition of, proposed by sir R. Peel, 524, 525

- Indemnity Acts for Dissenters passed, 1727-1828, vi. 63
- Indemnity Act passed, 1766, to exonerate those who had advised an embargo on corn, vi. 286
- Indemnity bill introduced, 1689, v. 77
- Indemnity bill, 1818, viii. 96
- Independents. See Nonconformists.
- India bill, Fox's, brought forward, Nov. 18, 1783; the plan of government proposed, vii. 137; opposition to it; carried in the House of Commons, Dec. 9, 138; rejected in the Lords, 139; Pitt introduces his, Jan. 14, 1784; thrown out, and Fox's re-introduced, 141; Pitt's India bills passed; plan of government laid down by them, 145, 146
- Indian affairs, history of, 1744-1754, vi. 201-205; 1756-1757, 222-226; 1760-1773, 332-335; 1773-1784, vii. 123-134; India bills of Fox and Pitt, 136-139, 141, 145, 146; history, from 1755 to 1793, 256-260; 1798, 1799, 377, 379; 1799-1806, 453-463; 1807-1826, viii. 212-224; 1836-1842, 450-461; 1842-1844, 507-511; 1845, 1846, 544, 545
- Indian Trade Reform bill suffered to drop, 1692, v. 146
- Indians employed by the Americans, 1759, vi. 237; by the British, 1777, 379; Chatham denounces the practice as a national stain, 381, 382; Burgoyne defends his conduct in employing them, 394, 395; destruction of Wyoming by, 1778, 395, 396; again employed by the British, 1812, viii. 8; their steadiness and order praised by Brock, 8, 9
- Industrious classes, state of the, *temp.* Richard I. i. 324-326; sports, games, and amusements of, 327, 328.
- Industry; variety of employments among the western counties of England, v. 14; the hardware trade of Birmingham, 17; earthenware trade, 18; glass manufacture, *ib.*; stocking trade, 19; progress and vicissitudes of the lace trade, *ib.*; Lombe's silk mill completed in 1717, 20; progress of the silk trade, *ib.*; rapid development of the cotton trade between 1700 and 1850, 23; linen trade at Warrington, and discouragement given to it, 25; most prosperous when guided by natural laws, 26; of the Yorkshiresmen in queen Anne's time, *ib.*; of Leeds, 27; cutlery trade of Sheffield, 28; imports, exports, and trade of Hull, *ib.*; the coal trade, 28, 29; the salmon trade, 30; of Scotland, very limited before the Union, in 1707, *ib.*, of the inhabitants in the Norwich district, 32; curious evidence of this, 33; great difficulty of passing from one occupation to another about the time of queen Anne, 48, 49; jealousy of the great formerly shown towards the rise of the lower classes, 49; progress of the national, in agriculture, vii. 4-39; and the arts, 40-64; general depression of, 1812, 543; and again in 1816, from the exhaustion of war, viii. 55, *et seq.*; and the heavy poor rates levied, 68
- Inglis, sir R. H., returned M.P. for Oxford, 1829, viii. 238; his speech against the Reform bill, 1831, 272, 273; opposes the granting a charter to the University of London, 357
- Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, account of the invasion of the Danes in 870 by, i. 96; his behaviour to his predecessor, 156; account by, of the resistance of Hereward, 198, 199
- Innocent XII., his pacific turn, v. 122; his decision as to the Spanish succession, 242; pope, 1691-1700, 476
- Inns as described by the poets and novelists of the 18th century, vii. 93, 94
- Innsbruck surrendered to the Bavarians, 1809, vii. 516
- Insurance offices, date of the establishment of the earlier, v. 41
- Interregnum, period of, in 1688-9, iv. 443
- Inverness taken by the young Pretender, 1746, vi. 165
- Inwoods, the architects of St. Pancras church, viii. 146
- Iona, religion and learning fostered at, by Columba, in the 8th century, i. 74
- Ipswich loses its colliery and cloth trade; takes the lead in the manufacture of agricultural implements, v. 33; mutiny at, 1689, 75
- Ireton, Henry, commands the left wing at Naseby, iv. 43; intercepts a letter of the king's in 1647, 81; saves the life of sir John Owen, seconded by col. Hutchinson, 117; left in Ireland by Cromwell as his deputy, 127; dies there in Nov. 1651, 161; his body disinterred from Westminster Abbey after the Restoration, and buried at Tyburn, 248
- Irish Church Reform bill. See Church.
- Iron; England before and after the iron era, contrasted, v. 11; Forest of Dean formerly the seat of the manufacture of, 12; evidence of the Romans having smelted, *ib.*; coal first used for smelting; state of the iron trade in 1740 and 1851 compared, 13; hardware trade at Birmingham, 17; extensive manufacture of steel at Sheffield, 26; improvements in the manufacture of; Carron iron works founded by Dr. Roebuck, 1759, vii. 55; coal used for smelting, *ib.*; invention of the art of converting cast-iron into malleable-iron; modern and ancient iron structures compared, 56
- Isabel of Spain, her claim to the throne disputed by Don Carlos, viii. 373
- Isabella, queen of Edward II. See Edward II. and Edward III.
- Ismail, siege of, 1790; stormed by the Russians; massacre of the besieged, vii. 191
- JACKSON, capt. Andrew, organises the opposition to sir E. Pakenham's advance upon New Orleans, Dec. 1814 and Jan. 1815, viii. 18; president of the United States, 1829-1837, 268
- Jacobins, a French political party; Robespierre its head, vii. 205; they attempt to impeach La Fayette, 222; suspend their hostility towards Dumouriez, 271; their measures for governing France, 272-275; energy, their characteristic, 276; their vigour in meeting the Toulon revolt, 287; their energy and atrocities, 292, 293; they recognise the existence of the Supreme Being, 308, 309; fall of Robespierre and his adherents, 309, 310
- Jacquerie, in France, the consequence of the miseries occasioned by the ravages of the English, i. 477

- Jaffa taken by the French, 1799, vii. 379; massacre of its inhabitants, 379, 380
- Jaffier, Meer, Surajah Dowlah's general; conspires, with Clive's assistance, to obtain supreme power, vi. 224; Clive's treaty with, 225; becomes subahdar of Bengal, 226; the English make war on Cossein to dethrone him, and restore Jaffier, 332
- Jamaica, critical state of affairs in, viii. 419
- James I. of Scotland is released from his captivity at Windsor, and accompanies Henry V. in his expedition to France in 1421, ii. 73
- James IV. of Scotland receives and protects Perkin Warbeck in 1495, ii. 225; invades England on his behalf, but retreats, 229; concludes a truce, and sends Warbeck from Scotland, 230; marries Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. in 1502, 238; concludes a treaty with France in May, 1512, 264; invades England, 270; valour displayed by, at Flodden Field, Sept. 9, 1513, 271; slain, 271, 272
- James I. of England (VI. of Scotland), born June 19, 1566, iii. 143; is crowned in Scotland, July 29, 1567, on his mother's abdication, 151; writes to Elizabeth in favour of his mother on her condemnation, 200; suspected of joining in the projects of Spain against England, 216; he represses the insurrection fostered by Spain, 264; attempts to obtain a subsidy to enable him to assert his claim to the succession of the crown of England, 290; the Gowrie conspiracy, 291; proclaimed king of England, March 24, 1603, as James I., 307; quits Scotland with his queen, Anne of Denmark, 308; absurd dispensations of knighthood by, *ib.*; expectations of the Roman Catholics from, 309; coronation of, 309; the two plots, the "Main" and the "Bye," 311; Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey, indicted for endeavouring to advance Arabella Stuart to the throne, *ib.*; Raleigh is confined in the Tower, 312; he presides at a conference at Hampton Court between the heads of the Church and the leaders of the Puritans, 314; a new version of the Holy Scriptures, ordered by, *ib.*; meeting of his first parliament, and dispute with it respecting its privileges, 315; assertion of their rights by the Commons, in their "Apology," *ib.*; they remonstrate against some innovations on the canons, aiming at excluding nonconformists from civil rights, 316; recommends an Union with Scotland, *ib.*; the Commons complain of the grievances of purveyance and wardship, 317; he concludes a treaty of peace with Spain in Aug. 1604, 318; unpopularity of, *ib.*; character of, 319, 320; Cecil communicates the letter of Mounteagle respecting the Gunpowder Plot to the king, 325; the vaults under the Parliament House searched, and Guido Fawkes is taken, 326; dispersion of the conspirators, *ib.*; examination and torture of Fawkes, 327; confession of Winter, and details of the plot, 328-330; the conspirators attempt to raise a revolt, 331; resist their arrest, 332; are killed or taken prisoners, 333; employment of Ben Jonson as a spy, *ib.*; trial of the conspirators, 334, 335; trial of Garnet the Jesuit and unfair means taken to procure his conviction, 336; Garnet's doctrine of equivocation, 337; new statute against papists, imposing an oath of allegiance, 338; statutes against poaching and drunkenness, 339; addition of James to field sports, 340; lavishness of, to favourites, 341; levies a feudal aid on his eldest son being knighted, 342; imposes taxes on merchandise, and the Commons remonstrate against their illegality, *ib.*; the colonisation of North America commenced in 1606, 343; New England colonised by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, 345; charters granted to the East India Company, 346; sir Thomas Roe sent ambassador to the East Indies, 348; the Commons continue to remonstrate against the king's arbitrary measures, and are dissolved, 351; the cowardly and selfish policy of James in matters of religion, *ib.*; forces episcopacy on Scotland and burns an Arian in London, 352; dedication to, of the authorised translation of the Bible in 1611, 352; judicious measures for the plantation of Ulster in 1613, 354; raises money by the sale of the new title of baronet, 355; assists Middleton in bringing the New River to London, *ib.*; attempts to repress the growth of London, 356; threatens to remove his court from, and is requested to leave the Thames, 357; story and death of Arabella Stuart, 358; death of Cecil, and Carr assumes the government, 359; death and character of prince Henry, 361; marriage of the princess Elizabeth to the elector palatine in 1613, 362; a parliament called in 1614, they pass a vote against the king's right of imposing customs duties, and are dissolved without passing a single bill, 363; commits five of the members to the Tower, *ib.*; levies a Benevolence, to which Oliver St. John refuses to contribute, and is fined 5000*l.*, *ib.*; sales of public offices by, 364; rise of the new favourite, George Villiers, *ib.*; trial of the earl and countess of Somerset for the murder of sir Thomas Overbury, 365; deceitful conduct of James towards the earl, *ib.*; they are convicted and pardoned, 367; mysteries of the causes for the murder of Overbury, and for the king's pardon to the murderers, 368; letters of James in reference to the affair, 371; he is opposed in his arbitrary measures by lord chief justice Coke, whom he dismisses, 369; issues a proclamation for sports on Sundays after divine service, 370; releases Raleigh from the Tower, in 1616, and allows him to undertake an expedition to Guiana, 374; causes him to be executed under his previous sentence on his return unsuccessful in 1618, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, 376; the elector palatine chosen king of Bohemia in the Protestant interest, 377; protection to papists given by the Spanish ambassador, and anger of the populace caused by it, 378; calls a parliament and solicits money, 379; the Commons reply by impeaching monopolists, *ib.*; lord Bacon is also impeached for and convicted of bribery and corruption, 380; conduct of the parliament in punishing Floyd, 381; strong feeling evinced by the Commons in favour of the elector palatine, *ib.*; negotiates for a marriage of Charles with an infanta of Spain, 382; the king and the Commons at issue on a question of privilege, *ib.*; he dissolves the parliament, 383; journey of prince Charles

and Villiers to the court of Spain, 384; the Spanish match broken off, 385; statute passed declaring all monopolies to be contrary to law, *ib.*; the earl of Middlesex impeached for bribery, *ib.*; war commenced in favour of the elector palatine, 386; death of James, March 27, 1625, *ib.*

James II. when duke of York marries Ann Hyde, the daughter of Clarendon, in 1661, iv. 254; gains a victory over the Dutch off Lowestoffe in 1665, 277; takes the command of the English fleet in 1672, and fights an obstinate battle with the Dutch in Southwold Bay, 316; refuses to take the oath prescribed by the Test Act, and resigns his post of lord high admiral, 321; the House of Commons address the king against the duke's marriage with Maria Beatrix of Modena, 322; his daughter Mary marries the prince of Orange, 329; leaves England in 1679, 341; the Bill for the Exclusion of, read twice in the House of Commons, 344; returns to England in disguise on learning the sickness of Charles, 351; is sent to Scotland and cruelly persecutes the Covenanters, *ib.*; assumes a more active share in the government of England, 355; is presented before the Grand Jury at Westminster as a popish recusant by Shaftesbury and others, *ib.*; returns to Scotland, 356; he procures a Test Act against the Covenanters to be passed by the Scottish parliament, 366; fresh persecution of the Covenanters by, 367; he returns to England, *ib.*; prosecution of Alderman Pilkington for a libel, who is fined 100,000*l.*, 370; and of Titus Oates for a libel, who is also fined 100,000*l.*, 375; marriage of his daughter Anne to prince George of Denmark, *ib.*; succeeds to the throne, Feb. 6, 1665, 381; his address to the Council promising to preserve the established religion, 382; alteration in the ritual of the coronation by, 383; issues a proclamation for the levying of customs duties, *ib.*; selection of ministers by, *ib.*; releases Papists and Quakers from imprisonment, but no other dissenters, 384; requires and obtains new laws against the Covenanters, *ib.*; outrageous attempts to secure the elections for the new House of Commons, and large increase of the number of Peers, 385; servile spirit of the Commons, who vote a revenue for life, 386; they address him praying that the laws may be enforced against all dissenters, 387; Titus Oates convicted and punished for perjury, *ib.*; and Richard Baxter for libel, 388; insurrection in Scotland, headed by the earl of Argyle, *ib.*; its failure, and Argyle's execution, 389; landing of the duke of Monmouth at Lyme, 390; the House of Commons pass a Bill of Attainder against him, 391; the insurgents defeated at the battle of Sedgemoor, 395; interview of, with Monmouth, 397; Monmouth executed, 398; military executions in the West, under Kirke and others, *ib.*; and judicial atrocities committed by Jeffreys on the insurgents, 399; scandalous traffic in the prisoners sanctioned by the king, *ib.*; tendencies of, to absolutism, 401; dismissal of Halifax, 402; opens parliament, announces his employment of Popish officers, and of having dispensed with the Test Act, 403; the Commons timidly address him in

favour of Protestantism, 404; opposition to the dispensing power shown in the House of Lords, *ib.*; fresh trials and convictions for political offences, 405; parliament, after two prorogations, is dissolved, *ib.*; Sunderland becomes a Roman Catholic and chief minister, *ib.*; the Jesuits paramount in the government, 406; sends an embassy to Rome, *ib.*; obtains the sanction of the King's Bench as to his power of dispensing with the Test Laws, 407; appoints Roman Catholics to benefices, 408; an Ecclesiastical Commission constituted, *ib.*; monastic establishments opened in London in 1686, 409; Rev. Samuel Johnson tried and convicted of a libellous publication concerning the army, 410; and he is degraded from the ecclesiastical office, and publicly whipped, 411; recommends Anthony Farmer, a suspected papist, to be elected president of Magdalen college, 413; the Fellows are expelled by the Ecclesiastical Commission on their electing Dr. John Hough, 414; Tyrconnel is appointed the lord-deputy of Ireland, 415; publishes a declaration for liberty of conscience in Scotland, 417, and in England, *ib.*; camp formed on Hounslow Heath, 420; receives the Papal nuncio publicly at Windsor, 421; makes a progress through the country, 422; orders the declaration for liberty of conscience to be read in churches, 424; the seven bishops petition against compliance, 425; the bishops are committed to the Tower, 426; brought before the King's Bench to plead, and held to bail, 427; tried for a libel, and acquitted, 428; public rejoicings on their acquittal, *ib.*; birth of a son announced, 429; his legitimacy violently disputed, *ib.*; James solicits advice of the bishops, 435; he adopts measures of concession, *ib.*; restores the Charter of London, *ib.*; reinstates the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, *ib.*; dissolves the Ecclesiastical Commission, *ib.*; joins the main body of his army at Salisbury, 438; lord Cornbury and other officers desert his cause, *ib.*; the duke of Grafton, lord Churchill, and other commanders, go over to William, 438; prince of Denmark, and princess Anne, join William, 439; returns to London, *ib.*; publishes a proclamation appointing Parliament to meet, and nominates Commissioners to bring about an agreement with the prince of Orange, 440; issues a proclamation for a general amnesty, *ib.*; his queen, with the infant prince, flies from Whitehall on Dec. 10, and goes to France, *ib.*; he quits Whitehall Dec. 11, 441; throws the Great Seal into the Thames, *ib.*; being discovered at Sheerness, is brought back to London, 442; quits the kingdom, *ib.*; lands at Kinsale, Mar. 12, 1689, v. 79; Tyrconnel secures Ireland in favour of, 80; enters Dublin, Mar. 24, 82; his wavering conduct, *ib.*; displeased at Rosen's cruel order, 85; takes a personal share in the besieging of Londonderry, and the defeat of Mearns, viscount Mountcashel, at the battle of Newton Butler, 86; his letter to the Scotch convention, 89; his cause falls on the death of Dundee at the pass of Killiecrankie, 94; opens a parliament at Dublin, May 7, 96; its severity towards protestants; issues a coinage of money, *ib.*; Shrewsbury resigns his seat

- oy order of, 103; meets with disappointment from Louis XIV. of France, 106; effects of his bad administration of public affairs in Ireland, *ib.*; prepares to oppose William; leaves Dublin, June 16, 1690; retires before his opponent, and comes to a stand on the banks of the Boyne, 106; on the 1st of July the battle takes place; he is defeated; and retreats to Dublin, 108, *et seq.*; his speech to the magistrates and resolve to forsake the Irish, 110; quits Dublin, July 3, 113; embarks at Passage, and arrives at Brest on the 4th; his project of invading England is coldly received by Louis, 114; his courtiers persuade the French that he was deserted by the Irish; Irish refugees in France are on that account harshly dealt with by them, *ib.*; sends Tyrconnel over to Ireland as his viceroy there, 127; issues a declaration to the English, 147; induces Louis to aid him in an invasion of England, 148; joins his camp at Normandy, April, 1692, *ib.*; commiserates the slaughter of his "poor English" at the battle of Steinkirk, 152; his petty revenge on William's relations on the decease of queen Mary, 175; contemplates the invasion of England, 1696, 186; sends Berwick to head the Jacobites if they should rise, *ib.*; issues protestations against William, 1697, 200; dies at St. Germain, Sept. 16, 1701, 250; he opposed Wren's first design for St. Paul's, 450
- James, John, his architectural works, v. 453
- Jameson, col., commands the American militia, vi. 414, 415
- Java, conquered by the British, 1810; lost at the peace, viii. 214
- Jedburgh, burnt by the earl of Hertford, in 1545, ii. 438
- Jefferson, Thomas, his admiration of Henry's eloquence, vi. 272, 273; makes the draught of the declaration of independence, 364; governor of Virginia, 424; defends himself against charges of neglect, *ib.*; narrow escape from being made prisoner, 425; succeeds Franklin as minister at Paris; accuses George III. of incivility towards himself, 461; heads the democratic party, vii. 330; president of United States, 1801-1809, 575; viii. 3; considers his election as a pacific revolution, 3, 4; dreads going to war, 6; his extravagant hopes of success in the war with Great Britain, 1812, *ib.*; his prophetic fears of the separation of the Union, 13, 14; his opinion of Bonaparte, 176; and cordiality with Great Britain, 187
- Jeffrey, Francis, despairs of British success in Spain, 1808, vii. 505; remarks on Wordsworth's poetry, viii. 119; and Scott's, 120; his reviews, 127; description of a steamboat on Loch Lomond, 131, 132; lord advocate, 267; description of early morning after the rejection of the reform bill, 276; his anxiety for the prevention of riots, 278; his description of lord Althorp, 279; his interview with Althorp on the resignation of the Grey ministry, 1831, 296; his remarks on the bad working of the new parliamentary system, 321
- Jeffreys, George, as recorder of London, fines and imprisons a jury for having found a verdict in favour of Penn and Mead, indicted for attending a conventicle, iv. 312; exertions of, to procure the return of Dudley North as sheriff of London, 365; services of, while lord chief justice, in making towns surrender their charters in 1683, 370; brutal behaviour of, on the trial of Sidney in 1683, 374; and on that of Richard Baxter for libel in 1685, 388; atrocious cruelty of, in punishing the followers of Monmouth, 393; condemnation of lady Alice Lisle, 399; is rewarded with the Great Seal for his conduct, 400; the insolence of, repressed in the House of Lords, 404; he fails to procure the conviction of lord Delamere for treason, 405, is discovered in disguise at Wapping in London, and committed to the Tower, 441
- Jekyll, sir Joseph, regards Sacheverel's sentence as a triumph, v. 354; returned a member of the parliament, 1710, 364
- Jellalabad, Sale's defence of, viii. 458, 459
- Jemappes, battle of, Nov. 6, 1792, vi. 236
- Jena, or Auerstadt, battle of, Oct. 14, 1806, vii. 477
- Jenkins, Rev. H., notice of his account of Colchester Castle, i. 20, note
- Jenkins, Capt. R., ordered to appear before the House of Commons; states the barbarities he had received from the Spaniards at the duke of Newcastle, but obtains no redress; he appears before the House, and there exhibits the ear that had been cut off, vi. 93, 94
- Jenkinson. See Liverpool, earl of.
- Jenner, Edward, benefit to the world resulting from his discovery of vaccination, viii. 130, 131
- Jenyns, Soame, describes his visit to sir J. Jolly, vii. 107, 108
- Jerdan, William, his account of Perceval's death, 1812, vii. 540, 541
- Jersey, French attack upon, 1781, vi. 419
- Jerusalem, mission from the kingdom of, to England in 1185, i. 303; capture of, by Saladin, in 1187, 304
- Jervas, Charles, his paintings, v. 462
- Jervis, sir John, sails in command of a fleet against the Spaniards, vii. 336; considerably aided by commodore Nelson in gaining the battle of St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797, 336, 337; rewarded with an earldom, 338; provides Nelson with a fleet to go against Bonaparte, 352
- Jesuits, suppression of the, 1773; their beneficial aid in advancing literature and science, vi. 327, 328
- Jews, massacre of, at the coronation of Richard I., i. 306; plundered by John in 1211, 339; persecution and banishment of, *temp.* Edw. I., 386; attempt of Cromwell to re-introduce into England, iv. 198; the mines chiefly worked by them in John's reign, v. 13; bill passed, 1753, for the naturalization of; popular clamour against the bill, vi. 193; bill for their relief from civil disabilities passed the Commons; thrown out in the Lords, 1833, viii. 325; another introduced by lord Russell, but not passed, 553
- Jezzar, pasha of Acre, seizes El Arish, vii. 379; his defence of Acre, 380
- Joan of Arc, first appearance of, ii. 83; account of her youth, and introduction to the king of France, 84; relieves Orleans, 85; terrors inspired in the English troops by, 86; the siege of Orleans raised by, 87; her enthusiasm a sufficient cause for her success, without assigning miraculous powers, *ib.*; wins the

- battle of Patay, 88; conducts Charles VII. to Rheims, where he is crowned in 1430, 89; attacks Paris, and is repulsed, *ib.*; is taken prisoner at Compiegne by the Burgundians, *ib.*; is tried for sorcery at Rouen before the bishop of Beauvais, 90; is burnt on May 30, 1431, 91
- John**, son of Henry II., joins Philip of France in a war against his father, i. 304; intrigues against his brother Richard, 314; deposes the chancellor William Longchamp, 315; surrenders some of his brother's continental territories to Philip, and does homage for the rest, 319, 320; gives out that Richard has died in prison, 320; attempts to bribe the emperor of Germany to keep his brother a prisoner, *ib.*; crowned May 27, 1199, 332; the claim of Arthur of Brittany supported by Philip of France, 333; war with Philip, truce, and war renewed, 334; captures Arthur at Tours, 335; suspicions of having caused him to be murdered, *ib.*; is driven out of Normandy by Philip, 336; quarrels with pope Innocent III. in 1207, respecting the appointment of an archbishop of Canterbury, 337; the kingdom placed under an interdict, 337, 338; leads an army into Ireland in 1210, and effects some useful reforms, 338; represses the incursions of the Welsh, 338, 339; plunders the Jews to raise money for his expeditions, *ib.*; small effect of the interdict on the industry of the people, 339, 340; the kingdom, excommunicated and the king deposed by the pope in 1212, and the crown promised to Philip, 341; he anticipates Philip's warlike measures, by sending a fleet which burnt Dieppe, and destroyed many French ships, *ib.*; he submits, and swears fealty to the pope, 342; France prepares to invade England, and a naval victory is gained by the English, 343; admits Langton to the see of Canterbury, *ib.*; invades France in 1214, and is defeated at Bouvines, 344; the clergy and barons enter into a league against him at St. Edmundsbury, 345; he solicits the aid of the pope, 346; the army of God and Holy Church (the army of the barons) march to London, *ib.*; signs Magna Charta on June 15, 1215, at Runnymede, 347; provisions of the Great Charter, 348, 349; effects of, upon the nation, 350, 351; rapid movements of John, after signing the charter, and fallacy of the tradition as to his retirement, 353; with an army of mercenaries he ravages England, and the pope annuls the charter and excommunicates the barons, *ib.*; the crown offered by the barons to Louis of France, 354; resistance of the fortresses to the French, *ib.*; suspected treachery of Louis, 355; death of John on Oct. 18, 1216; buried at Worcester, 356
- John**, archduke, of Austria, commands the Austrian army; his campaign with Moreau; concludes an armistice with him, vii. 396
- Johnson**, Joseph, tried and imprisoned for being concerned in the Manchester reform meeting, viii. 164
- Johnson**, Rev. Sam., tried and imprisoned in 1683 for writing Julian the Apostate, iv. 375; tried and convicted for a libellous publication concerning the army, 410; degraded from the ecclesiastical office and publicly whipped, 411
- Johnson**, Dr. Samuel, he is touched for the king's evil by Queen Anne, v. 272; his gratitude to Gen. Oglethorpe, vi. 63; does penance at a book-stall at Uttoxeter, vii. 83, 84; forms a link between two periods of literature, 84, 85; goes to London, 1737, 84; his vicissitudes and employments for half a century; dies, 1784; his delight in Crabbe's poem "the Village," 85; his "London," published 1738: "Vanity of Human Wishes," 1749, 87; brings out the "Rambler," 1750, and the "Idler," 1758; writes for the "Adventurer," 89; his partiality for tavern life, 95; his prejudice against tradesmen, 113
- Johnstone**, sir James, his remarks on Fox's India declaratory bill, vii. 257
- Joinville**, Prince de, his pamphlet on the naval forces of France, viii. 522, 523
- Jolliffe**, sir William, his account of the Manchester reform meeting of 1819, viii. 105, 106, 107
- Jones**, col., describes the British system of taking towns, vii. 547, 548; and the capture of Badajoz, 549
- Jones**, Inigo, the first to imitate Grecian temples in British churches, v. 453
- Jones**, John Gale, proceeding between parliament and, on a question of privilege, 1810, vii. 527, 528
- Jones**, John Paul, employed by Franklin in an expedition against Great Britain, 1779, vi. 397; attempts to capture Leith and Edinburgh, but is driven back by a gale; attacks some ships convoyed by the Serapis and Scarborough; takes the former; a native of Scotland, 398
- Jones**, Rev. Richard, aids in establishing the principle of the Tithe Commutation Act, viii. 369
- Jordan**, Mrs., her happy connection with the duke of Clarence, viii. 378
- Joseph II.** of Germany, 1765-1790, vi. 465; vii. 574; attempts to coerce Holland, vii. 147
- Josephine** Beauharnois. See Bonaparte, vii. 325; 516; 526
- Joubert**, Alvinzy compels him to retreat, vii. 342; joined by Bonaparte, 343
- Jourdan**, J. B., rises from a packman to command a French army, vii. 267; driven by the prince of Cobourg over the Sambre, Oct. 1793, 293; marshal; appointed to the command of the army of the Moselle, 1794, 312; defeats the Austrians at Arlon; captures Charleroi; wins the battle of Fleurus, June 29; and compels the duke of York to retreat, *ib.*; appointed to the command of the Sambre and Meuse, 1796, 325; failure of the campaign, 328, 329; his campaign with the archduke Charles, 1799, 382; major-general; defeated by Wellington at Vittoria, June 21, 1813, 662
- Joyce**, Rev. Jeremiah; Stanhope's private secretary; charged with high treason, vii. 300
- Joyeuse**, Villaret, admiral of the Brest fleet; defeated by Howe, June 1, 1794, vii. 306
- Judges**, independence of, v. 147
- Julian**, the emperor, builds warehouses for the reception of British corn, i. 35; large quantity furnished to the continent, *ib.*; commands Paulus, governor of Britain, to be burnt 53
- Juliana**, Maria, Christian VII.'s step-mother;

- heads a court party against the queen, **Struensee** and **Brandt**, vi. 329
- Junius**, his letters, vi. 293, 294; characteristics of his writings; abuses **Wilkes**, 294; a master of personal invective, 295; attempts made to give the credit of his productions to sir P. Francis, lord Temple, and Burke; lord Lytton probably the writer, 295, 296; personality of his libels; his attacks upon the duke of Grafton, whose administration he wished to destroy, 297; his private letters; his character; paltry-minded, ambitious, vain, cowardly, 298; assaults the duke of Bedford, 299; his address to the king; prosecution of the publisher, Mr. Woodfall, who escapes punishment, 300
- Junot, A.**, crosses the *Bidassea*; captures the Spanish capital, 1808, vii. 496; defeated by sir A. Wellesley at *Vimiero*, Aug. 21, 1808, 502; retreats to *Torres Vedras*, 503
- KALENDAR**, note on the French Revolutionary, vii. 279, 280
- Kandy**, king of, acquiesces in the British possessing the maritime provinces of Ceylon, viii. 217; deposed for his cruelties, 218
- Katzbach**, battle of the, Aug. 26, 1813, vii. 563
- Kay, John**, introduces the use of the fly-shuttle about 1760, vii. 44
- Keane**, sir John, general, has temporary command of the army in America; commands a division; advances against New Orleans, viii. 17; wounded, 19; commands the Bombay division of the Indian army, 451; his passage through the *Bolan Pass*; besieges *Ghuznee*, 452
- Keate**, Thomas, surgeon-general of the army; not consulted about the *Walcheren* expedition, 1809, vii. 518
- Keith** joins his brother in an expedition to collect the *Jacobites* in Scotland, vi. 35, 36
- Keith**, marshal, slain at *Hochkirchen*, Oct. 1758, vi. 234
- Keith**, Rev. Alexander, his cheap marriage trade; damaged by the new marriage act, 1753, vi. 194
- Keith**, lord, announces to Napoleon that St. Helena is to be his future residence, 1815, viii. 39
- Kellermann**, gains the battle of *Valmy*, Sept. 20, 1792, vii. 234, 235; besieges *Lyon*, 1793, 284; superseded in his command by *Dubois-Crance*, 285
- Kelse** burnt by the earl of *Hertford*, in 1545, ii. 438
- Kempenfeldt**, admiral, his unsuccessful cruise, 1782, vi. 434; perishes at the sinking of the *Royal George*, Aug. 29, 1782, 455
- Kendal**, duchess of, bribed by the South Sea Directors, vi. 44; caricatures of, 45; bribed to promote *Wood's* patent, 50; accompanies *George I.* on his last visit to *Hanover*, 1727, 56
- Kenmare**, viscount, commands the Pretender's Scotch forces, 1715, vi. 11; sentenced to death for his concern in the rebellion, 19; executed on *Tower Hill*, Feb. 24, 1716, 20
- Kent**, duchess of, marries the duke of Kent, July 13, 1818, viii. 97; birth of their daughter, the future queen, *Victoria*, May 24, 1819, *ib.*; death of the duke of Kent, Jan. 23, 1820, 111; appointed sole regent should the king die before the 18th year of the princess *Victoria*, 247; present at Queen *Victoria's* audience with the privy council, 379
- Kent**, his painting, &c., v. 458, 459
- Kent**, agriculture of, vii. 17, 18
- Kentish** petition; its purport, v. 247, 248; ferment caused by the imprisonment of the presenters, 248
- Keppel**, admiral; appointed to the command of the channel fleet; sails from *St. Helens*, June 17, 1778; captures the *Lecorne*; sails to *Pertsmouth*, vi. 392; again puts to sea, July 9; engages *D'Orvilliers* off *Ushant*; his second in command, sir H. Palliser, unable to renew the conflict; debates on their conduct; Palliser charges Keppel with misconduct and incapacity; court-martial on, and acquittal of, 393; created a viscount, and appointed first lord of the admiralty, 454
- Ker, John**, of *Kerslaud*, his account of the *Cameronian* demonstration in 1706; he joins them, acting as a spy to watch their proceedings, v. 325; performs the same part in the *Jacobite* plots of 1707; offers the services of 5000 men to colonel *Heeke*, 334
- Key, John**, lord mayor, 1830; warns the duke of Wellington to come guarded to his banquet, viii. 263
- Keyes**, an assassination plotter; tried, 1696, v. 190
- Khan, Ameer**, joins the *Pindarees* against the British, viii. 216
- Kiel**, treaty of, Jan. 14, 1814, vii. 581
- Killiecrankie**, battle of, July 27, 1689, v. 93, 94
- Killigrew**, admiral, fails in keeping back the French fleet, v. 166
- Kilmarnock**, lord, joins the rebel ranks, 1745, vi. 127; fails in raising his tenants to fight for the *Stuart* cause, 140; trial of, July 28, 1746; pleads guilty; description of his appearance, 173; executed on *Tower Hill*, Aug. 18, 174
- Kilwarden**, lord; lord chief justice, murdered by the *Emmett* insurrectionists, 1803, vii. 426, 427
- Kimbolton**, lord. See *Manchester*, earl of.
- King, Gregory**, estimates the population from the hearth tax returns, v. 2, 3; his "scheme of the income and expense of the several families in England," analysed, 35-37, 48-50, 52, 53, 58-60
- King** tried for taking part in the assassination plot, v. 190
- King**, lord, extract from his diary on a petition for lord *George Murray*, vi. 21, 22; lord chancellor; causes a bill to be introduced enacting that all law proceedings be in the English language, 66
- King, Dr.**, his interview with *Charles Edward* in 1750 in London, vi. 181, 182
- King's Weston**, built by *Vanbrugh*, v. 456
- Kingsley, Charles**, his novel entitled "*Alton Locke*;" quotation from, descriptive of the enlightened behaviour of class towards class in 1862, viii. 478, 479
- Kinsale** capitulates to *Marlborough*, 1690, v. 119
- Kirchdenkern**, battle of, July 15, 1761, vi. 250
- Kit's Coty House**, description of, i. 10
- Kleber, J. B.**, defeated by the Vendéans at *Chollet*, Sept. 1793, vii. 295; serves in *Jourdan's* army, 312; surrender of *Maestricht* to, 1794, 313; his struggle against a *Mussulman*

- army, 380; assassinated. June 14, 1800, 405
- Klundert taken by Dumouriez, vii. 271
- Kneller, Godfrey, a German; patronised by the duke of Monmouth; and becomes the fashionable portrait painter in England, v. 461; list of his more famous likenesses, and their general characteristics, 462; president of a private academy of painting, vii. 67
- Knight, Miss C., quotations from her "Autobiography," illustrative of the relations between the prince Regent and princess Charlotte, viii. 64, 65
- Knight, sir John, complains of the exportation of corn, v. 182
- Knight, John, imprisoned for being concerned in the Manchester reform meeting, 1819. viii. 164
- Knight, cashier of the South Sea Company; flies to Brabant; his tamperings with the cash books, vi. 45
- Knight service instituted by William the Conqueror, i. 214, *et seq.*; finally abolished in 1660, iv. 242
- Knights Templars. See Templars.
- Knox, John, preaches at Perth, and the monastic houses are destroyed, iii. 118; preaches against the seizure of the Church patrimony by the nobles, 122; attacks of, upon Mary, and her avowed hatred of him, 125, 126; preaches against the marriages of Mary with a Roman Catholic prince, 133; returns to Scotland in 1567, and preaches violently against Mary, 151
- König invents the steam printing machine, viii. 132
- Kolin, battle of, June 17, 1757, vi. 228, 229
- Königsmark, count Philip, tragedy of his death, vi. 3
- Kosciusko, engages in the American cause, 1777, vi. 377; appointed leader of the Polish army, 1794, vii. 314; defeats the Russians, April 4, *ib.*; compelled to retreat by the Prussian and Austrian forces, wounded in battle, Oct. 10, 315
- Kuchuk Kanarji, peace of, 1774; its terms, vi. 326, 467
- Kunersdorf, battle of, 1759, vi. 240
- Kyrle, John, "the Man of Ross," a descendant from a serf of bishop Swinfield, i. 397
- LABEDOYÈRE, colonel in the Grenoble garrison; joins Napoleon, 1815, viii. 26; tried by court martial on Louis' restoration, and shot, 47
- Labelye, the builder of Westminster Bridge, vii. 82
- Laborde engaged in the battle of Vimiero, vii. 502
- Labonchere, Henry, master of the mint; vice president of the board of trade, viii. 381
- La Bourdonnais, governor of the Isle de France; Fort St. George capitulates to, 1746, vi. 201
- Labourers, wages of, in 1288, i. 398; statute for regulating the wages of, 471; statute for preventing their removal, 472; gradual emancipation of, from serfdom, ii. 13; statute of 1388 against their changing their professions, *ib.*; in husbandry, not sufficient for the demand, 14; the wives of, subjected to the statute for the regulation of apparel, 102; statute for regulating the hours of labour of, 113; scale of wages for, 114; injury done to, by parliamentary interference with, 116; combinations among, and statute against, in 1423, 116; distress occasioned among, by the fluctuation in the price of wheat, and the statutes fixing a rate of wages, 252; the effects of inclosures upon, 466; sufferings of, in the reign of Henry VIII., from the Statute of Wages in 1515, and the debasement of the coin, 475; love of old ceremonies among, iii. 11; the Protector Somerset's efforts in behalf of, 20; insurrection of, against inclosures, in 1549, 21, 23; festivals and sports of, *temp.* Eliz., 254, 255; severities exercised upon, by the Law of Settlement, 270; statute against the able-bodied, who refuse to work at the usual wages, 271; the legislature declare, in 1563, that the statutes for the regulation of wages cannot be enforced, on account of the high price of provisions, 276; other causes of suffering, 277; healthful influence of the Puritan gentry upon, *temp.* Charles I. iv. 171; their repulsion of strict Puritanism, 172; condition of an agricultural labourer, *regno* of queen Anne as compared with one of the present day, v. 50, 51; character of the agricultural, *temp.* queen Anne, 51; hardship and distress among, caused by the corrupt state of the silver coinage, 182; labour question between master and, from the reign of Edward III. to the present time, vi. 184-186; the laws against the combination of, 185; number of agricultural, in 1770 and 1851, vii. 4; condition of the farm, of Suffolk, 7; the Luddite riots and destruction of machinery, 1812, 543; desire and attempts to level all distinction between, and artisans, viii. 287; incendiary fires and machine breaking, *ib.*; riots at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol, 1831, 288-290; admonition to, 290; limitation of labour in factories, 333, 334; pauperised condition of, 1834; injustice done to the independent, by the old parochial system, 337-340; sanitary condition of; state of their dwellings; evil effects of bad drainage on their health, 391-393; cleanliness amongst town labourers, promoted by public baths and washhouses, 393, 394; condition of the factory workers, 395; cruelties inflicted on the children and women employed in the coal mines, 395, 396; condition of agricultural, 396-398; condition of, during the prevalence of Chartism in 1839, 417, 418; popularity of Chartist principles amongst, 419; sir J. Graham's bill for limiting the hours of labour in factories to twelve; debate and amendments on it, 515, 516; the bill passed, 516; Fielden's bill, for limiting the number of working hours in factories to ten, passed, 552
- Lace trade, reigns of William and Anne, v. 19, 20
- La Fayette, G. M., appointed major-general in the United States army, 1777, vi. 377; present at Cornwallis's surrender, 1781, 428; elected commander of the French national guard, 1789, vii. 174; attempts to save Toulon, 175; ordered to march to Versailles, 178; conducts the royal family to Paris, 180; takes the oath at the federation fête, 189; keeps watch over the royal family in the Tuileries, 200; they escape, 201; causes them to be captured and conducted back to Paris, 202; commands the centre army sent against Austria, 1792, 219; denounces the instigators of the insurrection of June 20; the mob compel him to fly from Paris, 222; opposes the orders of

- the assembly; is declared a traitor; quits his army; is arrested by the Austrians, and imprisoned, 228; commands the national guard of Paris, July 1830; obtains possession of the Hotel de Ville, viii. 254; where he receives the duke of Orleans, 255
- La Feuillade, French general, besieges Turin, v. 300
- Lafitte heads a deputation requesting Marmont to suspend hostilities, viii. 253; obtains the premiership of France, 1830, 374
- Lagnerre, patronised by Charles II. and his court, v. 447
- Lahar reduced by captain Popham, vii. 129
- La llogue, battle of, May 19, 1692, v. 149, 150
- Lake school of poetry, viii. 118
- Lake, general Gerard, his campaign against the Irish rebels, 1798, vii. 365; surrender of the French under Humbert to, 368; commands the troops in Hindostan; compels the French to retreat; his triumphant campaign completed in the victory of Laswarree, Nov. 1, 1803, 456
- Lake district, farmers of the, vii. 31; the home of poetry, *ib.*; cultivation in the; changes in the social condition of its inhabitants; turnips first grown as a field crop, 1793, 32
- Lamartine, remarks of, on the September massacres, 1792, vii. 230, 231
- Lamb, sir C. M., his account of Burke's dagger speech, vii. 255
- Lamb, Charles, character of his essays, viii. 128
- Lamb, William. See Melbourne.
- Lamballe, princesse de, a friend of Marie Antoinette; her death scene, Aug. 10, 1792, vii. 229, 230
- Lambert, John, trial of, for denying the real presence in the eucharist, ii. 406; disputation of, with Henry VIII., 407; is burnt, 408
- Lambert, General, engaged in the attack on New Orleans, 1815, viii. 18, 19
- Lambesc, prince, attempts to quell the Paris riots, 1789, vii. 170
- Lancashire before the cotton era, v. 23; formerly an agricultural county, vii. 26; the hill farmers of, now and eighty years ago, 26, 27; Fylde moss converted into productive land, 27; double occupation of farmer and weaver in, 46; rapid increase of Bolton, Bury, Birmingham, and Manchester, 52
- Lancaster, John of Gaunt, duke of, apprehensions entertained of the ambitious designs of, ii. 3, 19; is accused of treason, 20; demands a trial, but the witness against him dies, 21; leaves England to assert his claim to the crown of Castile, 22; returns to England in 1389, 26; dies in 1398, and his possessions are seized by Richard II., 32
- Lancastrian party, defeat of the, at the battle of Towton, ii. 147; extreme distress of, in exile, 151; total depression of, after the battle of Tewkesbury, 169
- Landan, siege of; capitulates to the allies, 1704, v. 287
- Landen, or Neerwinden, battle of, July 29, 1693, v. 164-166
- Landseer, sir Edwin, succeeds Ward as an animal painter, viii. 155
- Langara, admiral of the Spanish fleet; taken prisoner by the British; surprise at William IV.'s obedience as a midshipman, vi. 552
- Langdale, destruction of his distillery by the Gordon rioters, 1780, vi. 409, 410
- Langton, Stephen, elected archbishop of Canterbury, in 1207; but John refuses him admission, and banishes the monks, i. 337; takes possession of his see, in 1213, 343; opposes the despotism of John, *ib.*; joins the barons at Saint Edmundsbury, in their league against John, 345; conveys the provisions of Magna Charta to John at Oxford, who rejects them, 346; refuses to excommunicate the barons on the order of the pope, 354; excommunicates "all violaters of the liberties of the Church," 366, 367
- Lansdown, lord, Henry Petty; chancellor of the exchequer, 1806, vii. 464, 577; his financial propositions, 478; lord president of the council viii. 267, 381
- Lanusse leads the French infantry at the battle of Alexandria; slain, Mar. 21, 1801, vii. 407
- Las Torres, count of, besieges San Mateo, 1705; is compelled to raise the siege by Peterborough, who follows his retreating army, v. 296
- Laswarree, battle of, Nov. 1, 1803, vii. 456
- Latimer, Hugh, offer of a bribe by, to Cromwell, ii. 368; participation of, in the burning of heretics, 408; preaches against images and relics, 409; resigns his bishopric on the passing of the Six Articles Act in 1539, and is committed to prison, 420; commendation of archery by, 460; advice of, to pay sufficient salaries to officials, and prevent their taking bribes, 462; description of a farmer's life by, 468; accused of speaking seditiously against the debasement of the coinage, 474; remonstrance of, against burials in towns, 482; sermon of, on the execution of lord Thomas Seymour, iii. 18; committed to the Tower, after the accession of Mary, on Nov. 13, 1553, 57; condemned, with Ridley and Cranmer, for heresy, at Oxford, 73; burning of, with Ridley, at Oxford, in Sept. 1555, 90, 91
- Latin language, probable prevalence of, in England, under the Romans, i. 47; opinion of lord Macaulay as to its non-prevalence, *ib.*; incorporation of much Latin in the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh languages, *ib.*
- Latour, an Austrian general; defeated by Moreau, 1796, vii. 328, 329
- Latude, his escape from the Bastille, 1756, vii. 171
- Laud, archbishop, introduction of ceremonial observances into the Church service by, iii. 403; persecution of William Prynne, 412; and of Dr. Alexander Leighton, 413; approves of Strafford's principle of *thorough*, 415; urges on the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, 429; which occasions, in 1637, the revolt of Scotland, and the adoption of the National Covenant, 430, *et seq.*; his palace, at Lambeth, attacked by the populace, on May 11, 1640, 436; his fears of the parliament of 1640, and his superstitious forebodings, 439; opinion of, as to infringements of law, 440; is arrested, and impeached by the Commons, 446; Parliament resumes proceedings against, iv. 38; defends himself with skill and courage, but is condemned for high treason, and is beheaded on Jan. 10, 1645, *ib.*
- Lauderdale, earl of, visits Paris, Aug. 1792, vii. 223, 224; his doubts of British operations in Holland, 1793, 270; sent to Paris to negotiate

- for peace, 469, 470; opposes the gas company, 1816, viii. 66
- Launay, De, governor of the Bastille, vii. 171; defends it against the mob, July 14, 1789, 172; capitulates on condition of having a free pass; he is seized and murdered by the mob, 173
- Laurens, Henry, president of congress; foresees more war, May, 1778, vi. 390; a commissioner for acquiring peace, 1782, 457
- Lauriston, general, enthusiastic reception of, in London, as the bearer of peace, 1801, vii. 408, 409; his despatch to Bonaparte, 1805, 443
- Lauzun, general, his conduct at the Boyne, 1690, v. 108; considers Limerick untenable, 116
- Lavalette tried by court martial for aiding Bonaparte; condemned to death; escapes, viii. 47
- La Vendée, the war in, 1793, vii. 292-296
- Law, proceedings of, ordered to be transacted in the English language, 1731, vi. 65, 66
- Law, John, his Mississippi scheme, vi. 43, 44
- Law of Settlement. See Settlement.
- Law reform. See Brougham.
- Lawrence, captain of the "Chesapeake," his combat with Broke; died 1813, viii. 11
- Lawrence, his conference with Akbar Khan; suspects his good faith; placed as a hostage in his hands, viii. 456
- Lawrence, major, commands the forces blockading Trichinopoly, 1752, vi. 205
- Lawrence, sir Thomas, popularity of, as a portrait painter, died 1830, viii. 152
- Laybach, congress at; circular issued by, 1821, viii. 176, 177, 382
- Layer, Christopher, executed for being concerned in a conspiracy against George I., 1722, vi. 49
- Leach, sir John, vice-chancellor, viii. 158; the king's adviser in the matter of the queen, 163
- Lead mines of Derbyshire, v. 21
- Lead, black, mine of Borrowdale, v. 29
- Leake, admiral sir John, attacks De Pontis, and destroys his fleet, March, 1704, v. 292; as admiral sails with reinforcements for the relief of Barcelona, 1706, 298; captures Sardinia; carries Port Mahon, 1708, 338
- Lear, legend of, given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, i. 2
- Lebas guillotined, 1794, vii. 310
- Lo Brun imprisoned, vii. 277; associated with Bonaparte as consul, 387; has the control of the finances, 392
- Lechmere returned M.P. 1710, v. 364; impeaches the earl of Derwentwater of high treason, 1716, vi. 19; brings in a bill to strengthen the Protestant interest, 24; his amendment of the Septennial bill, 25
- Leclere aids in expelling the Assembly from their hall, 1799, vii. 384, 385
- Lede, marquis di, lands in Sicily with an army; his operations, 1718, vi. 34
- Lee, Arthur, appointed a commissioner to take charge of American affairs in Europe; his negotiations, vi. 372
- Leeds, description of its cloth market, and the clothiers attending it, v. 27; obtains parliamentary representation, 1832, viii. 307; population of, in 1831 and 1861, 308
- Leeds, Thomas Osborne, duke of, urges William not to abandon England, v. 99, 100; authorised by William to present an Act of Grace for political offences to the peers, 104; prev-
- ol. ix.—292.
- sides at Mohun's trial, 160; impeached for bribery, but on the prorogation of parliament, the impeachment fell to the ground, 177
- Leefdale, baron de, a partner in Grandvalet's plot to assassinate William, 1692, v. 152, 154
- Lee Priory, Kent, built by Wyatt, viii. 141
- Lefebvre, general, taken prisoner by the British, 1808, vii. 505
- Legard, sir Digby, his agricultural improvements, vii. 27, 28
- Legendre, his petition to Louis, 1792, vii. 221
- Legends, early British, i. 1, 2
- Legge, H. B., chancellor of the exchequer, vi. 208, 320; refuses his signature to the subsidy warrants, 1755, 208; he is dismissed his office, 209; reappointed to it, 1755, 218, 320; again dismissed, 1757, 220; receives the freedom of London, 221; again reappointed, 1757, 227, 321; again removed, 1761, 246
- Legion Memorial, the, 1701, v. 248, 249
- Legislative Assembly established, 1791; its constitution and parties, vii. 205
- Legnitz, battle of, 1760, vi. 240
- Leicester, Simon de Montfort, earl of. See Montfort.
- Leicester, earl of, recommended as a husband to Mary of Scotland in 1564, iii. 134; is appointed to the command of the army in the Netherlands, 182; ambitious views of, 183; repulsed at the battle of Zutphen, 184; death of, 237
- Leicestershire, its trades and manufactures, v. 19
- Leipzig, alliance of, April, 1631, v. 386; battles of, Oct. 16 and 18, 1813, vii. 564
- Leith burnt by the earl of Hertford, in 1545, ii. 437
- Lely, extensive employment of, by the court of Charles II., v. 447, 461
- Lennox, lady Sarah, George III.'s love for, vi. 247
- Leoben, preliminaries of peace of, signed April 18, 1797, vii. 343, 412
- Leopold I., of Germany, represented at the Hague congress, 1691; his interests, v. 122; desires the prolongation of war, 1697, 199; married one of Charles II. of Spain's sisters, 225; delays signing the Partition treaty, 1700, 242; joins the Grand Alliance against France, 1701, 250; succeeded by Joseph I., 1705, 475
- Leopold II., of Germany; meets the king of Prussia at Pilsnitz; they issue the declaration of Pilsnitz, 1791, vii. 207; died, Mar. 1, 1792, 217; the French declare war against him, 1792, 412; emperor, 1790-1792, 574
- Leopold of Belgium, prince of Saxe Coburg; marries princess Charlotte, May 2, 1816; national acquiescence in the marriage, viii. 53, 54; national sympathy at his loss of the princess, 1818, 94; chosen king, 1831; marries Louis Philippe's eldest daughter, vii. 373
- Lepaux, president of the French Directory, his proclamation, 1797, vii. 335
- Lesuire, a Vendean leader, vii. 294; his humanity saves 5000 Vendeanes; his horror on hearing of the queen's death, 295; death of, 1793, 296
- Lesley, general David (afterwards earl of Leven), a military leader of the Covenanters surprises Edinburgh castle in 1639, iii. 434; commands an army which marches to oppose Charles I. at Berwick, 435; commands the forces, in

- 1640, sent with a petition to England, 437; routs the king's troops at Newburn, near Newcastle, on Aug. 28, *ib.*; enters England at the head of the Scottish army, iv. 31; defeats Montrose at Philiphaugh, 52; re-establishes the Covenanting power in the Lowlands, *ib.*; letter of, to the Committee of both kingdoms, concerning the king's arrival at Newark, May 6, 1646; Charles I. returns to Scotland with the Scotch army, *ib.*; Cromwell meets with a vigorous resistance from, in his advance into Scotland in 1650, 133; position of his army at Dunbar, 134; where he is defeated, 135; makes another stand at Stirling, 136; invades England as lieutenant-general under Charles, *ib.*; defeated at Worcester, 139
- L'Estrange, sir Roger, establishment of the London Gazette by, in 1665, iv. 231; is made licenser of the press, *ib.*
- L'Estrange, colonel, commands the hussars at the Manchester massacre, 1819; viii. 107, 108
- Lethbridge, sir Thomas, his motion against Burdett, vii. 527
- Letters, difficulties of transmission of, in the 15th century, ii. 127
- Letters opened by the secretary of state; agitated state of the country thereat; inquiry into the extent of the practice, viii. 518; reports of the committees; they tranquillize the public, 519
- Leuthen, or Lissa, battle of, Dec. 5, 1757, vi. 231
- Levellers, rise of, in the army, iv. 86; the mutiny of, suppressed by Cromwell, in 1647, 87; character of, 117; a mutiny of, in 1649, again suppressed by Cromwell and Fairfax, 118
- Leven, earl of. See Lesley, general David.
- Lewes, battle of, on May 13, 1264, i. 374
- Leycester, moves for Melville's impeachment, 1805, vii. 440
- Libel bill fails in being passed, 1791, but is carried, June 11, 1792, vii. 212, 213
- Libraries, parochial, founded by Dr. Bray, v. 206; and established by act of parliament in 1708, *ib.*
- Licensing act, expiration of the, 1693, v. 158; proposed renewal of, rejected, 1695, 177
- Licensing plays, the act for, 1737, vi. 90
- Licentiousness of society at various periods in the 17th and 18th centuries, v. 57, 58, 206, 207; vii. 103, 111, 112
- Liège, captured by Marlborough, Oct. 23, 1702, v. 260; invested by Villeroi, 1705, 302
- Ligny, battle of, June 16, 1815, viii. 29, 30
- Ligonier, sir John, commander of the English cavalry at Lauffeld; taken prisoner, vi. 180
- Lilburne, John, taken prisoner at Brentford, but is released, iv. 8; publishes, in 1647, bitter denunciations against the betrayers of the people, 79; permitted to ride out for his health, having been sent to the Tower, 86; goes to the rendezvous of the Adjutors, *ib.*; conduct of his regiment there, 87; publishes several pamphlets, for which he is committed to the Tower, 117; sends out another pamphlet, 118; sends forth more pamphlets, 119; in consequence of which he is tried in 1649, but is acquitted, *ib.*; speech of, at his trial, *ib.*; rejoicings throughout London at his acquittal, *ib.*
- Lille, besieged by the Allies, 1708, v. 338, 340; surrender Dec. 29, 346; bombarded unsuccessfully by the Austrians, Oct. 1792, vii. 236
- Limbourg taken by Marlborough, 1703, v. 266
- Limehouse church built by Hawksmoor, v. 457
- Limerick, the Jacobites take refuge in, v. 115; description of the town and surrounding country in a military point of view, 116; invested by William III., Aug. 9, 1690, 117; Sarsfield, the commander of the garrison, with 500 horse, makes a successful attack upon William's supplies and artillery, *ib.*; several attempts to take the town by assault failed, and the siege raised on the 29th, 118; capitulates to general Ginkell, 1691, 123; treaty of, 129
- Lincoln, general, commands the forces in Charleston; capitulates May 12, 1780, vi. 411
- Lincoln, Abraham, president of the United States; his message proposing a gradual emancipation of the slaves, 1862, viii. 330
- Lincolnshire, population of; reclaiming the land in, v. 21; fens of, drained and reclaimed by Rennie, vii. 14, 15; reclamation of the heath and wolds of, 15, 16; 22 persons to every 100 acres in 1841, 24
- Lind, captain of the Edinburgh city guard; his evidence as to the Porteous riot, vi. 81
- Lindsay, lieutenant, his share in the Glencoe massacre, 1692, v. 138, 139, 141
- Line engraving and engravers, 1784-1820, viii. 156
- Linen trade, the, *temp.* William and Anne, v. 25
- Lingard, Dr., character of his "History of England," viii. 473
- Linieres, general, commands the troops in Buenos Ayres, 1817; obtains favourable terms from general Whitelock, vii. 486
- Lisbon, peace of, Feb. 13, 1668, v. 387; earthquake at, 1755, vi. 210
- Lisle, lady Alice, execution of, for harbouring a traitor, iv. 399
- Lisle, negotiations at, for peace, 1797, vii. 342
- Lissa. See Leuthen.
- Literature, view of the, *temp.* William and Anne, v. 60; sketch of the, from 1709 to 1742; the essayists; general literal capacity of the period; the legislature connected with, and the poets, 401-416; manners of the same period illustrated by its, 417-432; rise of a reading public, 433; spread of knowledge of ancient, 434; popular element in controversy, 435; "battle of the books," by Swift, published 1704, *ib.*; Pope's essay on criticism, 436; banter upon antiquaries, 436, 437; his "Dunciad," 437-441; character of Swift's writings, 442; his "Tale of the Tub," 443; "Gulliver's Travels," 443, 444; Defoe, 445; "The Craftsman," the party organ for Walpole's opponents, Pulteney and others, printed by Benjamin Franklin, who is convicted of a libel, 1731, vi. 67; the proceedings of Parliament not published for several years subsequent to 1747, 178; Henry Fielding's "Inquiry into the Causes of the late increase of Robbers, 1750," 191; Goldsmith's "History of England," 1771, 193; Wilkes and Churchill start the "North Briton," June, 1762, 260; Churchill's "Prophecy of Famine," Jan. 1763, 261; Dickens's "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania," 307; arrest of printers for publishing

- the debates of parliament, 317; after much agitation and rioting, the affair blows over, and the printers and others are released from prison, 318, 319; advanced by Jesuitical efforts, 327; Yorkshire dialect 60 years since, vii. 29; changes in the commerce of, 83, 84; the age of magazines, 84; Johnson the link between the two periods, 1737-1783, 85; state of, time of George II., 86, 87; Richardson, 87, 88; Fielding, 88; Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith, 89; the writers from 1760-1783, 89, 90; publication of Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution," 1790, 190; "Anti-Jacobin," started by Canning; first number appeared Nov. 20, 1797, 345; immense influence of Cobbett's "Two-penny Register" upon the labouring classes, 1816, viii. 73, 74; sketch of English, 1754-1820, 112-138; Cowper, 112-114; Crabbe, 114, 115; Burns, 116; Darwin, 117; Della Cruscan school, *ib.*; the Lake school, 117, 118; Southey, Coleridge, 118; and Wordsworth, 118, 119; Scott, 119, 120; Byron, 120; Shelley and Keats; the narrative poems of Campbell, Rogers, Byron, Hunt, Moore, 121; and Crabbe; delineation of manners contained in his works, 121, 122; a more Evangelical spirit is revived amongst the people, 122, 123; the theological literature, 123, 124; sermons of Chalmers, Blair, and Hall, 124; hatred of the stage, 124, 125; plays written by Byron, Coleridge, and Milman, 125; the smaller novelists, 125, 126; the Waverley novels, 126, 127; and Jane Austen's writings; the Edinburgh Review, 127, and the Quarterly; Blackwood's Magazine; the essayists; Lamb, 128; Hazlitt, 128, 129; Hunt and Foster; the political economists—Malthus, Mill, Ricardo, and Chalmers, 129; coarseness of the journalism of 1820, 169; the press and its regulation in India, 222, 223; "Penny Magazine" started, March 31, 1832, 311; its large circulation a proof of the increased desire of the people for knowledge, 312; the new law of copyright of 1842, and its application to copyrights about to expire, 462-467; the novelists—Galt, 467; Hook, 467, 468; ephemeral critics and superficially informed writers, 468, 469; utilitarianism, 469, 470; changes in the character of literature, 470; the historians—Macaulay, 470-472; Hallam, 472; Carlyle, 472, 473; Lingard, Tyler, Forster, Mahon, 473; Brougham, 473, 474; Napier, Mitford, Thirlwall, Grote, 474; the novelists—Lytton, Dickens, Ainsworth, Thackeray, and others, 475; prevalence of serials and works of fiction, 475, 476; Miss Martineau's political economy tales, 477, 478; the novels of Dickens, Gaskell, 478; Kingsley, 478, 479; Thackeray, 479; the poets—Tennyson, Browning, 480, 481; Hood, 481, 482; Punch; Theological writers, 482; the political economy and statistical writers; the scientific writers, 483; the essayists and critics, 483, 484; antiquarian publication; travels, the book trade, 484; newspapers, 484, 485; analysis of the literature issued, 1316-1851, 486; chronological table of the British writers of the present century, 487-491
- L**ithography, invention of; introduced into England; early prints and lithographs, viii. 157
- Littleton contests the speakership of the Commons with Harley, 1701, v. 252
- Liturgy, bill for the reform of, rejected, 1689, v. 73
- Liverpool, communication between the trading towns and, very imperfect before the Mersey, Irwell, and Weaver were made navigable, v. 24; rapid progress of, 25; formerly engaged in the slave trade, *ib.*
- Liverpool, earl of, Robert Jenkinson; lord Hawkesbury; makes his first speech on the side of government, 1794, vii. 317; foreign secretary, 1801-1804, 401, 577; his frequent interviews with Otto; signs the preliminaries of peace with France, 1801, 408; complains of Napoleon's conduct, 410; his correspondence with Talleyrand, 1804, 432, 433; declines the premiership; lord warden of the Cinque Ports, 1806, 463; home secretary, 1807, 480; unable to send Wellington fresh troops, 521; his fears for the safety of the British army in Portugal, 1809, 524; war and colonial secretary of state, 1809-1812, 526, 577; declares England unable to continue operations long in the Peninsula, 537; prime minister; first commissioner of the treasury, June, 1812, 542, 543; home secretary, 1804-1806, 577; congratulates Wellington on his victory at Salamanca, 555; proposes a bill of pains and penalties against queen Caroline, viii. 168; but subsequently abandons it, 172; presses for the re-admission of Canning into the Cabinet, 174; tries a second time in vain, 181; his answer to the king's question as to what political principles were to be followed, 184, 185; measures proposed for insuring the stability of the public credit, 199, 200; he is against granting relief to Roman Catholics, 201; taken with a fit of apoplexy, Feb. 18, 1827, which incapacitates him for business; his long friendship with Canning, 203
- Livingstone, sir Thomas, commander of the forces in Scotland, v. 132; instructions to, as to Highland rebels, 132, 135; considered not guilty of the Glencoe massacre, 141
- Local Jurisdiction Courts bill rejected, 1833, viii. 325, 326
- Lochiel. See Cameron of Lochiel.
- Loeke opposes the depreciated currency theory, v. 184
- Locker, E. H., note on; quotation from his memoir on major André, vi. 416
- Lollards, rise and increase of the, ii. 11; the doctrines of, enforced by Piers Ploughman, *ib.*; the statute de heretico comburendo, the first in England for punishing heresy with death, passed in 1400 for the suppression of, 45; burning of William Salter, a London clergyman, *ib.*; alleged conspiracy of, against the State, on the conviction of Oldcastle for heresy, 54; suppressed, and some of the conspirators executed, 55; new statute against, *ib.*; the spirit of, not wholly trodden out in time of Henry VIII., 276
- Londinium, sacked and destroyed by Boadicea, A.D. 61, i. 23; Roman antiquities of, discovered in 1784, 25
- London, state of, under the Romans, i. 42; Roman remains found at, 42, 43; power and population of, in the time of Stephen, 263; amusements and exercises of the inhabitants, 264; they assist in the "Rout of Wir-

chester," and capture the earl of Gloucester, 265; oppression on the industry of, by Henry III., 364; riots in, in consequence, 365; unpopularity of Queen Eleanor, *ib.*; notice of bishop Swinfield's house in Old Fish-street, in 1289, 401; markets and shops, 402; state of the streets and highways, 402, 403; construction of the houses, 403; coal not then generally used, *ib.*; state of, in 1453, *ib.*, 141; sanitary regulations for, 253; riot in, on Evil May Day, 1517, against the Flemings, 293; buildings of, *temp.* Henry VIII., 478; state of the highways and streets, 479; statute of sewers passed for, in 1427, 480; Act for supplying, with water from Hampstead and other places, 481; provision for lighting, *ib.*; statute for regulating watermen's fares, 482; unwholesomeness of the churchyards in, *ib.*; wealth of the traders, in *ib.*; Henry Machyn's Diary of the sights and events in, during the first year of the Marian persecution, *ib.*, 94, *et seq.*; villanies practised in, *temp.* Eliz., 273; increase of London and Westminster, 274; statutes against the increase of buildings, 275; hospitals and almshouses, 276; plague of 1603 in, 309; New River brought to, by sir Hugh Myddleton in 1613, 355; continued increase of, 356; ravages of the plague in 1625, 388, 389; proclamation by Charles I. against the increase of houses in, and fines extorted in 1633 to prevent their being pulled down, 416; hackney-coaches forbidden, in 1635, to pass up and down the streets, 417; despotic order of Charles I. to pull down houses and shut up shops, but without any aim at public improvement, 425; reception given by, to Mary de Medicis in 1638, 426; apprentices of, tumults raised by, in favour of the parliament, 472; skirmishes of, with Lunsford and the cavaliers, 473; shutting up of the playhouses in, 487; described by Milton at the commencement of the Civil War, *ib.*; character of the volunteers and militia of, at the time of the Civil War, 488; active exertions of the women of, in favour of the parliamentary party, *ib.*; character of the apprentices, 489; ordered to be fortified, and plan of fortifications, 498; inhabitants of, march to Turnham Green, *ib.*, 10; anxious for peace, *ib.*; plot to arm the royalists in, discovered, 15, 16; unusual agitation of, 20; prowess of the trained bands of, at the battle of Newbury, 24; consternation of, at the approach of the army, 73; tumults in, 77; royalists re-action and riots in, 90; popular demonstration in, in consequence of Cromwell's departure, 91; bonfires lighted throughout, on account of John Lilburne's acquittal, 119; tumult of the Fifth Monarchy men, in 1657, 206; rising of apprentices in, against Oliver Cromwell, 212; anger of people of, at the expensive pageantry at Oliver Cromwell's burial, 218; burning of the Rump in 1660, 229; the Great Plague of 1665, 269 *et seq.*; deficient supply of water, bad drainage, and crowded dwellings, great promoters of its fatality, 270; Defoe's narrative of it, 271; departure of the Court, and of such of the inhabitants as were able, 273; some of the clergy and the nonconforming ministers remain, 275; Great Fire of, 282 *et seq.*; accounts of, by Pepys

and Evelyn, 283, 284; by Baxter, 285; estimated loss occasioned by, 287; Wren's plan for rebuilding the city, 289; panic of, on the Dutch burning the English ships in the Medway, 297; cut off from their supply of coal by the Dutch fleet, 298; panic of the inhabitants at the revelations of Oates's Popish Plot in 1678, 336; excitement in, on the occasion of the Court manœuvring to cause Dudley North to be appointed sheriff, 365, 366; a *quo warranto* against the city for misdemeanors, which submits to conditions, 369; monastic establishments opened in 1686, 409; great rejoicings in, on the acquittal of the seven bishops in 1687, 428; riots in, on James II. quitting Whitehall, 441; influence of the large population of, upon agriculture, *v.* 31; population in 1688 and 1801, 37; vessels belonging to the port of, in 1702, *ib.*; extensive commerce of, at the commencement of the 18th century, 38; the various trading companies of, 39; the banking system commenced in, *temp.* Charles II., *ib.*; mania for companies in, at the beginning of the 18th century, 41; Lictories, *ib.*; the tradesmen of, in queen Anne's reign, 42; the rebuilding of, by sir C. Wren, after the fire, 43; the progress of the fashionable world of, to the west, 43, 44; its streets; their state, passengers, and police, 45, 46; desire of nobility and gentry to gather in, 57; the manners and customs of, as influenced by this desire, *ib.*; large amount of pauperism in, *temp.* queen Anne, 60; club life of, 427, 428; Wren's improvements in, 450; St. Paul's cathedral, 450-452; the parish churches of, built by Wren, 452-454; street life of, *temp.* Anne and George I., 466-468; the Londoners prepare to resist the Highlanders, 1745, *vi.* 149; public feeling in, during the rebellion, 149, 150; prevalence of robberies, and scarcity of police in, *temp.* George II., 192; riots of Spitalfields weavers in 1765, 276; the Wilkite mob, 1768, 290; riots among the sailors and coal-heavers, *ib.*; address and remonstrance of the city of, denying the legality of the parliament, 314, 315; contests between the house of commons and the corporation of, 317; address and remonstrance of the city of, to the king, denouncing the government measures respecting America, 348; monument in memory of W. Pitt, earl of Chatham, erected in the Guildhall by the corporation of, 390; Gordon riots in, 1780, 406-410; supply of animal food for, from Essex, *vii.* 8; butter and ducks from Bucks, 9; sale of cattle and sheep at Smithfield in 1732, 1770 and 1859, 12; eating, coffee, and chop-houses; and other public refreshment places in, 94-96; Highbury barn; the Devil tavern; the Mitre; the White conduit house; the Globe; Garraway's and White's, 95; the Chapter coffee-house, 96; Ranelagh gardens opened, 1742, *ib.*; the company at the Ranelagh and Vauxhall gardens, 96-98; the Pantheon opened, 1772, 98; club-life and gambling in: Almack's, Boodle's, White's, &c., 104, 105; the citizens and tradesmen of; their gluttony and ignorance, 113; manners and characters of the lower orders, 113, 114; rables and mobs in, 115, 116; the police and watchmen of, 116, 117; thanksgiving in, on

- the king's recovery, 1788, 155; assault on the king by a mob of, 1795, 323; the declaration of the inhabitants of, that they will defend the British kingdom, 1803, 425; the corporation of, opposes the renewal of the Income tax in 1816, viii. 52; its crime encouraged by its police; extensive prevalence of crime and vice, 65; state of, before and after the passing of the Westminster Paving and Lighting Act in 1762, 65, 66; the introduction of gas in Pall Mall in 1807 considerably influenced the prevention of crime, 66; mendicity, vagrancy, and destitution in, 66, 67; evils produced by the law of settlement, 67; inquiry into the state of education of the poorer classes of, 69; saving banks in, 70; the Hampden club of, 75; the Spenceans, 75, 76; the meeting in the Spa fields, and the riot in the city, which latter is put down by the mayor, 76-78; architecture and architects of, 140-148; Waterloo bridge commenced 1811, completed 1817, built by Rennie; Southwark and Vauxhall bridges, 147, 148; docks of, and London bridge built by Rennie, 148; the sculpture of, 148-150; the Townley, Phigaleian, and Elgin marbles, 150; enthusiastic sympathy of its mechanics with queen Caroline, 168, 169; mechanics' institution of, inaugurated by Dr. Birkbeck, 1823; university of, opened, 1828, 231; dread of the proposed new police for, 1828, 232; increased representation of, effected by the Reform Act of 1832; condition of the four new boroughs—Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, 306, 307; population and houses in, 1841, 386, 387; supply of food to, 387-391; sanitary condition of its labouring classes, 391-394; evils arising from interment in, 394; Walker's usefulness in reclaiming the Devil's Acre, 399
- London bridge, building of, in 1209, i. 339; new bridge, viii. 148
- London Gazette, establishment of, by sir Roger L'Estrange, in 1665, iv. 281
- Londonderry, siege of, and gallant defence by Walker and Baker, 1689, v. 82-86; invested April 20, 83; miseries, starvation, and agonising despair endured by the besieged, 84; the relief, 85; the siege is raised, Aug. 1, 86
- Londonderry, marquis of. See Castlereagh, lord.
- Londonderry, marquis of, anger of, in parliament, 1831, viii. 277; being considered incompetent to act as ambassador to Russia he declines the post, 1835, 356
- Long Parliament, the meeting of, on Nov. 3, 1640, iii. 438, 439, 442; its character, 439; opened by Charles I., 443; Lenthall chosen speaker, 444; votes the release of the persons imprisoned by the Star Chamber, *ib.*; Pym's speech in, impeaching Strafford, 445; Strafford and Land impeached by, 446; Finch, Windebank, and the Ship-Money judges impeached by, 446, 447; orders issued by, for destroying crucifixes, images, superstitious pictures, &c., *ib.*; a bill of attainder passed against Strafford, 456; act passed against the untimely adjourning or dissolving of the parliament without its own consent, 457; it proceeds in its reforms, and abolishes the Star-Chamber Court, the Court of High Commission, and other arbitrary courts, 460, 461; act for the pacification of Scotland passed, 461; the Irish insurrection of 1641 break out, 463; requested by the king to take measures for the suppression of the rebellion, *ib.*; debate on the Remonstrance, and its adoption, 466; formation of parties for the approaching struggle, 468; the earls of Holland, Leicester, and Essex, join the parliamentary party, 469; the Remonstrance presented to the king, *ib.*; popular tumults, increase of petitioning, and cry against the bishops, 471; rise of the terms of Roundhead and Cavalier, 472; twelve bishops protest against the force used towards them, and are committed to the Tower for treason, *ib.*; the question of the militia ordered to be taken into consideration, on Jan. 3, 1642, 473; the claims of the Commons an invasion of the rights of the Crown, 474; the king attempts to seize the five members, Pym, Hollis, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode, on Jan. 3, 475; sir R. Verney's account of the proceedings on the occasion, 476; the members retire to the city, and the king demands them at Guildhall, 478; they are brought back in triumph to the House, 479; the governors of Portsmouth and Hull, are directed by ordinance to hold those places for "the king and parliament," *ib.*; the bill for excluding bishops from the House of Lords agreed to, and the Militia bill refused, by the king, 480; the House approves of Hotham having refused the king entrance into Hull, 481; the leaders prepare for war, but send propositions to the king at York, 482; the king sets up his standard at Nottingham, 495; attempts to negotiate, 496; but his propositions are rejected, 497; issues a declaration of war, and Essex marches from London, 498; sends proposals to Charles, after the battle of Edgehill, to negotiate, iv. 7; sends commissioners to Charles at Oxford, in March, 1643, to negotiate for peace, 14; establishes a Great Seal, and provides for the due administration of justice, *ib.*; Edmund Waller's plot against, 15; Waller's arrest, and execution of Chaloner and Tomkins, 16; negotiations of, for an alliance with Scotland, 27; its members swear to the "solemn League and Covenant," 28; conformity to Presbyterianism enforced by, 30; resolves to fill up the vacancies in the House, and increased strength of the Independents in consequence, 54; receives overtures of pacification from the king, and rejects them, 55; negotiation with the Scots for the surrender of the king, 62; state of parties in, *ib.*; the treaty concluded, and the king surrendered, 63; end of the first Civil War, 65; struggle of the Presbyterian members to repress the Independents, who are strong in the army, and are headed by Cromwell, 68; vote passed for disbanding the army, 69; petition against, presented by the officers, *ib.*; proceedings of Adjutors, 70; private resolution of the members of, to arrest Cromwell, 71; the army removes the king from Holmby, *ib.*; the army advances to London and demands the impeachment of eleven of the Presbyterian members, 73; they withdraw, and the House votes the adoption of the army's proceedings, *ib.*; tumults in London, and the mob forces the House to rescind a vote passed on the day before, 77; the speaker and many of the members proceed to the army,

- and the Presbyterian party resumes its pre-dominance, 78; Fairfax and the army restore the speaker and the Independent members, 79; declares against any further treaty with the king, 89; reaction of the people against, in favour of the king, 90; treaty of Newport commenced, 98; a Remonstrance sent by the army to, 100; the army is marched into London, 102; the House purged by colonel Pride, 103; ordinance for the king's trial, 105; the High Court of Justice appointed, 106; the king sentenced to death, 109; issues a proclamation that no new king be proclaimed without its authority, 113; Icon Basiliké printed, 114; the House of Lords voted useless, and the office of king abolished, 115; Council of State appointed, *ib.*; trial and execution of the royalists, duke of Hamilton, earl of Holland, and lord Capel, 116, 117; public indignation occasioned by, 117; the Levellers are suppressed, 118; a thanksgiving day appointed on account of the suppression of the Levellers, 119; trial of John Lilburne, *ib.*; appoints Cromwell lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 121; Rupert driven from the Irish coast, 124; Cromwell honourably received by, on his return from Ireland, 132; prepares forces for a war with Scotland, *ib.*; Cromwell constituted general by act of, *ib.*; despatch of Cromwell to, announcing the victory of Dunbar, 135; gives Cromwell liberty to return home, 136; letter of Cromwell to, announcing the invasion of England, 137; defeat of the royalist army at Worcester, 138, 139; Charles and his adherents declared rebels and traitors to the commonwealth, 139; courts martial held upon nine prisoners taken at Worcester, and three executed, of whom one was the earl of Derby, 139; reward of 1000*l.* offered by, to any one who would capture Charles II., 140; law for the election of future parliaments passed, the House voting not to sit beyond Nov. 3, 1654, 147; conference on the settlement of the nation, 148; foreign relations of the commonwealth, 149; differences with the united provinces, 150; Navigation Act passed, *ib.*; war declared against the Dutch, 151; general thanksgiving appointed on account of the successes of Blake over Van Tromp, 155; petition of the army to, *ib.*; the question of future parliamentary representation, 157; dissolution of, 158; public opinion on dissolution of, 159; restored under the name of "the Rump," 221; resolves that the military shall be under the civil power, 222; discussions as to form of government, 223; the Rota Club, *ib.*; royalist insurrection breaks out, 224; council of officers, *ib.*; committee of safety, *ib.*; the parliament is ejected, *ib.*; is restored by the council of officers, 226; disaffection of the city towards it, 228; Monk employed to quell the disaffection, 229; burning of the Rump in Jan. 1660, *ib.*; the secluded members are restored by Monk's intervention, 230; renewal of the Presbyterian measures on their restoration, *ib.*; final dissolution of, on March 16, 1660, 232
- Longchamp, William, appointed chancellor of England by Richard, is deposed by prince John, in 1191, i. 315; retires to Flanders, and writes to Richard, 316
- Longwy taken by the Prussians, Aug. 22, 1792, vii. 228, 234
- Losowitz, battle of, Oct. 1, 1756, v. 216
- Lotteries, multitudinosity of, *temp.* William III., v. 41, 170; suppressed 1698, 41
- Loudon, earl of, commands the British troops in America, vi. 218; shrinks from attacking Louisbourg, 230; censured and recalled, 233; surprises Frederick in his camp, 234
- Loughborough, A. Wedderburn, lord, solicitor-general, 1771; reproves Fox's expression of "criminals," vi. 318; insults Franklin, 338; attorney-general; his opinion on the employment of the military in suppressing riots, 409; supports Fox's Libel bill, 1792, vii. 213; attempts to promote a union between Fox and Pitt, hoping thereby to obtain the lord chancellorship, 216; his further intrigues for the same object are successful; he obtains the great seal, Jan. 28, 1793, 241, 245; his "Traitorous Correspondence" bill passed in a modified form, 267; his extravagant idea of the success of the British arms in Holland, 270, 271; principal adviser of the trials of Hardy and others; anecdote of George III. and, 303; his opinion on the order forbidding the Bank to pay in cash, 333, 334; one of "the king's friends," 398, 399; opposes the concessions to Catholics, 399; resigns his chancellorship, 1801, 401; lord chancellor, 1783, 576
- Louis, prince, of Baden, commands the allied armies in 1704, alternately with Marlborough, v. 277; aids him in gaining the battle of the Schellenberg or Donawert, July 2, 278; despatched by Marlborough to carry on the siege of Ingoldstadt, 280; conducts the siege of Landau, which capitulates in Dec. 287
- Louis of France offered the crown of England, in 1215, i. 354; arrives in England, and receives the homage of the barons in London, *ib.*; suspected treachery, and decline of the popularity of, 355; his forces are defeated at Lincoln by the earl of Pembroke, 357; and a fleet with reinforcements destroyed near Dover, 358; makes a treaty with Henry III., and withdraws, *ib.*
- Louis XI., of France, meets Edward IV., and cajoles him into a disgraceful treaty, ii. 174; breaks off the contract for the marriage of the dauphin with Edward's daughter, 176
- Louis XIV.; extent of his aid to king James, 1690, v. 106; receives James' project of invading England, with coldness, v. 114; his power and kingdom, 120; himself, not the French, the real enemy of England, 121; besieges Mons and compels it to surrender, 124; on the death of his minister Louvois he offers his assistance to James in invading England, 148; conducts the siege of Namur, 150; which surrenders to him, 151; his position and opinions, 162; the routine of his day, 163; prepares for a campaign, 1693, *ib.*; suddenly leaves his army and returns to Versailles, 164; promises to aid James in invading England, if the Jacobites rise, 186; negotiates for peace with William III., 1697, 198; the treaty of Ryswick is concluded, 199; his reception of the English ambassador, Portland, 1698, 208; sends count Tallard as his ambassador at the court of William, 209; William's dread of Spain and the Indies being acquired by, 226; seizes the Spanish crown for his grandson William in opposition to the terms of the two partition treaties, 230; suspected of bribing the English, 232; his ostentatious extra-

- gance and that of his court bring about the poverty of the nation, 237; his policy, 238; attempts to influence Charles of Spain to place the succession in the Bourbon family, 242; he accepts the will of Charles, 243; his grandson succeeds to the Spanish dominions, *ib.*; on the death of James II., in 1701, he proclaims his son the prince of Wales, as James III., king of England, 251; concentrates the military of France upon Germany, 274; receives news of the defeat of his armies at Blenheim, 286; feels his losses in the Low Countries; invited to invade Scotland, 310; pride roused by Marlborough's demands; his example, and appeal to his subjects, fires the spirit of the nation, 343; anguish at the exhausted state of the kingdom and inability to obtain peace, 362; secretly promotes the election of Charles of Austria to the German empire, 1711, 375; makes viscount Bolingbroke a present of a ring worth 4000*l.* during his embassy at Paris, 1713, 396; his concessions in the peace of Utrecht, 397; died Sept. 1, 1715, vi. 8
- Louis XV., of France, is declared of age; takes upon himself the government of France; appoints duke de Bourbon his minister, vi. 54; refuses to marry the infanta of Spain to whom he was betrothed, *ib.*; joins his army at Fontenoy, 1745; urged to retire from the battle by marshal Saxe, but he spiritedly remains to see the battle out, 114; sends an army to invade Brabant, 1747; present at the battle of Lauffeld, 180; sensitiveness to Frederick the Great's ridicule, 215; sides with Maria Theresa in the Seven Years' war, 1756, *ib.*; his nervousness caused by an attempt on his life by Damiens, 1757; misery of the country and extravagance of the court, 249; died, May 10, 1774, 341; reigned, 1715-1774, 465
- Louis XVI. quarrels with his parliament, vii. 163; attends the meeting of the states-general, 1789, 165, 166; his views on the union of the three orders, 163, 169; agrees to the formation of the national assembly, 169; refuses to withdraw the troops stationed between Paris and Versailles, 170; yields to his people's demands, 174; revived loyalty of the the national guard towards, 177; his audience with the Parisian women, 179; besieged in the Versailles palace by the mob, 179, 180; himself and family removed to Paris, 180; his speech at the sitting of the national assembly, Feb. 4, 1790, 185; attends the federation fête, 183, 189; his deposition demanded by the mob, 199; himself and family vigilantly watched; he escapes with it from Paris, July 21, 1791, 200, 201; is captured at Varennes, and conducted back to Paris, 202; the people's hatred of royalty, 203; the formation of the legislative assembly agreed to by, 205; confidence in, revived, 207; desires emigrants to disarm; applies his veto to the decrees against the emigrants, 208; opposed to declaring war with Austria; his powers as king, 219; insulted by Roland whom he dismisses; agrees to the formation of a camp near Paris, but not to the deportation of priests, 220; his firmness in the interview with the insurrectionists of June, 1792, 221; his deposition again demanded, 224; blockaded in the Tuileries by the mob; places himself and family under the assembly's protection, 225; removal of the royal family to the Temple, 227; all the members of which are there harshly treated, 241, 242; he is impeached at the bar of the convention, 242; anxiety for his fate shown in the British parliament, 243; his trial, 250, 251; condemnation, 251; and execution, Jan. 21, 1793, 252; proceedings of the British parliament, 252, 253
- Louis XVII., of France, presented to the people at the federation fête, 1790, vii. 189; unharmed by the people at the opera, 206; present at Louis XVI.'s interview with the insurrectionists of June 20, 1792, 221; imprisoned in the Temple, Aug. 1792, 241; death of, in the Temple, Paris, June 8, 1795, shameful treatment of, 320, 321
- Louis XVIII., of France, enters Paris, May 3, 1814, vii. 571; reception of, on his entry into London, 572; retrospect of his restoration, viii. 21-25; promulgation of the constitutional charter, 21, 22; its provisions, *ib.*; partly his own work, 22; discontent shown under his government, 22-24; deserted by marshal Ney, dissolves the chambers and removes his court from Paris to Ghent, 27; public entry into Paris, July 8, 1815, 41; execution of Labedoyère and marshal Ney, 47; evacuation of France by the allied troops, 1818, 99; declares war against Spain, 1823, 182; the campaign; occupation of Madrid and overthrow of Spain, 183; death of, Sept. 6, 1824; his good sense preserves his kingdom from convulsions, 247; anecdote of, 249; reigned from 1814 to 1824, vii. 574; viii. 268
- Louis Philippe (France) present at the battle of Valmy, 1792, vii. 235; and at that of Jemappes, 1792, 237; appointed lieutenant-general of France, 1830, viii. 255; opens the legislative session; accepts the throne of France, Aug. 9, 256; his daughter married to king Leopold of Belgium, 1832; death of the duke of Reichstadt, 373; his government and frequent changes of ministry; attempts to assassinate him by Fieschi (1835), Alibaud and Meunier (1836), 374; his fears of Louis Napoleon, 374, 375; the king's perplexity caused by Louis Napoleon's enterprise at Strasbourg, 375, 376; the king sends him to America; compels his extradition from Switzerland, 376; his visit to the Queen, 522; his Spanish marriage plans, 554; doubts as to his friendliness towards England, 554, 555; his abdication 555, 557; stormed in his palace by the mob, and compelled to fly, 557
- Louisbourg capitulates to the British, 1758, vi. 233
- Louvain given up to Marlborough, 1706, v. 309, 310
- L'Ouverture, Toussaint, accomplishes the freedom of the St. Domingo slaves; commander-in-chief of their armies, 1796, vii. 418; president and governor for life, 1801; Bonaparte sends an expedition against him, *ib.*; resists, but is compelled to submit; arrested and imprisoned; died April 27, 1803, 419
- Louvois, chief minister of France; suspected to have been poisoned, 1792, v. 148; favours Dumont's plot against William III., 154
- Loval, Simon Fraser, lord, takes possession of Inverness for government, vi. 15; his perfidy

- and wavering conduct during the rebellion of 1745, 163; he is impeached by the House of Commons, Dec. 1746; trial of, 174; and death, 175
- Lowe, sir Hudson, governor of St. Helena; complained of as being harsh to Napoleon, viii. 176
- Ludwick tried for conspiring against William III.; and executed, v. 191
- Lowry, his engraving machine, viii. 156
- Lucerne, prince de, present at Cornwallis's surrender, vi. 428
- Lucius, or Lever Maur, "who reigned in Britain, A.D. 180," doubtful statement of his having become a Christian under pope Eleutherius, and having built the chapel in Dover Castle, i. 50
- Luddiam active in 1812, vii. 543; in 1816, viii. 61; in 1817, 81; in 1830, 258; and in 1831, 287
- Ludlam, Isaac, executed for insurrectioning, viii. 83
- Ludlow, Edmund, parliament wishes to apprehend him, 1689, on hearing of his being in London; he returned to Vevey, v. 98
- Lundy appointed governor of Londonderry by William, v. 82; but being suspected of an intention to surrender he is turned out by the townspeople, 83
- Luneville, peace of; preliminaries signed July 28, 1800, vii. 395; and completed on Feb. 9, 1801, 396, 413
- Luther, Martin, denouncement of the sale of indulgences by, ii. 276; attends the Diet at Worms, 290; intrepid behaviour of, before the Diet, *ib.*; Henry VIII. writes a book against, *ib.*; Luther's works burnt at Paul's Cross, 291; spread of the doctrines of, in Germany, 306
- Luttrell, col., his motion against Wilkes, vi. 291; opposes Wilkes as a candidate for Middlesex; defeated; but is declared to be the legal representative, 1769, 292
- Luttrell, Temple, proposes a measure for manning the navy, 1777, vi. 374
- Lützen, battle of, May 2, 1813, vii. 561
- Luxemburg, French general, gains the battle of Fleurus, 1690, v. 120; helps Louis in besieging Namur, 150, 151; defeats William III. at Steinkirk, 152, 153; campaign of 1693, 163 *et seq.*; again defeats William at Landen, 164, 165
- Lyndhurst, J. S. Copley, lord; advocates the allowance of counsel to prisoners, v. 270; sergeant; Watson's counsel, 1817, viii. 78; lord chancellor, 1827, 203, 210; resigned 1830, 265; moves that the disfranchising clauses of the Reform bill be postponed, 295; negotiates for the formation of a ministry willing to carry out an extensive parliamentary reform, 1832, 298; his temporary government with the duke of Wellington, 1835, 333; lord chancellor in the Peel ministry, 354; opposes the Municipal Reform bill, 364; his hostile speech against the Melbourne government, 1836, 366, 367; approves of the bill for allowing counsel to prisoners, 369, 370
- Lyndsay, Patrick, M.P. for Edinburgh; his speech on the Porteous riots, vi. 80; evidence of, on these riots, 82, 83
- Lyon, siege of, by, and surrender to, the Jacobins, 1793, vii. 284, 285; massacre of the Lyonnese, 285, 286
- Lyttelton, sir George, opposes the convention with Spain, vi. 94; speaks against an amendment of the address for preventing parliamentary corruption, 138; chancellor of the exchequer, 1755, 320
- Lyttleton, Thomas, lord, his claims to the authorship of Junius's Letters, vi. 296
- MAAS, Dirk, a Dutch battle painter, v. 463
- Macarthy, viscount Mountcashel; commands a force advancing against Enniskillen; defeated 1689, v. 86
- Macaulay, lord, low estimate of ancient Britain by, i. 3, 4; his remarks on Pitt's policy in 1793, vii. 292; M.P. for Calne, 1830; his first speech in parliament, viii. 246; speaks in favour of reform, 274, 275; 278, 279; dangers feared by, on the rejection of the Reform bill, 297; M.P. for Edinburgh; his speech on disloyal Tories, 421; his influence in causing the rejection of serjeant Talfourd's copyright bill, 464; his plan, 464, 465; eloquence and powerful memory evinced by, as Guizot's *cicerone* in Westminster Abbey, 470, 471; his mode of treating history, 471; his estimate of Hallam's "Constitutional History," 472; his speech on "the people's charter" presented by Ducombe, 496
- MacCallum Mhor. See Argyle, J. Campbell, duke of.
- Macclesfield, Thomas Parker, earl of, lord chancellor, impeached, 1725, for malversation in that office; he is found guilty, excluded from his office, and fined 30,000*l.* vi. 53; helps Chesterfield in carrying the bill for reforming the calendar through the Lords, 1751, 187
- MacDonald of Boisdale, advises Charles Stuart to forego his insurrection designs, 1745, vi. 122
- MacDonald of Glencoe. See Glencoe.
- Macdonald of Keppoch, raises his clan, and joins Dundee in defeating Mackay at Killiecrankie, v. 92, 93; letters of fire and sword issued against, v. 143; slain at Culloden, 168
- MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart, argues against the Pretender's plans, vi. 122; joins his cause, 123
- MacDonald, lady Margaret, aids the young Pretender in his escape from Skye, vi. 175
- Macdonald, general, defeated at Trebbia, 1799, vii. 382; and at Katsbach, 1813
- MacDonald, Flora, aids prince Charles during his wanderings in the Highlands, 1746, vi. 175
- Macdonnell, colonel, his exploit at Waterloo, viii. 34
- Machyn's "Diary of a Resident in London," notices from, iii. 94 *et seq.*
- MacIntosh, brigadier; commands a detachment sent to aid the southern insurgents; his march to Seton House, 1715, vi. 10; commands the rebels at Preston, 14; escapes from Newgate, 21, 22
- Maclver survives the massacre after Culloden, vi. 170, 171
- Mack, general, communicates secretly with Dumouriez, vii. 272; Austrian commander; surrenders 30,000 troops to Napoleon at Ulm, Oct. 20, 1805, 445
- Mackay, general, appointed to the command of the army in Scotland, v. 93; his character

- ib.*; marches upon Blair castle; is met by Dundee while advancing through the pass of Killiecrankie, and sustains a defeat, July 27, 1689, 93, 94; takes an active part in the capture of Athlone, June 30, 1691, 127; builds Fort William and fixes a garrison there under colonel Hill, 131; slain in the conflict at Steinkirk, Aug. 3, 1692, 153
- Mackintosh**, sir James, his remarks on Burke's opinions, vii. 190; his speech in defence of Peltier, 1803, 421, 422; wrote the declaration for the Londoners, 425; takes up the advocacy of amendment in the criminal laws on the death of sir S. Romilly; moves for a select committee to consider this subject, viii. 101; opinion of, on the emancipation of the slaves, 194, 195; results of his efforts for the repeal of capital punishments, 195; supports the bill for allowing counsel to prisoners, 369
- Macleane**, colonel, repulses Arnold; saves Quebec, 1775, vi. 362; tenders Hastings's resignation of his governorship, vii. 127
- MacNaghten**, sir William, directs the affairs at Cabul, viii. 453; appointed governor of Bombay, 454; his conference with Akbar Khan, by whom he is massacred, 456
- Macphedris**, captain John, his ill-treatment in the Fleet prison, vi. 64
- MacPherson**, Cluny, demand of, on joining the Pretender, 1745, vi. 124; his dashing bravery at Clifton, 158; keeps up a correspondence with Charles Edward, 182
- Macquirk** tried, and found guilty of murdering Mr. Clarke; pardoned, vi. 297
- Madison**, James, president of the United States, 1809-1817, vii. 575; viii. 268; his hostile message against England, 4; proposes a repeal of the Embargo acts, 1814, 13; deprecates the destruction of the Washington public buildings by the British, 15
- Madras** attacked and taken by the French, 1746, vi. 201; restored to Britain, 202
- Madrid**, taken by the duke of Berwick, v. 330; entered by the allies, 1710, 366; and the French, 367; taken by the French, 1808, vii. 504; entered by Wellington, Aug. 1812, 555; occupied by the French, 1823, viii. 183
- Meate**, revolt of, i. 31; suppressed, *ib.*
- Maestricht**, surrendered to Kheber, 1794, vii. 313
- Magdalen bridge**, Oxford, built by Gwyn, vii. 82
- Magdalen College**. See Oxford.
- Magna Charta**, proposed to John at Oxford by archbishop Langton and the earl of Pembroke, who rejects it, i. 346; signed by John at Runnymede, on June 15, 1215, 347; provisions of, 348, 349; effects of, upon the nation, 350, 351; provisions for the observance of, 352
- Magentius**, revolt of, A. D. 350, i. 53
- Maharajpore**, battle of, Dec. 29, 1843, viii. 511
- Mahomed Ali**, flies to Trichinopoly, vi. 202; struggles against Chunda Sahib, 203
- Mahon**, lord, his plan for amending the copy-right law, viii. 464; characteristics of his History of England, 473
- Mahoni** commands at Murviedro; deceived by Peterborough; arrested v. 297
- Mahratta** wars, history of the, 1778-1782, vii. 129-131; and 1802-1805, 455-461
- Mahrattas**, peishwa of, concludes an alliance with Cornwallis, vii. 258; prepares to invade the British territories, viii. 216; surrenders to the British; abdicates his throne; becomes a pensioner of the East India Company, 217
- Maida**, battle of, July 4, 1806, vii. 473
- Mail coaches**, introduction of, 1784, vii. 93
- Maillard** leads the Parisian mob of 1789, vii. 173; president of the Assembly; his sentence of death on prisoners, 229
- Maine**, duc de, receives an important command in the French army, v. 178; incompetent and cowardly, 179
- Maitland**, captain, Bonaparte surrendering to him, he conveys the ex-emperor to Plymouth, viii. 39
- Malacca** ceded to the British, 1824, viii. 218
- Malaga**, sea fight off, 1704, v. 291
- Malcolm**, king of Scotland, receives Edgar Atheling, i. 192; invades England, in 1070, and marriage of, with Margaret, sister of Edgar, 196; civilization of Scotland promoted by Margaret, 200; unsuccessfully attacks William I., 224; killed, *ib.*
- Malcolm**, king of Scotland, compelled to surrender Cumberland and Northumberland to Henry II. in 1157, i. 276
- Malesherbes**, counsel for Louis XVI., 1792, vii. 250; guillotined, 1794, 298
- Malines** submits to Marlborough, 1706, v. 310
- Malmesbury**, Harris, lord, British chargé des affaires at Madrid, 1770, vi. 323; minister at Berlin; his correspondence with the home government, 325; recommends that the proceedings against Portland be postponed, vii. 245; sent on an especial mission to Berlin to purchase assistance by subsidy, 1793, 311; appointed a negotiator to demand the princess Caroline of Brunswick for the prince of Wales, 318, 319; negotiates unsuccessfully for peace with France, 1796, 330; leaves Paris, Dec. 19; gives warning of a French expedition against Ireland, 331; appointed to negotiate for peace at Lisle, 1797, 342; the negotiations are put an end to by the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, 344, 345; quotation from his diary, 432; remarks on the effect of the news of the Ulm surrender on Pitt, 445
- Malplaquet**, battle of, Sept. 11, 1709, v. 343, 344
- Malta** taken by Bonaparte, 1798, vii. 352, 353; surrenders to the British after a two years' blockade, Sept. 1800, 355, 396; retained by the British, 423
- Malthus** advocates the adoption of savings' banks, viii. 70
- Manchester**, its population in Charles II's reign, and fifty years later, v. 24; its men and manufactures, *ib.*; the Blanket meeting at, 1817, viii. 80; the great reform meeting, 105, and massacre at, 105-108; obtains parliamentary representation, 1832, 307; population of, with Salford, in 1831, and 1861, 308
- Manchester**, earl of, as lord Kimbolton, accused with the five members, of sedition by Charles I., iii. 475; commands at the second battle of Newbury, iv. 37; is accused of indecision and delay by Cromwell in parliament, *ib.*
- Mandat** prepares to resist the insurrectionists of the 10th Aug. 1792; murdered, vii. 225
- Manners**, illustration of, 1709-1742, from Hogarth, v. 466-474; 1737-1783, vii. 90-122; 1784-1820, viii. 113, 114, 122, 126, 401-403
- Mansfield**, William Murray, earl of, attorney-general; his interview with lord Kilmarnock, vi. 173; becomes chief justice and lord Mansfield, 1756, 217; declares Wilkes's outlawry

- null and void, 291; presides at Woodfall's prosecution, 300; chancellor of the exchequer, 1767, 321; his house sacked, and its contents, including his valuable library, burnt by the Gordon rioters, 1780, 408, 409; opposes the "contractors" and "revenue officers" bills, 440
- Mantua besieged by the French, vii. 342, 343; capitulates, Feb. 2, 1797, 343
- Manufactures, list of articles with which foreigners were not allowed to compete, ii. 123
- Mapes, Walter, satires of, on the state of the Church in the time of Henry II., i. 280
- Mar, James Erskine, earl of, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, 1706, vi. 6; deprived of his office; marries the duke of Kingston's daughter; organises an insurrection in Scotland; inaugurates it by raising the Pretender's standard at Braemar, September 6, 1715, 7; his want of energy and action; debilitates the powers of the insurrectionists, 9; his movements cramped by the duke of Argyle; detaches a part of his army under MacIntosh; withdraws Argyle's attention from MacIntosh by a feint, 10; his indecisive march; halts at Sheriffmuir; receives a severe reverse in the conflict with Argyle, Nov. 13, 15, 16; accompanies Charles in his flight to France, 18
- Marat harangues the populace of Paris, 1789, vii. 174; desires to erect 800 gibbets, 191; advises that the royal palace be well watched, 200; aids in bringing about the September massacres, 1792, 230; denounces the moderation of Dumouriez, 271; excites the people to plunder the shops, 274; represents the executive power of France, 276; hates Robespierre, 277; assassinated by Charlotte Corday, July 13, 1793, 278
- Marcus Antoninus sends a number of Germans into Britain, i. 43
- Marengo, battle of, June 14, 1800, vii. 395
- Margaret, the heiress of Alexander III., of Scotland, dies in 1290, and leaves the succession to the crown in dispute, i. 412
- Margaret of Anjou. See Henry VI.
- Margaret of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV., married in 1468, ii. 156; supports the pretensions of Lambert Simnel against Henry VII., 212; in 1492 protects Perkin Warbeck, 220; visited by Henry VIII. in 1513, 268
- Maria Josepha of Austria, married Augustus III. of Poland; compelled by force to give up his state papers, vi. 216
- Maria Louisa, archduchess of Austria, marries Bonaparte, vii. 526; gives birth to a son, March, 1811, 535; appointed regent of France, 568
- Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI.; heiress of his states, vi. 101; the English parliament grants a subsidy to, 103; marries Francis, grand duke of Tuscany; her claim disputed, 105; flies to Hungary; throws herself on the support of the Hungarians; the fortunes of her armies, 107; restores her conquests in Bavaria, 113; grieves at the loss of Silesia; joined by Louis XV., 215; opposed to the partition of Poland, 324; empress of Germany, 1745-1762, 465
- Marie Antoinette escapes from the mob, 1789, vii. 179; removed to Paris, 180; presents the dauphin to the people, 1790, 189; interview with Mirabeau, 192; accompanies Louis XVI. in his flight from Paris and capture, 200-202; her apparent calmness at the opera, 206; present at Louis's audience with the 20th June insurrectionists, 221; description of, at the attack on the Tuileries, August, 1792, 226, 227; imprisoned in the Temple, 227; treatment pursued towards, 241, 242; guillotined, Oct. 16, 1793, 292, 293
- Marlborough, S. Churchill, duchess of, lady of the bedchamber to the princess Anne; her friendship for and large influence over the princess, v. 98; urges her to obtain her increased income from the parliament, and not from the king, *ib.*; she is dismissed the royal palace, 146; she loses her influence over the queen, 336; her account of the queen's political intrigues with Harley at private audiences, 339; her income 9,500*l.* per annum, 340; her description of Sacheverel's character, 359, 360; she is hated and given up by Mrs. Morley (Anne), 363; her dismissal from Anne's service, 1711, 365; her revenge, 366; her meanness towards Vanbrugh, 456
- Marlborough, duke of, John Churchill; an expedition against Ireland sails under his command, which disembarks near Cork, September, 22, 1690; takes Cork on the 29th, v. 118; and Kinsale, 119; he is entrusted with the command of the English troops in Flanders, 127; offers to go over to James, *ib.*; is dismissed from office by William, 145; in consequence of plotting for James's recall to the throne, 146; treachery of, in the Brest affair of, 1694; offers William his services, which are refused, 172; implicated by Fenwick with holding treacherous correspondence with James II., 197; governor of the duke of Gloucester, 240; receives the order of the garter, and is made captain-general of Anne's forces, 1702, 258; he is sent as envoy extraordinary to the States-general; his preparations for war, 259; appointed generalissimo of the allied forces by the States; takes Venloo, September 18; Ruremonde, Stevenswart, Liège, October 23, and the castle of Chartreuse, 260; an adventure, escape, and return to London, *ib.*; he is made duke of Marlborough, 1702, 264; desires to assist the Camisards, 265; takes Ulm, Bonn, Huy, 1703; proposes a grand design, but is thwarted by the States; takes Limbourg, 266; his difficulty in recruiting the army, 273; Louis XIV. concentrates his forces upon Germany, 1704, 274; Marlborough plans a series of operations for opposing him, which he carries out in secrecy; marches to the Moselle, there gives Villeroi the slip, and pushes on to the Danube, 275; his march along the Rhine; his attention to detail; the high spirits of his army, 276; passes the Neckar, June 3, *ib.*; meets prince Eugene on the 10th, and prince Louis of Baden, on the 13th, 277; encamps at Giengen; receives intelligence of the vicinity of the Bavarian and French army; description of the Schellenberg, *ib.*; storms the Schellenberg in conjunction with prince Louis, July 2, 278; lays waste many villages in Bavaria, 279; encamps at Friedberg, August 3; at Schonefeldt on the 10th; joins prince Eugene on the 11th, 280; they resolve to attack the enemy who are encamped five miles off, 281; marches upon their position, *ib.*; attacks Tallard's head-quarters at Blen-

- heim, 282; which leads to a general conflict, 283; he gains the victory, August 13, 284; his anxiety to obtain sufficient food for his troops and prisoners, 286; sets down before Ulm, Aug. 20; it capitulates September 12; sets down before Landau, which also capitulates, December; concludes treaties with Bavaria and Prussia; receives honours; arrives at the Hague, Dec. 16; embarks at Rotterdam on the 22nd and arrives at St. James's by the 26th, 287; honours bestowed on, 287, 288; enthusiastic reception; opposes the Conformity bill, 288, 289; embarks at Harwich, March 31, 1705, 301; his plans are opposed by the Dutch; crosses the Moselle and Saar, June 3, *ib.*; scarcity of food, and other disappointments, cause him to despond; rouses his spirits, joins d'Auverquerque, and regains possession of Huy, July, 11, 302; forces the French lines, July 17, 303; Villeroi retreats beyond the Dyle; he follows, but his plans are thwarted by the Dutch generals, 304; the first stone of his palace at Woodstock laid, *ib.*; opposes jobbery; arrives at the Hague, April 27, 1706, 307; his confidence of victory; advances to give battle to the French, 308; the battle commences; he is nearly made prisoner; the village of Ramilies is seized by his forces; gains the victory of Ramilies, 309; Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Oudenarde surrender; Ostend is besieged; capitulates July 7; Menin captured, August 22; Dendermonde surrenders, Sept. 5; Ath falls October 4; he returns to England, 310; his pension of 5,000*l.* per annum settled upon his posterity, 329; visits Charles XII. at Alt Ranstadt, April 27, 1707; and diplomatises with him, 331; accomplishes little in his campaign in the Netherlands; plans an attack upon France, 332; prepares to attack the French before Oudenarde; is joined by prince Eugene; and attacked by fever brought on by long marches and disappointments, 1708, 336; defeats the French at Oudenarde, July 11; his description of the battle, 337; besieges Lille, 338; his disgust at the queen's temper; he is on the point of retiring from business, 339; his yearly income nearly 55,000*l.*; covers the siege of Lille; his meanness towards Webb, 340; urges upon Godolphin the necessity of another campaign, 342; his desire and attempt to reduce France to accept unarmistice terms; rouses the French national spirit; surrender of Tournay, 343; gains a victory at Malplaquet, September 11, 1709, 344; represents England at the conferences of Gertruydenberg, 1710, 361; his dependency at the state of affairs, 362; mortified at the dismissal of his Whig friends and relations from office, 363; returns to London, December; coldness of the queen, 364; and opposition of Harley and St. John towards him, 365; sinister motives imputed to him; his wife dismissed from Anne's service, *ib.*; hostility shown towards, 368; leaves London, March 4, 1711, to assume his command in the Netherlands, 374; his terror of the press, *ib.*; forces the French lines with an inferior force, 375; invests and takes Bouchain, 376; his successes disparaged by the press; he writhes under their attacks, *ib.*; lands at Greenwich on his return home, Nov. 17, 377; his answer to the queen's speech insinuating his desire for prolonging war, 377, 378; he is still opposed by Harley and the ministry; is turned out of all his offices by the queen, Dec. 31, 379; his avariciousness; charged with illegally taking public moneys; his defence thereof, 379, 380; his resignation in adversity, 391; his name omitted in the regency list, vi. 2, 4; retains his office of captain-general and master of the ordnance, 4; death of, 1722, 47
- Marlborough, duke of, resigns his military commission, 1743, vi. 111; commands the troops sent against Cherbourg and St. Maloes, 1758, 232
- Marlborough House built by Wren, v. 454
- Marmont, marshal, appointed to command 20,000 men to be sent against England, 1805, vii. 442; commands the army of Holland, 443; weakens the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, advances to its relief, 548; commander of the French army in Spain, 1811; his manœuvres near Salamanca, 552, 553; a fault he commits is taken advantage of by Wellington, which results in the battle of Salamanca, July 22, in which he is wounded and defeated, 553, 554; Napoleon's rage against, 554; commands the forces in Paris, 1830, viii. 252; ordered to act against the July revolutionists; the struggle of July 28, 253; he is besieged in the Tuileries and compelled to give in, 254
- Marriage act, 1753, vi. 193-195
- Marriage act, Royal, vi. 330-332
- Marriages bill, regulation of Dissenters', 1836, viii. 371
- Marsellais, their arrival in Paris, July 30, 1792, vii. 222; they assemble before Danton's club, 224; their contest at the Tuileries, 225, 226
- Marshalsea prison, the horrors of the, vi. 65
- Marsiglia, defeat of the duke of Savoy at, 1693, v. 166
- Marsin, general, commands a division of the French army at the battle of Blenheim, v. 280-283; joins his army with that of Villars, 1705, 301
- Marston Moor, battle of, July 2, 1644, iv. 35
- Martignac, M. de, French minister; character of his policy, viii. 248
- Martineau, Harriet, success and objects of her political-economy tales, viii. 477, 478
- Martinique surrendered to the British, 1762, vi. 255
- Mary, queen of England, born 1516, refuses to acknowledge the validity of her mother's divorce, ii. 382; refuses to accede to Edward's request to forbear the use of the mass, iii. 41; bold letter of, to Edward VI., 42; addresses a letter to the council on the death of her brother, and claims the crown, 51; is joined at Kenninghall by numerous adherents, *ib.*; is proclaimed in London, 53; triumphant arrival of, in London, 54; Northumberland is tried and executed for treason, *ib.*; causes of her being so joyfully received by the people, 56; the coronation of, 57; description of her person, *ib.*; meets her first parliament, and passes an Act for repealing certain treasons, and the penalties for denying the king's supremacy, *ib.*; repeal of Acts of Edward VI. relating to religion, 58; projected marriage of, to Philip of Spain, and dissatisfaction of the people, 59; arrival of ambassadors to arrange terms, 60; insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt against the marriage, 61; courage and

address shown by Mary on the occasion, 61; the population of London arm in her behalf, 62; Wyatt is defeated, 64; lord Guilford Dudley and lady Jane Grey beheaded, 66; execution of Suffolk and numerous others, 67; trial and acquittal of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *ib.*; the jury committed to prison, 68; execution of Wyatt, *ib.*; the princess Elizabeth sent for to court, *ib.*; is committed to the Tower, 69; letter of Elizabeth to, 70; the Spanish ambassador urges her trial and execution, 71; unquiet condition of the country, 72; fiery zeal of Gardiner to suppress the Reformation, *ib.*; the married clergy expelled from their livings, 73; Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley condemned as heretics at Oxford, *ib.*; arrival of Philip of Spain, 74; marriage of, with Philip, and pageantry on the occasion, 75; bribery exercised by Philip, 76; arrival in England of cardinal Pole, *ib.*; he absolves the realm, 77; submission of the parliament to the papal see, *ib.*; the statutes against heretics revived, 78; the Marian persecution, 79; list of Protestant victims, 80; cardinal Pole exhorts to gentleness, but gives a commission to Gardiner, Bonner, and others, to deal with heretics then in prison, 81; encouragement of the spy-system for the discovery of heresy, 89; Philip leaves England, 95; discontent of Mary at his not returning, 96; opposition of the parliament to pope Paul IV.'s claims of supremacy, 97; Dr. Dee in trouble for casting the nativities of the queen and the princess Elizabeth, *ib.*; the Dudley conspiracy for robbing the exchequer, and placing Elizabeth on the throne, 98; its discovery, and execution of the conspirators, *ib.*; Elizabeth suspected of participation, and her letter to the queen, 99; cardinal Pole created archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*; his moderation not satisfactory to the Pope, *ib.*; Philip returns to England, March, 1557, 100; war declared against France at Philip's instigation, 101; the English forces assist in winning the battle of St. Quentin, *ib.*; Calais besieged and taken by the French, on Jan. 7, 1558, 103; Guisnes and Hammea taken, and the English wholly expelled from France, 104; her last illness and death, on Nov. 17, 1558, 105

Mary, daughter of James II., marries the prince of Orange, in 1677, iv. 329; proclaimed queen with William, iii. 445; coronation of, with her husband, April 11, 1689, v. 78; asks the princess Anne what she means by applying to parliament to increase her income, 98; appointed regent in William's absence, 105; her energetic conduct in retrieving the disaster of Beachey Head, June, 1690, 112; quarrels with her sister Anne, 145; addresses a dispatch to the commanders of the fleet; enthusiasm caused on its being read, 149; joins in the national gratitude by making a gift of the royal palace of Greenwich as an asylum for the disabled mariners of England, 150; issues proclamations for the discovery of seditious libellers, and for the apprehension of highwaymen, 155; her reply to the deputation requesting an inquiry into the naval miscarriages, 166; she is taken dangerously ill at Kensington, 173; her conduct highly praised by William; her fortitude and

resignation in illness, 174; dies of the small pox, Dec. 28, 1694, in her 33rd year; her character and burial, *ib.*

Mary, queen of Scotland, born Dec. 7, 1542, ii. 436; Henry VIII. negotiates a marriage between her and his son Edward, *ib.*; the project defeated by the queen-mother and cardinal Beaton, 437; the duke of Somerset endeavours to enforce the treaty, iii. 4; is contracted in marriage to the Dauphin of France, 28; the marriage solemnised in Paris, in 1558, 102; becomes queen of France on the accession of her husband Francis II., in 1559, 115; assumes the royal arms of England, *ib.*; refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, 121; answer of, to Throckmorton on being urged to sign it, 122; her husband, Francis II., dies, Dec. 6, 1560, 123; lord James Murray sent as ambassador to request her return to Scotland, *ib.*; policy of, towards Elizabeth, 124; indignation of, at being refused a safe-conduct, 125; imprudent avowal of her hatred of John Knox, *ib.*; farewell of, to France, 126; arrival and reception of, in Scotland, Aug. 19, 1561, 127; contrasted with Elizabeth, 127, 128; summons Knox before her for preaching against her marriage with a papist prince, 133; writes to the Council of Trent, that if she succeeded to the throne of England she would bring both kingdoms under the apostolic see, *ib.*; lord Robert Dudley recommended as a husband by Elizabeth, 134; continued efforts of, to be declared successor to the crown of England, *ib.*, *et seq.*; marries Henry, lord Darnley, July 29, 1565, 135; Murray revolts unsuccessfully, and takes refuge in England, 135, 137; discontent of the reforming nobles at the marriage, 137, 138; suppresses the revolt, and banishes the insurgent lords, 138; rise of Ricio, *ib.*; joins the league of Catherine de Medici and the duke of Alva for the extermination of Protestantism in Europe, 139; jealousy of Darnley, *ib.*; Darnley quarrels with the queen, and unites with the Reformers, 140; murder of Ricio, 141; described by the English ambassadors, 142; gives birth to a son, June 19, 1566, 143; amicable relations with England established, and Elizabeth becomes godmother to James, *ib.*; Bothwell becomes Mary's adviser, 144; she visits Darnley when sick, and has him removed to Kirk of Field, near Edinburgh, 145; the house is blown up, and Darnley murdered, *ib.*; undoubted guilt of Bothwell, 146; his mock-trial, and acquittal, 147; is carried off by pretended force by Bothwell, *ib.*; and is married to him, 148; the nobles revolt against the marriage, and she surrenders to them at Carberry Hill, on June 18, 1567, 149; carried prisoner to Lochleven, *ib.*; is compelled to abdicate on July 24, in favour of her son, James VI., 151; Murray is proclaimed regent, 152; question as to the authenticity of the letters to Bothwell attributed to her, 153; escapes from Lochleven, *ib.*; romantic circumstances of, 154; assembles forces, fights, and loses, the battle of Langside, May 16, 1568, 155; takes refuge in England, 156; question as to the justice of her detention, 157; is removed to Bolton Castle, and is indignant at being considered

- a prisoner, 157; conference appointed to hear the charges against her, *ib.*; proceedings of the conference at York and London, 158; placed under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, 159; project for the marriage of to the duke of Norfolk, 161; is removed from Tutbury Castle to Coventry, 162; intrigues of Philip of Spain and the Roman Catholics in favour of, 168; plan for giving her up to her own subjects to be punished, 176; insecurity of, 177; alleged complicity of, in Babington's conspiracy, 189; is transferred to Fotheringay, and her papers are seized, 190; a commission issued for her trial at Fotheringay, 194; proceedings on the trial, 195, 196; and judgment against, 197; conflicting opinions on the judgment, 198; proclamation is made of the judgment, and she is excluded from all claim to the crown of England, 199; the warrant of execution is issued, 200; is refused a confessor, 201; is beheaded at Fotheringay, on Feb. 8, 1587, 203
- Marylebone church built by Hardwick, viii. 146
- Masham, Mrs., becomes a favourite of queen Anne's, 1708, v. 336; contrives a secret correspondence between Anne and Mr. Harley, 339; obtains the ascendancy in queen Anne's confidence, 363; keeper of the privy purse, 1711, 366
- Massachusetts Bay government regulation bill passed, 1774, vi. 339
- Massacres of September, 1792, in Paris, vii. 228-232
- Massena, Andrew, barbarity of, v. 280; a general in Bonaparte's army, vii. 326; commands the French sent to pillage Berne, 1798; obtains a large share of the booty, 351; baffled in driving the English out of Portugal, 1810, 530, 532; Almeida surrenders to, Aug. 16, 531; loses the battle of Busaco, Sept. 27, 531, 532; sufferings of his army, 532; retreats into Spain, 538
- Matilda, daughter of Henry I., married in 1114 to the emperor of Germany, i. 242; becomes a widow in 1124, 244; named successor to the crown of England in 1126, *ib.*; marries Fulk, earl of Anjou, in 1127, 245; her son Henry born in 1133, *ib.*; arrives in England to assert her claim to the crown, 260; is besieged in Arundel Castle, but allowed by Stephen to join the earl of Gloucester at Bristol, 261; after the battle of Lincoln is proclaimed queen in 1141, 263; revolt of the Londoners against, *ib.*; escapes to Devizes, 265; besieged in Oxford, and escapes, 266, 267; leaves England, 268
- Mauritius acquired by the English, 1810, viii. 214
- Maury, abbé, advocates for the proprietary rights of the clergy, vii. 185
- Maximilian, the emperor, concludes a treaty with Henry VIII. against Louis XII. of France, ii. 267; takes military service under Henry, 268; leads the charge at the Battle of Spura, *ib.*; dies 1519, 275
- Maximus, assists Theodosius in repulsing the Picts and Scots in their invasion of Britain, i. 54; proclaimed emperor of Britain, *ib.*; leads a British army into Gaul, is defeated, and put to death, A.D. 388, *ib.*
- Mayence surrenders to the king of Prussia, July 22, 1793, vii. 282
- Maynooth College, grant to, proposed, viii. 528; stormy debate on the measure 528, 529; finally carried, 529
- Meadows, general, commands the British army in the Carnatic, vii. 258; takes Severndroog and Octradroog, 259
- Meance, battle of, Feb. 17, 1843, viii. 509, 510
- Mechanics' Institution of London inaugurated by Dr. Birkbeck, 1823, viii. 231
- Meehudpore, battle of, Dec. 21, 1817, viii. 217
- Meer Cossein. See Cossein.
- Meer Jaffier. See Jaffier.
- Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, invades Syria, thereby involving himself in war with Mahmoud; his successes and aggrandizing views, viii. 429; compelled to submit to the terms proposed by Britain, 435
- Mélas, general, drives back Moreau, vii. 382; drives the French from Nice; prepares to battle Bonaparte; defeated at Marengo, June, 1800; concludes an armistice, 395
- Melbourne, W. Lamb, viscount, chief secretary for Ireland, 1828, viii. 228; resigned the same year, 234; home secretary, 267; speech in the debate on secondary punishments, 322; his difficulty in forming a ministry according to the king's plan; ultimate formation of his ministry, 1834, 346; sudden dismissal, 349; ostensible cause of his dismissal, 350, 351; not brought about by any act of the ministry, 351, 352; his amendment on the address, 355; first lord of the treasury, 1835, 359, 381; exclusion of lord Brougham from his ministry, 359; his reply to lord Lyndhurst's hostile speech, 367; denies having made a compact with the O'Connell party, 368; his eulogy on William IV., 377; first lord of the treasury, 405; proposes the suspension of the Jamaica constitution for five years; his proposition carried, 419; his ministry resigns, but again returns to power, 419, 420; adopts free-trade opinions, 437
- Melcombe. See Doddington.
- Melfort, earl of, his letters to Balcarras intercepted and read before the Convention, v. 90
- Melrose Abbey, foundation of, i. 256
- Melville, Henry Dundas, lord; lord advocate of Scotland; supports the opposition party, vi. 434; declares that lord Chatham never advocated reform, 441; supports Pitt, vii. 140; opposes the hostile motion against the ministry, 1784, 141; recalls earl Gower, the ambassador at Paris, 227; urges Loughborough to decide as to taking the great seal, 245; secretary of state; delivers the king's message about seditious practices to the Commons, 300; praises the British humanity shown at Howe's victory, 1794, 308; his conference with the king on the Catholic question, and the Coronation oath, 399; succeeded in his secretaryship by lord Hobart, 401; first lord of the admiralty, 439; viii. 158; implicated on a charge of tampering with the public money; vote of censure passed against him; resigns, 1805, vii. 439; progress of the motion for impeaching him, 439, 440; his acquittal, June 12, 1806, 464; home secretary, 1791-1794; war and colonial secretary, 1794-1801, 576; retires from the admiralty, viii. 205
- Menni suspension bridge built by Telford, viii. 147

- Mendicity of London in 1815, 1816, viii. 66
- Menin taken by Marlborough, Aug. 22, 1706, v. 310
- Menou, general-in-chief of the interior; unable to suppress the Lepelletier section revolt, 1795, vii. 321, 322; superseded by Barras, 322; succeeds Kleber in the command of the French army in Egypt, 405; his charge at the British, 1801; beaten back by the Highlanders, 407
- Methodism, rise of; its professors produce a reformation in the English manners, vii. 121; characters of its leaders and originators; Whitefield and Wesley, 121, 122; Wesleyism, 121; the Cambuslang conversions, 122
- Methuen, British ambassador at the Portuguese court, concludes the Methuen treaty, v. 267; his account of the battle of Almanza, 330; secretary of state, 1716, vi. 29; resigns, 30
- Methuen treaty, terms of the, with Portugal, 1703, vi. 267, 339; annulled, 1835, viii. 383
- Milan entered by the French, 1796, vii. 326
- Milan decree issued by Bonaparte, Dec. 1807, vii. 494, 579
- Militia bill passed, 1756, vi. 218
- Miller, J., a printer. See Onslow, colonel.
- Milton, John, embodiment of early English legends by, i. 2; his description of London at the commencement of the Civil War, iii. 487; publishes his "Iconoclastes," in reply to the "Icon Basiliké," iv. 114; appointed Latin secretary to the Council of State, 115; his death, and warning of, against slavery, 327. See Addison, v. 408, 409
- Minden, battle of, Aug. 1, 1759, vi. 239, 240
- Mines. See copper, coal, lead, tin, &c.
- Mines in Britain, under the Romans, notice of, i. 35; remains of iron works yet existing, 36
- Minorca taken by the English, 1708, v. 338; surrendered to the French, 1756, vi. 213, 214; restored to England, 1763, 257, 434; surrendered to the French, 1782, 434; ceded to Spain by Great Britain, 458.
- Minto, lord, governor-general of India, viii. 213; quells the mutiny at Madras and other places, 213, 214; acquisition of the eastern archipelago; other acts of his administration, 214; resigns, 1813, 214-215; first lord of the admiralty, 381
- Mirabeau, comte de, bold speech of, at a meeting of the National Assembly, 1789, vii. 169; moves for an address to the king for the removal of the troops, 170; prevents the National Assembly from assuming the power to declare war, 188; named president of the National Assembly, Jan. 1791, endeavours to secure order, and curb violent measures, 191; negotiates with Marie Antoinette; his services paid for by Louis, 192; his character and unwearied energy, 191, 192; death of, April 2, 1791; burial at the Pantheon; disinterred, 1793, 193; advocates the king's veto, 208
- Moira, lord, his severe measures towards deserters, vi. 413; gains a battle near Camden, 425; sets out to aid the Vendéans, but arrives too late, vii. 296; governor-general of India, Oct. 4, 1813, viii. 215; obtains permission to war against the Pindares on a large scale, 216; the campaign, 216, 217; breaks up the Mahratta confederacy, 217; rules issued by, for regulating the newspaper press in India, 222
- Molesworth, sir William, remarks of, on Canadian affairs, viii. 406
- Molwitz, battle of, April 10, 1741, vi. 106
- Mona (Anglesey), the isle of, taken by Suetonius, i. 22
- Monastic establishments, magnificence and riches of, *temp.* Hen. VII., ii. 244
- Money, value of, in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., i. 369; scarcity of, during the wars of the Roses, ii. 109; labourers to be paid in, and truck forbidden by statute in 1465, 114; money prices of clothing in 1450-1485, 121; debasement of the coin in 1464, 153; altered value of, in 1547, 457; debasement of coin by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., 474; rise of prices, occasioned by the influx of the precious metals, iii. 276; a debased brass coinage issued by James II. in 1689, v. 96; depreciated state of coinage in 1695, 182; guineas rise to thirty shillings apiece, *ib.*; extensive circulation of clipped, 183; a new coinage issued, and the old collected by government in payment of taxes, 184; remarkable scarcity of, 1696, 194; the government refuses to reduce the proper standard of; the currency of the new coinage established, 196; want of, caused by the South Sea scheme, vi. 44; Wood's copper coinage for Ireland; Swift's letters causes the patent to be withdrawn, 50-52; depreciation of the American currency, 1779, 399; suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, Feb. 1797, vii. 333, 334; currency of cash almost superseded by that of paper, 334; the panic in 1797; funds fall to 47, 341, 342; reduction in the circulating medium, and rise in the value of, viii. 58; state of the currency, 1816, 100, 101; the panic of 1825, 196-200; the panic of 1847, 552, 553
- Monk, George (duke of Albemarle), left by Cromwell to manage affairs in Scotland, iv. 137; conduct of, in Scotland, 224; Charles endeavours to engage him on his side, *ib.*; resolves to restore the parliament, 225; sends commissioners to London to negotiate with the army, *ib.*; marches to London, 227; is employed by the parliament to quell the disaffection in the city, 229; causes the secluded members to be restored, 230; promises sir A. Haslerig to oppose the setting-up of Charles Stuart as king, *ib.*; agrees to act for Charles, 233; suppresses the insurrection of Lambert, 234; receives the king on his landing at Dover, 238; produces private letters from the marquis of Argyll to procure his conviction, 258; appointed to the command of the fleet against the Dutch with prince Rupert, 279; meets their superior fleet unexpectedly, but fights obstinately for four days, 280; ravages the Dutch coast, 282; commands the forces sent against the duke of Monmouth in 1685, but is forced to retreat, 392
- Monkton, general, falls in attacking Quebec, vi. 238, 239
- Monmouth, duke of, connives at the mutilation of sir John Coventry, iv. 313; pretensions of, to legitimacy, 341; marriage of, to the duchess of Buccleugh, 342; the king

- solemnly affirms his legitimacy, *ib.*; is sent to take the command of the army against the Covenanters, 349; defeats them at Bothwell Bridge on June 22, 1679, 350; returns suddenly to England to attend the sick-bed of Charles, and is considered as a rival for the succession, 351; is sent to Flanders, *ib.*; returns to England, and is received with great joy, 352; is made by the Whigs the Protestant candidate for the crown, 356; his triumphant progress in the West of England, 357; dissatisfaction of, at the acquittal of Count Königsmark for the murder of Thynne, 371; accused of a participation in the Rye House Plot in 1683, *ib.*; he escapes, 372; is pardoned, 375; lands at Lyme in 1685, 390; publishes a declaration against James II., 391; is very favourably received at Taunton, 392; proclaims himself king, *ib.*; marches to Bristol, 393; fails in receiving support, and retreats, *ib.*; skirmish at Philip's-Norton, 394; battle of Sedgemoor, 395; the flight and capture of, 396; abject behaviour of, in his interview with James, 397; execution of, 398; considered by the people as a martyr for the Protestant religion, *ib.*
- Monnet, gen., commander of Flushing; cuts dykes to drive away the British, 1809, vii. 519
- Mons besieged and taken by the French, 1691, v. 124
- Monson, col., a member of the council at Calcutta, opposes Hastings, vii. 126; his death, 127
- Montague, Charles. See Halifax, earl of.
- Montcalm, marquis de, commander of the French troops in Canada, 1759, vi. 237; attacks Wolfe on the heights of Abraham, Sept. 13; defeated, 238; and mortally wounded; died Sept. 14, 239
- Montenotte, battle of, April 12, 1796, vii. 326
- Monte Video. See Anchmuty, vii. 483
- Montfort, Jane de, heroic defence of the castle of Hennebon, i. 454; is relieved by sir Walter Manny, 455
- Montfort, Simon de, earl of Leicester, attends the parliament at Westminster in 1258, i. 371; nominated head of the council, 372; is forced to withdraw to France, *ib.*; character of, 373; returns to England, and a civil war takes place, *ib.*; wins the battle of Lewes, and takes Henry III. prisoner, 374; burgesses summoned to parliament in 1264 by, 375; is defeated and slain at the battle of Evesham, 376; prohibition of holding him for a saint, 378; continued resistance offered by his sons, who murder the nephew of Henry, *ib.*
- Montgomery, Richard, general in the American army, invades Canada, 1775; killed in an attack upon Quebec, Dec. 31, vi. 362
- Montjuich. See Peterborough.
- Montrevel, marshal de, unable to subdue the Camisards, 1703; superseded by marshal Villars, v. 265
- Montrose, James Graham, marquis of, victories of, in Scotland in 1645, iv. 40; influence of his letter containing an account of these victories upon Charles I., *ib.*; advice of, to Charles I., 41; defeats the Covenanting army under Baillie, 52; defeated at Philiphaugh by Lesley, *ib.*; counsels Charles II. to win his kingdom by battle, 120; who gives him a commission to do so, 118; lands in the Orkneys, March 1650, 129; defeated by colonel Strachan at Craighenichen, *ib.*; wanders among the Highlands, and is taken on May 3, *ib.*; exultation of the Covenanters at his capture, *ib.*; sentenced to death, *ib.*; ill-treatment of, at Edinburgh, *ib.*; conduct of, before parliament and at his execution, 130; character of, by Clarendon, 131
- Montserrat taken by the French, vi. 434; restored to England, 458
- Moore, sir John, takes Wexford, June 21, 1798, vii. 365; appointed to command 11,000 men in the Peninsula; his mortification at being made subordinate to sir H. Dalrymple, and sir H. Burrard, 560; commences his march into Spain, Oct. 1808; his progress through the country to Sahagun; commences a retreat; pursued by Napoleon, Dec. 24, 504; halts at Lugo, 505; marches to Corunna; defeat of the French there, Jan. 16, 1809; death of, 506; his burial, 506, 507; opinions on his retreat, 507, 508; sufferings of his army, 508
- Morcar and Edwin, insurrection of, suppressed by William the Conqueror, i. 192; join Hereward, and death of Edwin, 198; imprisonment of Morcar, 199
- Mordaunt, sir John, has joint command of the Rochefort expedition, 1757; acquitted by court martial, vi. 229
- More, Hannah, rejoices at the fall of the Bastille, vii. 183; her writings, viii. 123
- More, sir Thomas, unsuccessfully attempts to prevent the riot on "Evil May-Day," in 1517, ii. 294; is chosen speaker of the House of Commons, in 1523, 295; is created lord chancellor in 1529, and speaks harshly against Wolsey, 323; opposes the doctrines of the Reformers, 324; lays before parliament the opinion of the universities in favour of Henry's divorce, but is himself against it, 331; retires from the chancellorship, 339; doubts whether he sanctioned the burning of John Baynham in May, 1532, 340; official character of, *ib.*; implicated in the charge of conspiracy against the king with the Holy Maid of Kent, 354; is committed to the Tower with Fisher, bishop of Rochester, for refusing to swear to the illegality of the king's first marriage, 356; tried for treason, convicted, and executed on July 6, 1535, 362-364
- Moreau, J. V., serves in Jourdan's army, vii. 310; appointed to command the army of the Rhine and the Moselle, 1796, 325; failure of his campaign, 328, 329; his retreat through the Black Forest to Strasbourg, 329; beaten back by gen. Melas; defeated, 1799, 382-campaign of, in Germany, 1800, 395, 396; victory of Hohenlinden gained by, Dec. 3, 396; conspires against Bonaparte, 1804; exiled, 432; takes part in the battle of Dresden against Napoleon, in which he is wounded; death of, 563
- Morgan, gen., defeats Tarleton at Cowpens, Jan. 17, 1781, vii. 423; joins his forces with Greene's, 424
- Morland, George, the representative of his day in animal painting, viii. 155
- Mornington, earl of. See Wellesley, marquess of.
- Morpeth, lord, his eulogy on Francis Horner, 1817, viii. 91-92; votes for Sutton as speaker of the House of Commons, 1833, 318; moves

- an amendment for reform in the address, 1835, 355; secretary for Ireland, 381
- Mortemart, duke de, his audience with Charles X.; promises extorted by, from the king, 1830, viii. 255
- Mortimer, Roger. See Edward II. and Edward III.
- Mortmain, statute of, passed, 7 Edwd. I., i. 386
- Moscow, entry of the French into, Sept. 14, 1812, vii. 557; the conflagration of; evacuated by the French, Oct. 19, 558
- Mounier, president of the French Assembly, vii. 178; obtains the king's consent to the articles of the constitution, 179
- Mountcashel, viscount. See Macarthy.
- Mountfort, William, a player, murder of, by Hill, v. 159, 160.
- Mountjoy, lord, sent by Tyrconnel on a mission to James II. at St. Germain; on his arrival there he was put into the Bastille, v. 80
- Mourad Bey heads the Mamlouks; defeated by the French at the battle of the Pyramids, 1798, vii. 354
- Muir, Thomas, sentenced to transportation for advocating a reform in the representation of the people, 1794, vii. 299
- Municipal corporation reform, viii. 360-365; report of the commission of inquiry showing the generally corrupt state of the corporations, 360-362; passing of lord Russell's reform bill through parliament, 363, 364; it receives the royal assent, Sept. 9, 1835, 364; departing glories of municipal pomp, 365; bill for corporation reform in Ireland; opposed by the Lords; passed by the Commons, Mar. 28, 1836, 367
- Municipalities, character of those established by the Romans in Britain, i. 45, 46; form of government in, i. 45
- Munro, sir Hector, major; defeats an Indian army, vi. 332; compelled to retreat before Hyder Ali, vii. 131
- Murat, Joachim, helps Bonaparte in suppressing the revolt of the sections in Paris, May, 1795, vii. 322; assists Kleber against a Musaulman army, 1799, 380; with Leclerc clears the Assembly, Nov. 384, 385; seizes Godoy, and sends him to Bonaparte, 1803, 498; king of Naples, 536; deserts Napoleon for the allies, viii. 45; his entering into a correspondence with the ex-emperor hastens his fall, *ib.*
- Murray, lord George, obtains the king's pardon for joining the rebellion of 1715, vi. 21, 22; joins Charles Edward, 1745, 126; takes part in the battle at Preston-Pans, Sept. 22, 129; quarrels with the duke of Perth, 141; his tactics in approaching Derby, 146; he convinces Charles of the uselessness of advancing farther into England; persuades him to retreat to Scotland, 148; his able and creditable management of the retreat from Derby, 155, 156; halts at Clifton, 157; securing the army's retreat by stemming the tide of the pursuing enemy; reaches Carlisle; represents to Charles that his troops could not hold the place, 158; signs an address to the prince showing the desertions in the Highland army, 163; leads the Highlanders to the attack of Cumberland's camp; but finds a surprise impracticable, 167
- Murray, James, earl of, sent as ambassador to France to request the return of queen Mary, *ib.* 123; with other reformers revolts against Mary's marriage with Darnley, 135, 137; is forced to fly to England, 135, 138; returns to Edinburgh on the death of Riccio, 143; is proclaimed regent after Mary's abdication, 152; defeats Mary at the battle of Langsyde, 155; accuses Mary of the murder of Darnley at the conference in London, 158; favours Norfolk's project of marrying Mary, 161; is assassinated in Jan. 1570, 174
- Murray, William. See Mansfield, earl of.
- Musgrave, sir Christopher; a leader of the opposition party, 1693; bribe received by, v. 162
- Mutiny bill, an important part of the government: first passed 1689, v. 75, 76
- Mutiny at Ipswich, 1689, v. 75; at Spithead, 1797, vii. 338-340; at the Nore, 340, 341; at Vellore, 1806, 462; and at Madras, 1809, viii. 213, 214
- Muttra, battle of, 1803, vii. 456
- Myne, Richard, architect of Blackfriars bridge, vii. 82
- NADIN, unable to apprehend the leaders of the reform meeting at Manchester, 1819, viii. 106
- Nagpore, rajah of, joins the Mahratta confederacy against the British, viii. 216; defeated by the British, 217
- Nairn, William, lord, impeached of high treason, tried and sentenced to death, 1716, vi. 19; reprieved, 20; released from prison by an act of grace passed, 1717, 30
- Namur, siege and capture of, by the French, June 30, 1692, v. 150-151; besieged by the allies, 1695, 178-180; and taken Aug. 26, 180
- Nankin, treaty of, Aug. 29, 1842, viii. 388, 449
- Nantes, revocation of the edict of, iv. 402; effect of, in France, as described by Burnet, 403
- Napier, sir C. James, major, taken prisoner at Corunna, 1809, vii. 506; a benefactor of his race, viii. 507; his march on, and destruction of, Emaun-Ghur, 508, 509; gains the battle of Meance, 509, 510; Hyderabad surrenders to him; he defeats and quells Shere Mahomed, and becomes the governor of Scinde, 510
- Napier, sir C. John, his services under admiral Stopford in the campaign in Egypt and Syria, 1840, viii. 434, 435
- Napoleon, comparison of his intended invasion of Britain, with that of Caligula, i. 17
- Napoleon III. of France, son of Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland; Louis Philippe's fear of him, viii. 374, 375; his futile revolutionary attempt at Strasbourg, 1836, 375; sent to America by Louis Philippe; escapes to Switzerland; Louis compelling his extradition from thence, he withdraws to England, 376; crosses the Channel to Boulogne, 431; fails to produce an insurrection, 431, 432; surrenders; is imprisoned, 432; tried, 432, 433; sentenced to imprisonment for life in Ham fortress; but escapes, 433; elected President of the French Republic, 1848, 561
- Naseby, battle of, 14 June, 1645, iv. 44
- Nash, Beau, master of the ceremonies at Bath; his rule, vii. 100, 101; suppresses duelling at Bath, 104
- Nash, John, his architectural works, Regent Street, Park, and Canal, viii. 145, 146
- Nasmyth, his landscape painting, viii. 154, 155
- National Debt, commencement of the, 1693, v. 156; its growth, 156, 157, vi. 39, 40; reduc-

- tion of the interest on the, 184; increase of the, 1755-1763, 257; table showing its growth, 1691-1792, 470, 472, viii. 384; fears of ruin from its increase, vii. 2; growth of, 1793-1815, 582, viii. 384, 1816-1837, viii. 384
- Navarino, news of the battle of, received in London, viii. 225; it occurred, Oct. 20, 1827, 226, 227
- Navigation act obstructs the Scottish trade, v. 215; suspension of the navigation laws, viii. 551
- Navy, difficulty of manning the, vi. 374, 375; corruption prevalent in the, vii. 112; the British and French navies, 1793, 263, 264; state of the, 1793, 304, 305; discontents and mutinies in the, 1797, 338-341; number of men voted for the, 1802, 417; the British navy of 1812, viii. 9; its glory departed, 9, 10; restored again by the Shannon and Chesapeake conflict, 11
- Necker, James, controller-general of finance, vii. 157; dismissed the post, May, 1781, *ib.*; recalled to it again, 1789, 164; again dismissed, July, 1789, 170
- Neerwinden. See Landen.
- Neerwinden, battle of, Mar. 18, 1793, vii. 271
- Nelson, Horatio, post-captain, 1793; present at the surrender of Toulon to lord Hood, vii. 287; his daring achievement of the capture of Bastia, Corsica, 1794, 315; commodore; joins admiral Jervis's fleet; disobeys his superior officer; engages, with the assistance of Troubridge and Collingwood, several of the enemy's vessels at the battle of St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797, 336; his desperate condition; gallantry shown in boarding and taking the San Nicolas and San Josef; his name not noticed in Jervis's despatches, 337; made a knight of the bath, 338; watches the movements of the Toulon fleet, 351; appointed to command a Mediterranean fleet, 1798, 352; he misses the French fleet, sails to Alexandria, and returns to Sicily, 353; refused supplies by the Neapolitans; obtains them through his interview with lady Hamilton; again sets out for Alexandria, 355; position of the French fleet, Aug. 1; Nelson's manoeuvres, 355, 356; the conflict; Nelson wounded; his heroism, 356; the French flag ship, *L'Orient*, on fire; the awful silence succeeding the explosion; returns to Naples; his injunctions for fighting, 357; vice-admiral under sir Hyde Parker, 1801, 402; opposes his admiral's arguments for delay; his approach to Copenhagen, 402, 403; the battle of Copenhagen, April 2, 403, 404; disregards Parker's signals to stop fighting, *ib.*; concludes an armistice, 404, 405; fails in cutting the armed flotilla out of Boulogne harbour, 408; appointed to command the Mediterranean fleet; his letter to the lord mayor, 441; his chase after the combined fleet, 441, 442; worn out with anxiety he returns home, 442; offers his services against Villeneuve; preparations, 445; enthusiastic reception at Portsmouth, 445, 446; his last farewell to England; sets down before Cadiz; his system of breaking the line; the enemy in sight, 446; his preparations for battle, 446, 447; his victory, Oct. 21, 1805; his death, 447, 448; the nation's grief; the funeral, 448, 449
- Nepaul, war with, 1813-1816; its results, viii. 215
- Nero, attempts of, to reconcile the revolted tribes after the defeat of Boadicea, 1. 25
- Nevill's Cross, battle of, won by queen Philippa, in 1346, and David Bruce taken prisoner, i. 464, 465
- Newburn, battle of, on Aug. 27, 1640, iv. 437
- Newbury, battle of, on Sept. 19, 1643, iv. 24; second battle of, on Oct. 27, 1644, 37
- New England, foundation of the colony of, in 1620, by the Pilgrim Fathers, iii. 345, 346
- Newcastle, duke of, entertains William III. at Welbeck, 1695, v. 181; made lord privy seal, 1705, 305; captain Jenkins reports to him his ill-treatment by the Spaniards, but receives no redress, vi. 93; his jealousy of Walpole, 97; helps his brother, Mr. Pelham, in the administration; his talent for electioneering business, 178; becomes jealous of the duke of Bedford, 189; gets him turned out of the office of secretary of state, 190; becomes first lord of the treasury at his brother's death, 1754; his claims to the post, 197; character of; offers Fox the seals of secretary of state, who refuses them, 198, 199; Pitt's and Fox's opposition; the latter obtains a seat in the Cabinet, 200; becomes terrified at the opposition to the subsidies; applies to Pitt for help, who refuses it, 208; opposing the ministry in a speech in parliament; Pitt is dismissed his office of paymaster, 209; placed at the head of the ministry, *ib.*; Fox resigns his seals, and Newcastle, having no support, 217; also resigns, 218; George again offers him the administration of affairs; refuses to act with Pitt, 221; but ultimately consents; first lord of the treasury, 222; supports Bute, 251; retires from the treasury, June, 1762, 255; becomes privy seal, 1765, 278; secretary of state, 1746-1754; first lord of the treasury, 1754-1756, 320; 1757-1762, 321
- Newcastle, duke of, his interference with the Newark election complained of, viii. 242; proceedings against, 242, 243; his remarks on the Reform bill, 300
- Newfoundland ceded to Great Britain, 1713, v. 397
- Newmarket, races held at, *temp.* William III., v. 33
- New Orleans, attack on, by the British, 1814, 1815, viii. 17-19
- Newspapers; first beginning of the newspaper press, v. 60, 61; the newspapers, 1709, 1742, 402-405; eagerness for, 1745, vi. 142, 143; provincial papers badly conducted about 1757, 230; the newspapers, 1737-1783, vii. 84; number of American, 1775, and 1810, viii. 6; of London in Crabbe's time; *The Times* first assumed the name, 1788, 115; *The Times* of Nov. 28, 1818, the first sheet of paper printed by steam, 132; increased circulation of, due to the steam-printing machine, *ib.*; violence and ribaldry of, during queen Caroline's trial in 1820, 169; the newspapers of India; their regulation by government, 222; case of Mr. Buckingham, proprietor of *The Calcutta Journal*, 222, 223; royal ordinance against the liberty of the French press, 1830, 250, 251; the protest of the newspaper conductors, 251; stamp on, reduced, 1836, 372, 390; altered character of, 1842, 484, 485
- Newton, sir Isaac, as master of the mint no succeeds in establishing an adequate supply of circulating medium, v. 184; statue of, by

- Roubillac, 461; declares Wood's Irish coinage satisfactory, vi. 60
- Newton-Butler, battle of, 1689, v. 86
- New York evacuated by the Americans, Sept. 15, 1776, vi. 370
- Ney, Michael, marshal, serves in Jourdan's army, vii. 312; defeats the Austrians at Elchingen and Guntzburg, 1805, 444; defeated at Dennewitz, 1813, 563, 564; deserts Louis XVIII. for Napoleon, 1815, viii. 27; executed on the return of Louis to power, 47
- Nicholls, sir George; his letters on the Poor Laws; his poor law reforms at Southwell, viii. 338; appointed a poor law commissioner, 1834, 342; and to initiate the working of the poor law in Ireland, 411
- Nile, battle of the, Aug. 1, 1798, vii. 355-357
- Nimeguen, peace of, Aug. 11, 1678, v. 388; surrendered to the French, 1794, vii. 313
- Nipchoo, treaty of, ratified June 14, 1728, v. 390
- Nithsdale, William, earl of, impeached of high treason, 1716; tried and found guilty, vi. 19; his wife vainly petitions the king to pardon him; she effects his escape to France, 20, 21
- Nizam. See Deccan.
- Nollekens, Joseph, his sculpturing, vii. 80; viii. 149
- Nonconformists, rise and growth of, in the second half of the reign of Elizabeth, iii. 241, *et seq.*; notice of the Marprelate tracts, 243; objections of, to the ceremonies of the church, *ib.*; preaching in private houses prohibited, 244; statutes against Puritans and Popish recusants in 1593, *ib.*; the nonconformist ministers preach resistance, *ib.*; severities directed against the Brownists or Independents, 245; opposition of the nonconformists to the habits and amusements of society, *ib.*; music and dancing held to be corrupting by, 250; offensiveness of Sabbath sports and games to, 251; denunciations of gaming by, 256; aversion of, to stage plays, 257; petition James I. for a conference with the English clergy, which is held at Hampton Court, 314; James insults and decides against them, *ib.*; a new code of canons, tending to exclude them from civil rights, established in Convocation, 316; settlement of New England in 1620 by the Pilgrim Fathers, 345; increase in the numbers of, from disgust at the principles and conduct of James and his courtiers, 360; offence given to by the proclamation in 1618, for the practice of sports on Sundays, 370; contemnation of, at the defeat of the elector palatine and the triumph of Roman Catholicism, in Germany, 378; offence given to by Laud's introduction, in 1628, of new ceremonies into the church service, 403; the religious opinions of, identified with the assertion of civil rights, 404; excessive punishment of the Puritan Prynne, for writing against stage-plays, 411; and of Dr. A. Leighton for writing against prelacy, 413; aversion of the Puritans to all dramatic exhibitions, 414; conviction and excessive punishments of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in 1637, for their anti-prelatical writings, 423; triumph of the principles of, on the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, 447; great influence of the Puritans at the commencement of the Civil War, 485; the shutting-up of the playhouses and discouragement of popular amusements a consequence of, 487; Baxter's statement of the oppressions of the, by the royalists, iv. 11; increased bitterness of feeling between them and the Cavaliers, 19; the Presbyterian Covenant adopted by the synod at Westminster, and by parliament, 28; growing dissensions between Presbyterians and Independents, 29; struggles between, in the House of Commons, 62; power of the Independents in the army, 68; opinions of the Independents, 69; the position of the Presbyterians and Independents compared with the Gironde and Mountain parties of the French revolution, 69; negotiations of the Independents with the king, 75; the king's deceptive conduct towards them, 76; Cromwell tries to effect a reconciliation between the Presbyterians and Independents, 89; depression of, after the Restoration, 249, *et seq.*; insurrection of the Anabaptists in London in April 1661, 251; ineffective conference at the Savoy between the bishops and the Puritan divines, 252; the Corporation Act and Act of Uniformity passed against, 255, 256; Conventicle Act passed against in 1664, 266; the Five-Mile Act passed against, 275; the penalties of, not enforced against for a short time after the Fire of London, 307; propositions made by, for a union of Protestants, 308; rejected by the parliament, *ib.*; declaration of indulgence by Charles II. in 1672, 319; release of John Bunyan from prison, *ib.*; the Indulgence unpopular among, 320; in 1665 the House of Commons prays James II. to put in execution the laws against all dissenters from the Church of England, 387; the principle of resistance not extinguished in, as shown by their joining Monmouth at Taunton, 392; they generally consider the declaration of James II. in 1687, for liberty of conscience, as a snare, 419
- Nonjurors, origin of the, v. 70; bill against, passed, 73; libellous pamphlets issued by, in 1692, 155
- Nore, mutiny at the, 1797, vii. 340, 341
- Norfolk, soil of, vii. 5; agricultural improvements in, promoted by Coke, 5, 6; a seat of the husbandry implement trade, 8; number of persons to every 100 acres in, in 1841, 24
- Norman clergy, character of, at the time of William I., i. 196, 197; nobles, various characters of, and beneficial exertions of some, 197; barons, description of their modes of life in their castles in the time of Stephen, 251
- Normanby, marquis of. See Buckingham.
- Norris, sir William, sent to desire of Aurungzebe his favour for the new East India Company, 1698, v. 203; mission failed; dies on his way home, 204
- North, Dudley, nominated sheriff by the lord mayor of London in 1682, in order that he might return partisan jurymen, iv. 365; is rejected by the Common Hall, but ultimately sworn in, 366
- North, Frederick, lord, chancellor of the exchequer, 1767-1782, vi. 288, 290, 321, 469, moves the repeal of the American duty on all articles but tea, 311; his proposition carried, 312; nearly demolished by the mob, 1777, 318; his apology for retaining office, 318

- 819; first lord of the treasury, 1770-1782, 321, 469; brings in the Boston port bill, 1774, 339; and the Massachusetts bay government regulation bill, *ib.*; his conciliatory measure, 346; his Prohibitory bill, 362; exults at the display of public spirit, 1778; introduces two bills, one on American taxation, the other appointing commissioners to treat with America, 386; fear and astonishment of the House at his submissions and concessions, 387; wishes to resign his premiership on hearing of the peace between France and America, *ib.*; his speech on the address to the king, 397; his amendment on Burke's Economical Reform bill, 404; his consternation and distress at the news of Cornwallis's surrender, 1781, 430; announces the resignation of his premiership, Mar. 20, 1782; the scene in parliament on this occasion, 435; consents to the proposed free trade measures towards Ireland, 443; ceases with Fox, appointed secretary of state, 1783, vii. 135; ordered to give up his seals by the king, 139; home secretary of state, 1783, 576
- Northampton, battle of, the Lancastrians defeated, 10 July, 1460, ii. 143
- Northamptonshire, the county of, vii. 10; low state of farming, *ib.*; farmers and labourers, 11
- Northmen, or Danes, ravages of, i. 78
- Northumberland, its wretched breed of sheep, and large districts of waste land, 1760-1783, vii. 30; unsettled state of its inhabitants long after the Union; agriculture stimulated by the Culleys and others, 31
- Northumberland, Dudley, duke of. See Warwick, earl of.
- North-West Company for trading in furs; ultimately united with the Hudson's Bay Company, v. 39
- Norwich Cathedral, foundation of, in 1094, i. 258
- Nottingham, earl of. See Winchelsea.
- Nottinghamshire, the oak of Sherwood forest succeeded by turnip and wheat fields, vii. 16; "the cars" reclaimed, *ib.*
- Novels, careless and inaccurate style of, viii. 469; prevalence of; large numbers published in a serial form, 475-477; changed manner in conducting prose fictions as shown in the works of the novel writers, 477-479
- Nugent, lord, moves for a list of persons holding crown places and pensions, vi. 404; his Irish free trade motions, 443
- Nuncomar, an intriguing Hindoo, executed by the British for forgery, vii. 126, 127
- OATES, Titus**, first revelation of the Popish Plot by, in 1678, iv. 332; is brought before the Council, 333; is examined by the House of Commons, 335; increasing boldness of his accusations, and assertion of the queen having concerted the king's murder, 336; has a pension assigned him by the Commons, 337; fresh convictions on the evidence of, in 1679, 345; payments to and to other witnesses, 346; is a witness against lord Stafford, who is convicted, in 1684, 358; contradicts Dugdale on the trial of Stephen College, the "Protestant joiner," and his pension is stopped, 363; is prosecuted for a libel on the duke of York in 1683, and 100,000*l.* damages awarded, 375; is convicted of perjury, and sentenced to be imprisoned, pilloried, and whipped, in 1685, 387; released from prison, pardoned, and pensioned, 1689, v. 95
- O'Brien, Smith**, a member of the Irish Confederation; his share in the insurrection of 1848, viii. 560
- Occasional Conformity, bill against; its objects; discussion on; rejected 1702, v. 262, 263; a new bill introduced, 1703; again rejected, 268; thrown out a third time, 1704, 289; its repeal desired by Stanhope, 1718, vi. 35
- Ochterlony, sir David, compels the Ghorka commander, Ameer Singh, to capitulate, 1815, viii. 215; engages to support the rajah of Bhurtpore, 221
- O'Coigley**, arrested and executed, 1797, for conspiring against government, vii. 363
- O'Connell, Daniel**, returned M.P. for Clare, who as a Roman Catholic was disqualified from sitting there, 1828, viii. 235; his great influence over the Irish peasantry, 235, 236; upon taking his seat, 1829, refuses to take the oath of supremacy, claiming that set forth in the Relief act; returned a second time for Clare, and takes his seat, 241; moves an amendment in the king's speech; coarseness of his language; Stanley a reply to; the amendment rejected, 319; again attacked by Mr. Stanley, 323, 324; condemns the appropriation of funds to be sanctioned by the Irish church reform bill, 326; his speech on the repeal of the Union question, 1834, 343; his amendment on the Irish tithe bill, 347; his alleged compact with the Melbourne Whig government, 368; his efforts to bring about a repeal of the Union, 502, 603; arrested for conspiring, 503; tried, 511, 512; found guilty and punished, 512; appeals for a reversal of his sentence, which he obtains; Ireland celebrates his triumph, 520; loss of his demagogic power, 521; his last parliamentary speech; died May 15, 1847, 549
- O'Connor, Arthur**, a member of the Irish Directory; tried for high treason, May, 1797; acquitted, vii. 363
- O'Connor, Feargus**, insists upon parliament's testing the repeal question, 1834, viii. 343; attempts to rouse the people to rebel, 413, 414, 417; heads the chartist movements of 1848, 559
- Odo**, archbishop of Canterbury, revolts against Edwy, and separates him from his wife, i. 134
- Oglethorpe, general, promotes the state of prisons inquiry, 1729, 1730, vi. 63, 64; pursues the retreating army of the rebels, 1745, 157
- O'Hara**, general, commands the Toulon garrison; wounded; taken prisoner, 1793, vii. 289, 290
- Oldcastle, sir John, condemned as a heretic, ii. 54; respited by the king, and escapes, *ib.*; joins in a conspiracy with the Lollards, and is retaken in 1418, and burnt, *ib.*
- Oliver, alderman, his share in the arrest of a House of Commons officer, 1771; imprisoned in the Tower, vi. 317-319
- Oliver the Spy acts as government spy against reformers, 1817, viii. 80-82
- Omichund**, engages in a conspiracy to depose Surajah Dowlah; Clive's treachery towards, vi. 224, 225; causes him to die an idiot, 226

- Onslow, *sir* Richard; chosen speaker of the House of Commons, 1708, v. 341; retires from the speakership; 1761; pensioned, vi. 246
- Onslow, colonel, his proceedings against printers for publishing parliamentary debates, 1771, vi. 317
- Opium trade, circumstances connected with the, which led to the war with China, viii. 443-445
- Oporto taken possession of by Soult, Mar. 29, 1809, vii. 510
- Oppian, description of the dogs of Britain by, i. 9
- Orange, prince of. See William III.
- Orange, prince of, relieves Charleroi, 1794, vii. 311; engaged at Waterloo, viii. 29, 31
- Orange, princess of, arrested; her cause espoused by the king of Prussia, vii. 150, 151
- Oregon question, settlement of the, viii. 542, 543
- Orford, earl of. See Walpole, Robert; Russell, Adm. Edward.
- Orleans, duke of, regent of France; refuses to aid the Pretender against England, 1715, vi. 9; desires England to support his claim to the throne, 27; his lenity towards Alberoni, 33; informs the British government of the proposed Jacobite expedition to Scotland, 1719, 36; and the Jacobite plot of 1722, 48; died, 1723, 54
- Orleans, duke of, banished Paris for taking part in a discussion against the court, 1788, vii. 163; assumes the name of Egalité; votes for Louis XVI.'s death, 251, 252; his defence for so doing, 252; imprisoned at Marseilles, 277; executed, Nov. 1793, 293
- Orleans, duke of. See Louis XVIII. of France.
- Ormond, marquis of, assembles a force in Ireland in favour of Charles II., iv. 120; besieges Dublin, and is defeated by the garrison, 121; visits London to forward a plot against Cromwell, from whom he receives a hint that he is known, and returns to Bruges, 212; attempt of Blood, Dec. 7, 1670, to seize and hang, 313, the king desires that he should pardon Blood, 315
- Ormond, duke of, makes, in conjunction with *sir* George Rooke, an unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz, v. 261; put in command of the British forces, 1712; receives secret instructions from the ministry not to hazard a battle, while there was a chance of negotiating peace; besieges Quesnoy; it surrenders, July 4, 392; proclaims an armistice with France; withdraws his forces from the allied army, 393; his march from Ghent to Bruges, 396; impeached of high treason; flies to France; an act of attainder passed against him, 1715, vi. 5; passes from France into Spain, 35; appointed to command a proposed expedition against England, 36
- Orrel, captain, his interest at the riots of 1710, v. 356
- Orrery, earl of, arrested, and sent to the Tower, 1722, for conspiring, vi. 48
- Orthez, battle of, Feb. 27, 1814, vii. 569
- Osborne, lord S. G., draws attention to the condition of the Dorsetshire labourers, viii. 397, 398
- Ostorius Scapula, defeat of Caractacus by, i. 20; triumph decreed to, 21; defeat and death of, 22
- Otaheite discovered, 1767; visited by Captain Cook, and Bougainville, vii. 261; disputes between France and England as to the national rights over, viii. 521, 522
- Otterbourne, or Chey Chase, battle of, on Aug. 10, 1388, ii. 24, 25
- Otto, M., negotiates the preliminaries of peace, 1801, vii. 407, 408; remonstrates against the newspaper remarks on Bonaparte, 416
- Oudenarde, battle of, July 11, 1708, v. 337, 338
- Outram, Major, British resident at Hyderabad; attacked by the Beloochees, viii. 509
- Oxford, state of, in 1289, i. 404; parliaments held at. See Charles I. and Charles II.
- Oxford university, the members of, preach passive obedience in 1664, iv. 376; Walker, the master of University College, becomes a Roman Catholic, 408; mass celebrated in University College, 410; John Massey installed dean of Christchurch, 411; the king recommends Anthony Farmer, a suspected papist, to be elected president of Magdalen College, 413; the Fellows elect Dr. John Hough, *ib.*; they are cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and are expelled, 414
- Oxford, his attempt upon the queen's life: acquitted on the ground of insanity; remarks on this acquittal, viii. 428, 429
- Oxford, Robert Harley, earl of; a Tory leader; moves for the disbanding of the troops, Dec. 1798, v. 231; chosen speaker by the fifth parliament of William III., 1701, 244; speaker of Anne's first parliament, 1702, 262; he is turned out of the ministry by Marlborough and the Whigs, 1708, 333, 335; has private audiences with the queen; commences a system of political intrigue with her, 339; the impeachment of Sacheverel brings him in opposition with Godolphin, 349; his intrigues are successful; Godolphin is dismissed, and himself is made chancellor of the exchequer, 1710, 363; is seriously opposed by the Tories; stabbed by Guiscard, Mar. 8, 1711, at a privy council sitting, 371; which leads to his being made earl of Oxford, and lord high treasurer, and to the establishment of his ministerial influence, 372, 373; carries on a secret negotiation with France for peace, 377; invites Eugene to dinner, 391; quarrels with Bolingbroke; he is dismissed from office, 1714, 400; lord Coningsby impeaches him of high treason, 1715; he is committed to the Tower, vi. 5; upon petitioning for release in 1717 he is put upon trial, and acquitted, but not included in the act of grace passed soon after, 30; his national debt proposal, 40
- Oxfordshire, agricultural condition of, vii. 10
- Oyster dredging by the ancient Britons, i. 9
- PAGEY, *sir* William, appointed by Henry's will one of the 16 counsellors to Edward VI., iii. 1; warns Somerset that the people desire liberty, and urges repressive measures, 20; reproaches Somerset for his too great lenity, 30; despotic principles of, 31; writes to the confederated lords, that Somerset is secured, 35; opposes a bill for the punishment of heresy with death, which is thrown out by the peers, 72
- Paget, lord. See Anglesea.
- Paine, Thomas, author of 'The Rights of Man,' his early career, vii. 203; invites the Parisians

- to establish a republic, 204; found guilty of libel in publishing his book, 248; a member of the National Convention of France, *ib.*; votes that Louis XVI. be imprisoned and banished, 252
- Pains and Penalties bill passed against two Irish priests, 1723, vi. 49; and against Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, 49, 50; against Queen Caroline introduced, 1820; examination into the evidence; trial of the queen; abandonment of the bill, viii. 168-172
- Painters in Water Colours, Society of, started 1805, viii. 155
- Painting; celebrated painters in England from Henry VIII.'s time to William III. v. 461; general decline of portrait painting from Lely to Reynolds, by whom it was restored, 462; low state of the art of, *temp.* George II. vii. C7; formation of the English school of, initiated by Hogarth: idea of a royal academy started by Thornhill prevails to 1724; revived in 1749; public exhibition of paintings in 1760, and 1761, the first practical embodiment of the idea, 68; exhibition of designs for sign-boards, 69; sign painters, 69, 70; foundation of the Royal Academy, Dec. 10, 1768, 70, 71; the British Institution established, viii. 150, 151; the National and Dulwich galleries, 151; rise of water colour painting; Society of Painters in Water Colours formed 1805, 155
- Pakenham, sir Edward, commands the British army in America, 1814, viii. 17; his appearance raises the confidence of the army, 18; his advance upon New Orleans, and struggle with general Jackson; organises an attack upon the enemy, Jan. 7, *ib.*; in which he is mortally wounded, 19
- Paley, his high intellectual position among English churchmen, viii. 124
- Palliser, sir Hugh, accuses admiral Keppel of misconduct and incapacity, vi. 393; tried by court-martial; acquitted, 394
- Palm, German minister in London; disavows the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna; ordered to leave England, vi. 55
- Palm, J. P., executed by the French for publishing a certain book, Aug. 26, 1806, vii. 472
- Palmer, Thomas Fyssh, sentenced to transportation for advocating a reform in the representation of the people, vii. 299
- Palmerston, lord, secretary at war, 1809, vii. 526; 1820, viii. 158; in the Canning cabinet, 210; joins the Wellington ministry, 1828, 228; opposes lord Russell's motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, 233; resigns office with Mr. Huskisson and the other Canningites, 234; secretary of state for foreign affairs, 267, 381; advocates reform, 1831, 275; success of his policy towards France, 430; denies having visited Louis Napoleon for two years previous to 1840; his conversation with Guizot on the fleets of England and France, 433; absurdly suspected of being in the pay of Russia, 434; advocates free trade in the debate on the sugar duties, 438
- Tamplova surrendered to the British, Oct. 31, 1813, vii. 566
- Paoli, the Corsican patriot; defends the island against the French, 1768, vi. 322; becoming an exile, he seeks refuge in England, 323; organises a revolt against the French, 1794, vii. 215
- Paris, entry of the allies and Louis XVIII. into, July, 1815, viii. 41
- Paris, peace of, signed Feb. 10, 1763; its terms, vi. 256, 257, 467; treaty of, May 15, 1796; vii. 412; peace of, July 20, 1806, 578; peace of, Jan. 6, 1810, 580; treaty of, ratified by Napoleon and the allies, April 11, 1814, 581, between France and the allies, May 30, 1815, 581, viii. 24; peace of, Nov. 29, 1815, 42, 382
- Parker, Hyde, admiral; engages the Dutch off the Dogger Bank, 1781, vi. 421; commands the fleet against the Danes, 1801, vii. 402; allows Nelson to fight and win the naval battle of Copenhagen, 402, 403
- Parker, Richard, chosen president of the delegates of the mutineers at the Nore, May, 1797; trial, and early career; executed at Sandwich, June 30, vii. 341
- Parkyn, sir William, concerned in a conspiracy against William III. 1696, v. 187, *et seq.*; is executed, 191
- Parliamentary reform; two attempts at reforming parliament made, v. 159; Chatham recommends, vi. 304, 305; agitates the public mind, 1780, 401; Pitt's scheme of, proposed, 441, and rejected, 442; his second bill for, produced, vii. 136; rejection of his third bill for, 146; in Ireland, 361, 362; taken up by ignorant and uneducated persons, viii. 72, 73; Cobbett advocates it, 73; the Hampden club reformers, 74, 75; Burdett twice revives the question of, 97, 102; lord Russell becomes a reformer and obtains the disfranchisement of Grampound, 102; cases of borough corruption, 233, 234; preparation of the Reform bill, 270; lord John Russell introduces the bill before a full house, 271; purport of the bill, 271, 272; its reception by the opposition, 272; sir R. Inglis's reply, 272, 273; debate on the bill, 274-276; Macanlay's speech, 274, 275; speeches of Palmerston and Peel, 275; defeat of the ministers in committee, 276; introduction of separate reform bills for England, Scotland, and Ireland, 278; Macanlay's speech on the English reform bill, 278, 279; the bill is read a second time and passed into committee; Mr. Croker's steady opposition to it, 279; his fears as to the results of its passing, 279, 280; the bill passes from the Commons to the Lords, 280; the five nights' debate; speeches of earl Grey, 281, 283; of the duke of Wellington, 281, 282; of lords Dudley, 282; Eldon, 282, 283; and Brougham, 283; the bill thrown out by the Lords, 283, 284; resolutions of the Commons, 284; the king's speech again recommends reform; new bill introduced by lord John Russell; alterations contained in it; second reading of bill in Commons; passed by them; introduced into the Lords, 294; scene at the second reading; defeat of the ministers in committee, 295; the king refuses to create peers to insure the passing of the bill; the ministers resign; the Commons implore the king to call another reform ministry, 296; the king consents to the creation of peers; abatement of the opposition of the anti-reform peers, 299, 300; passing of the Reform bills for Great Britain and Ireland, June and July, 1832, 300; changes effected by the working of the reform acts, 301-310; fears of anti-reformers, 310, 311
- Partition Treaty, negotiations between England and France for, v. 226; the partition schemes

- originated with France, *ib.*; and the negotiations are carried on, 227; correspondence and proceedings of William in connection with the first, 228; it is signed Oct. 11, 1698, by Portland and sir J. Williamson, 229, 388; stipulations of the first, *ib.*; the second signed in 1700, 230, 388
- Paston Letters, curious illustrations of the manners of the time, afforded by, ii. 102, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 157, 170; instance from, of the endeavour to influence a county election, 139
- Pastons, defence of Caister Castle by, against the duke of Norfolk, ii. 107
- Paterson, William, proposes the scheme of a great national bank, 1691, which is carried out by the establishment of the Bank of England, in 1694, v. 171; obtains a 300,000*l.* subscription for forming a company for trading to Africa and the Indies, 215, 216; sails with the colony for Darien, July 26, 1698; quarrels with the ship's officers and the council, 218; he is attacked by fever, June, 1699, 221
- Paul, Lewis, his cotton machine, vii. 44, 45
- Paul I. of Russia, succeeds Catherine, favours the French interests, vii. 330; joins the coalition against France, 382; won back to the French side, 393; assassinated, 1801, 405; emperor, 1796-1801, 574
- Paulinus, conversion of Edwin, king of Northumbria, by, i. 72
- Paull, James, brings charges against the marquis of Wellesley, vii. 453, 454, 461; duel with Burdett; commits suicide, 1807, 462
- Pavius, the notary, suppresses the revolt of Magnentius, i. 53; despotism of, in Britain, *ib.*; burnt alive by order of the emperor Julian, *ib.*
- Paving and Lighting Act, passed, 1762, viii. 65, 66
- Pearle found in Britain, i. 9
- Pearson, captain, his naval engagement with Paul Jones; defeated, vi. 398
- Peel, sir Robert, first returned to Parliament, 1809; chosen chairman of the currency committee; declares himself open to conviction, viii. 100; modifications of his views regarding the currency question, 100, 101; passing of the act called Peel's act, 101; appointed home secretary, 1822, 178, 195; objects to the extent of Mackintosh's measures for abolishing capital punishment, 195; his high position as an anti-Catholic partisan, 201; debate with Canning, the head of the Catholic party, on the Catholic question, 203, 204; resigns his office on Canning becoming minister, 1827, 204, 205; freedom from acrimony in his opposition to Canning, 205; his testimony in favour of Canning's political integrity, 207; his share in the negotiations for the premiership, 211; home secretary in the Wellington administration, 227; consulted by Wellington in the formation of the new cabinet, 227, 228; gradual advocacy of liberal principles, 228; adoption of his motion for inquiry into the public income and expenditure, and the state of the metropolitan police, 232; proposes a compromise of the bill for repealing the test and corporation acts, 233; refuses to acquiesce in the government's bringing forward the relief bill, 236; consents to continue in office on Wellington earnestly soliciting him to do so, 237; vacates his seat for Oxford, *ib.*; fails to be re-elected; but obtains the seat for Westbury, 238; speech explanatory of the bill for the relief of Roman Catholics, 239; solemnly affirms that his conduct with respect to this question was regulated by honest motives, 240; compels Mr. Brougham to apologise for his strong language against the Wellington ministry, 245, 246; his retirement from office, 1830, 264, 265; his emotion at the introduction of the Reform bill, March, 1831, 272; his reply to lord Palmerston's speech, 275; refuses to advocate reform upon any terms, 1832, 298; his declaration as to reform, 1833, 320; speech of, supporting government in the Irish Coercion bill, 324; Cobbett's motion to have him dismissed the privy council, 325; his narrative of his appointment to the premiership, 351, 352; first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, 1834, 353; formation of his ministry, 353, 354; list of his cabinet; his Tamworth manifesto, 354; general principles of his government, 355, 356; ministerial defeats, 355-357; supports the amendment on the motion for a London university charter, 357; speech of, on explaining the cause of his resignation, 357, 358; acts the part of moderator in the dispute between the two houses, 364; eulogises William IV., 377; his solicitude as to the condition of the labouring classes, 418; fails in forming a new ministry on account of the Queen's refusing to dismiss the ladies of the bed-chamber, 420; speaks against free-trade principles, 438; moves that the ministry have not the confidence of the House of Commons, 439; his speech on the address, 440; difficulties of his position, 441; proclaims the necessity of the war with China, 446; supports Macaulay's amendments to the copyright bill, 465; his reserve as to his policy, and of the intended course to be pursued in the corn-law question, 492, 493; his opinions on this question, 494, 495; introduces a bill for better protecting the queen's person, 497; his debate with lord Palmerston as to his policy towards France, 497, 498; considers the Ashburton treaty decisive of the boundary question, 498; resolves to maintain the union with Ireland, 502; his speech on the state of Ireland, 512; considers the prosperous state of the country a justification of his financial policy of 1842, 512, 513; advocates protection to agriculture, 513; his position reviewed, 513, 514; his bank act passed, 514; its advantages and disadvantages, 514, 515; objects to lord Ashley's ten-hour clause in sir J. Graham's bill for regulating factory labour, 515, 516; conduct of, in the sugar-duty debate; Mr. Disraeli's hostility towards, 517; remarks of, on the Tahiti affair, 521; his financial statement for 1845, 525, 526; opposition to his proposals, 526; again attacked by Mr. Disraeli, 527, 528; introduces the government plan for a grant to Maynooth college, 528; denunciations poured upon him, 528, 529; his measure carried, 529; Tory bitterness towards, 530; apprehends a failure of the potato crop, 530, 531; proposes a modification of the corn-laws, 531; dissensions in

- his cabinet as to suspending the corn-laws, 532, 533; he resigns his premiership, 533; refuses to pledge himself to support the repeal of the corn-laws, 533, 534; his parting interview with the queen, 534; re-assumes his office, 534, 535; the Duke of Wellington's admiration of his courage, 535; ministerial explanation of; determines to hold his power unshackled, 536; again attacked by Mr. Disraeli, 536, 537; his new tariff and corn-law bill, 537, 538; debate on his plans, 538; his speech in support of his measures, 538, 539; adoption of his bills, 539, 540; the bill for the protection of life in Ireland, rejected; violent attack on, by lord Bentinck; defended by Mr. Cobden, 540, 541; vindicates his own conduct; resigns office, 541; opposed to limiting the hours of factory labour, 552
- Peage bill introduced; rejected, 1719, vi. 37, 38
- Pellham, Henry, speaks against the motion for repealing the Septennial act, 1734, vi. 74; appointed first lord of the treasury, Aug. 1743, 111, 112, 320; succeeds Walpole in his command of the House of Commons, 112; turned out of office for 48 hours; conducts the financial part of the administration, 178; regarded the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle as a necessity; his dependency at the weakness of the nation, 183; proposes the reduction of the national debt interest, 184; death of, March 6, 1754, 197; first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, 1743-1754, 320
- Pellegrini, Antonio, a ceiling painter, v. 463
- Peltier, trial of, for libelling Bonaparte, 1803, vi. 420, 421; Mackintosh's speech in defence of, 421, 422
- Pembroke, William, earl of, one of the leaders of the barons who obtained Magna Charta, i. 345; is appointed regent to Henry III. in 1217, 357; succeeds in expelling the French under Louis, 358; death of, in 1219, *ib.*
- Pembroke, Thomas Herbert, earl of, represents England at the conferences at Ryswick, 1697, v. 198
- Pendergrass. See Portland, earl of, v. 189
- Penn, Richard, governor of Pennsylvania; entrusted with the presentation of a petition to the king, 1775, vi. 360; examined in the House of Lords, 361
- Penn, William, arrested on March 5, 1682, with Mead, for attending a Quaker's meeting, iv. 311; behaviour of Jeffreys, *ib.*; is acquitted, 312; obtains a grant of land in America in lieu of money owing to him by the crown, 378; resolves to found a colony for the Quakers there out of the reach of the penal laws, *ib.*; obtains a charter from the king, who names the settlement Pennsylvania, *ib.*; with the assistance of Algernon Sidney, frames a constitution for it, *ib.*; lands at Newcastle on the Delaware, Oct. 27, 1682, 379; founds Philadelphia, and enters into a treaty with the Indians, *ib.*; influence of, in procuring the release from prison of 1400 Quakers on the accession of James I., 384
- Penny Magazine started, 1832; large circulation of, proof of the increased desire for knowledge, viii. 311, 312
- Penny Postage. See Post.
- People, history of the, desirableness of, i. preface, vii.
- Perceval, Spencer, opens the case for the crown in the trial of Peltier, 1803, vii. 421; opposes the bill for promoting the enlistment of Roman Catholics, 479; chancellor of the exchequer, 1807, vii. 480; moves that the duke of York is innocent of the charge brought against him, 509; premier, 1809; constitution of his ministry, 526; his ministry retained on the prince of Wales becoming Regent, Feb. 1811, 535; assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons by Bellingham, May 11, 1812, 540-541
- Perron commands the Scindia's army, vii. 455; defeated by general Lake; puts himself under British protection, 456
- Persigny, M. de, aids Louis Napoleon in his enterprise at Strasbourg, 1837; effects his escape, viii. 375
- Perth, duke of. See Drummond, James.
- Pestilence in 1479, notice of, ii. 175
- Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, visits England in 1698; Evelyn's house is hired for him; he engages himself as a ship carpenter; description of, vi. 211; career of, from 1698 to 1709, 345; when his empire is invaded by Charles XII. of Sweden, whom he defeats at Pultowa, July 8, 1709, 346; enters Mecklenberg and threatens Denmark, 1716, vi. 28
- Peter the Hermit, first preaching of the Crusade by, i. 226; first crusade led by, 228; rout of, 229
- Peterborough, Charles Mordaunt, earl of, impeached, 1689, v. 98; his early career, 292; and character, 293; he is sent on an expedition to Spain, *ib.*; opposes the prince of Darmstadt's and the archduke Charles' plan of besieging Barcelona; but finally agrees to it, 294; quarrels with the prince of Darmstadt, *ib.*; attacks Montjuich; his men are repulsed, he rallies them, and finally reduces the post; Barcelona soon after surrenders, 1702, 295; raises the siege of San Mateo; pursues Las Torres and his army; commences operations for the defence of Valencia, 296; removes the besieging army under Arcas out of his path, and obtains admission into Valencia by a stratagem, 1706, 297; defeats Philip's troops, *ib.*; relieves Barcelona, 298; goes to Madrid; his gaiety of temper as shown by a letter, *ib.*; his disgust at Charles; leaves him; returns to Spain, 1707; recalled by government, 299; his subsequent occupation, 300; receives the thanks of parliament for his services in Spain, 308
- Peters, Hugh, idea afforded by, of the havoc of the Civil War, iv. 50; execution of, as a regicide, 248
- Petion, Villeneuve, sent by the National Assembly to conduct Louis XVI. back to France, 1791, vii. 202; chosen mayor of Paris, 205; his conduct in the insurrection of June 20, 1792, 221; popularity of, 222; heads a deputation demanding the king's deposition, 224
- Petition of Right passed in 1628, iii. 398
- Petticoat costume, 18th century, v. 419
- Petty, lord Henry. See Lansdown, lord.
- Phigaleian marbles, viii. 150
- Philadelphia occupied by the British, 1777, vi. 378
- Philip of Spain contracted in marriage to queen

- Mary, iii. 60; marriage of, to Mary, 75; bribery of the English parliament by, 76; leaves England, 95; continued interference of, in its affairs, 96; return of, to England, 100; war of, with the Pope and France, *ib.*; engages England to join in the war against France, 101; quits England, *ib.*; his ambassador's account of Elizabeth's character, 105; proposes himself as a husband to Elizabeth, 108; efforts of, to suppress Protestantism in the Netherlands, 167; cruelties of the duke of Alva in carrying his desires into effect, *ib.*; intrigues of, against Elizabeth, 168; schemes of, for invading England, 181; his fleet in Cadiz destroyed by Drake, 215; fresh preparations for the invasion, 217; the Armada sets sail from the Tagus, May 28, 1588, 225; ill-success and defeat of the Armada, 230, *et seq.*; fresh preparations made by, 238; Corunna and Vigo taken and burnt by the English fleet, 239; intrigues of, in Scotland against England, 261; endeavours to have Elizabeth poisoned, 265; death of, in 1598, 279
- Philip V. of Spain succeeds to the throne, 1700, v. 243; enters Catalonia, 1706; besieges Charles in Barcelona, 297; Peterborough compels him to raise the siege; retires to Madrid; but is driven hence by the allies, 298; the national enthusiasm rises in his favour, 299; the duke of Berwick compels the allies to evacuate Madrid, *ib.*; re-seated on his throne, 1707, 330; he is opposed by Charles and assisted by Staremberg and Stanhope, 1710; is defeated at Almenara and Saragossa, 366; the duke of Vendôme takes command of his army and retrieves his cause, and establishes his family on the throne, 367; stipulations granted to, by the treaty of Utrecht, 397; the French invade his territory; they compel him to dismiss his minister, Alberoni; accedes to the Quadruple Alliance, Jan. 1720, vi. 37; succeeded by Ferdinand VI. 1746, 465
- Philippa, general, commands the French at the siege of Badajoz, 1812; his defence, vii. 549; capitulates to the British, 550
- Phillips, sir Thomas, aids in quelling the Frost insurrection at Newport, viii. 422-423
- Philpot, the martyr and persecutor, iii. 88
- Physicians' College, founded in 1518, ii. 497
- Picbegrü, Charles, defeated by the duke of York, May, 1794, vii. 311; compels the British under Dundas to abandon Holland, 313-314; suppresses an insurrection in Paris, April 1, 1795, 321; banished France, 1797, 344; implicated in a conspiracy against Bonaparte, 1804; he is found strangled in prison, 432
- Pictou, sir Thomas, takes part in capturing Ciudad Rodrigo, 1812, vii. 548, 550; his arrival at Quatre Bras interferes with Ney's movements, viii. 29; slain at the battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815, 35
- Picts and Scots, irruption of into Britain, i. 54; opinions of Dr. Lingard and Dr. Lappenberg that they were the same people, *ib.*; driven back by Theodosius, *ib.*
- Piedmont, annexed to France, Sept. 1802, vii. 417
- Pierson, major, defeats the French under Rullecourt on Jersey Island, 1781; killed; vi. 419
- Pilgrimages to holy places, popularity of, in the 15th century, ii. 126; to shrines, prevalence of, *temp.* Henry VII., 245; Erasmus' account of his pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury, ii. 246
- Pilgrim Fathers, settlement of, in Massachusetts, in 1620, iii. 346
- Pilnitz, declaration of, vii. 207; 412
- Pindarees, war with the, 1817-1818, viii. 216, 217; results in the breaking up of the Mabratra confederacy, which had aided the Pindarees, 217
- Pinkie, battle of, Oct. 10, 1547, iii. 7
- Pitt. See Chatham.
- Pitt, William, unsuccessful candidate as M.P. for Cambridge University; returned for Appleby, 1780; first speech in support of Burke's Civil List Bill; Wilberforce's prophecy of, vi. 419; his hostile speech towards the ministry, 433, 434; his motion for the Reform of Parliament proposed, 1782, 441; rejected, 442; becomes chancellor of the exchequer, 450; 469; commencement of the party conflict between Fox and, 459; his argument in favour of a commercial treaty with France, vii. 58; introduces his second reform bill; it is rejected; as also another bill for preventing abuses in public offices, 136; appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Dec. 19, 1783, 139; his anxiety and disinterestedness, 139, 140; his India bill thrown out; his struggle against a majority in the Commons, 141; addresses to the king for the removal of the Pitt ministry; his popularity; and final triumph, 142; general character of; re-elected for the University of Cambridge, 143; squibs against, 144, 145; considered a safer minister than Fox, 145; his financial measures, *ib.*; introduces his bill for promoting commerce between Great Britain and Ireland; withdrawn; his reform bill is rejected a third time, 146; his scheme of the sinking fund; its utility, 147; his speech in favour of the commercial treaty with France, 148, 149; consolidates the taxes; Burke's tribute of thanks to; Pitt's increase of popularity, 150; endeavours to restrict the prince of Wales' power as regent, 153, 154; the king's gratitude to, for his conduct during his illness, 154, 155; his popularity still further increased, 155; hopes for an improved state of France; visits France, 1783, 156, 157; his spirited conduct averts the war with Spain, 188; his calmness and confidence in the stability of the British power, 207; keeps aloof from the declaration of Pilnitz, 207, 208; displays the flourishing condition of Great Britain, 211; his eloquent speech in favour of abolishing the slave trade immediately, 212; supports Fox's libel bill, *ib.*; attempts made to bring about a coalition between Fox and Pitt, 213; his opinions on parliamentary reform, 213, 214; lord warden of the Cinque Ports, 238; his strong desire to remain neutral with France, 238-40; his opinion of the French proceedings against Louis XVI., 243; his interview with lord Loughborough; is induced by him to favour a war policy, 245, 246; his address to the king on the execution of Louis XVI., 252, 253; his Indian declaratory bill passed, 1788, 257; defends his abandonment of the cause of parliamentary reform, 266; opinions of, on the French war, 267, 268; measures adopted by,

- towards France, 268, 269; they are opposed by Burke, *ib.*; Fox, 269, 270; Sheridan, Grey, and Erskine, 270; points out the difficulty of conducting a negotiation with the French, 276; Fox lays the blame of the war miscarriages in the campaign of 1793 upon, 283; Canning becomes his supporter, 317; opposition of Wilberforce to the address, 1794, 318; brings before the House of Commons a seditious meetings bill, 1795, 323; tenour of the bill; disputes with Fox; the bill is passed, 324; in consequence of a heavy pressure on the Bank of England he is unable to obtain financial assistance, 1797, 333; his difficulty got over, 333, 334; introduces bills for suppressing mutiny in the navy, 1797; the mutiny at the Nore is thereby quelled, 341; advocates peace with France, 342; proposes an income tax; his estimate of its amount, Dec. 3, 1798, 359; the measure passed, 360; anxious to promote the relief of the Irish Catholics, 369, 370; his resolutions on the Union agreed to, 371, 374; endeavours to persuade the king not to openly oppose the Catholic emancipation question, 398; the king refusing to do so, Mr. Pitt resigns, March 14, 1801, 399, 400; the king's insanity imputed to the hasty resignation of, 400, 401; negotiations for his return to power, 1803; stipulates for more than Addington will grant, 424; his speech advocating war with France, 424, 425; commands the volunteers at Walmer, 428, 429; presses for an administration on a broad basis; obtains the premiership on certain prescribed conditions, 431; his government opposed by the Addington, Grenville, and Fox parties, 435; effects a reconciliation with Mr. Addington, 437; carries the question of war against Spain, 438; his mortification on the charges of corruption being brought against lord Melville; further increased on the passing of the vote of censure, 439; effect of the news of Mack's surrender at Ulm on, 445; his feelings on hearing of the battle of Trafalgar and death of Nelson, 448; Napoleon's triumph at Austerlitz completes the ruin of his health, 450; last days of Pitt; story of the desertion of his death-bed, 451; died January 23, 1806, 451-452; public honours conferred on, 463
- Pius VI., feebleness of his government, vii. 326; buys Napoleon off from invading his territories, 327
- Pius VII., compelled to officiate at Napoleon's coronation, 1804, vii. 437; imprisoned at Savona, 535; released, 568
- Plague, the great, of 1665, first appearance of, iv. 269; the condition of London, such as to promote it, 270; Defoe's narrative of it in London, 271, *et seq.*; superstitions fears of the people respecting it, 272; notices of, by Pepys and others, 273, 275
- Plassey, battle of, June 23, 1757, vi. 225, 226
- Platiere, R. de. See Roland.
- Plattsburg, the British fail to take, 1814, viii. 16
- Plautius, sent from Gaul by Claudius to invade Britain, i. 17, 18; attacks Togodumnus and Caractacus with indifferent success, *ib.*; applies for succour to Claudius, *ib.*; triumph bestowed on, 20
- Plentheim. See Blenheim.
- Plymouth, not a great naval station at the end of the 17th century, v. 10; its prosperity caused by the erection of the breakwater by Telford, 11
- Pocock, sir George, admiral; reduces Havannah in conjunction with the earl of Albemarle, vi. 256
- Poitiers, battle of, won by the Black Prince, 19 Sept. 1356, i. 475
- Poland, incorporated with Russia, viii. 333
- Pole, cardinal Reginald, publishes a book against the divorce of Henry VIII., ii. 422; his family in England are arrested, in 1539, and his mother, the aged countess of Salisbury, executed, in 1541, 423; he arrives in England, in 1554, as legate, iii. 76; the parliament submits to the pope, and he absolves the realm, 77; moderation of, during the Marian persecution, 81; success of his efforts towards a reconciliation defeated by the zealotry of pope Paul IV., 96; is made archbi-hop of Canterbury, 99; his proceedings against the bodies of dead heretics, 100; his death, 106
- Police, state of London, 18th century, vii. 116, 117; inquiry into the state of the, made 1816, 1817, viii. 64, 65; the new Metropolitan formed, 1829, 232
- Polignac, prince Jules de, president of the French council, 1829, viii. 248; his ministry sends out an expedition against Algiers, 249; informs the king of the unsettled state of the kingdom, 250; refuses to recall the royal ordinances; the king is compelled to dismiss the ministry of, 254
- Political Unions, extensive formation of, 1832, viii. 294, 295
- Pollock, gen., his Indian campaign, 1842, viii. 458-460
- Pondicherry, siege of, raised by the English, vi. 202; surrenders to the English, 249; vii. 129; taken by sir John Braithwaite, 260
- Poniatowski, prince, heads the Poles in their claim for independence; leaves Poland, vii. 314
- Ponsonby, G., proposes several reform measures, vii. 364; moves an amendment in the address claiming independence for Ireland, 371; his sorrow at Perceval's death, 541; a lord of the treasury, viii. 267
- Ponte-corvo, prince of. See Charles XIV. of Sweden
- Poor, condition of the Anglo-Saxon, i. 91; progress of legislation for the relief of, iii. 267; statute passed for, 39 Eliz., the foundation of the English Poor Law, 268
- Poor Laws, administration of, 1816, viii. 68, 69 the poor law amendment bill brought in by lord Althorp, April 17, 1834, 336; the report of the poor law commissioners, 336-341; debates on, opposition to, and passing of, the bill, 341, 342; it receives the royal assent, Aug. 14; first report of the commissioners, 342; introduction of the poor laws into Ireland proposed, 1837, 376; working of the new poor law, 397, 398, 413, 414; introduction of the, into Ireland by Mr. Nieholls, 411
- Pope, Alexander, essays by, in the "Spectator" and "Guardian," v. 413; sketch of his life, 415; and traits of his character, 416; his "Rape of the Lock," 421-423; highly remunerated for his translations of the Iliad and Odyssey, 434; his essay on criticism and

- attack on Dennis, 436; his satire upon antiquaries, 437; the Dunciad, 437, 438; vii. 86; remarks on the commentators, public schools, v. 439; the universities and the traveller, 440; entomologists and florists, 441; condemns Vanbrugh's architecture, 456; his libel on lord Hervey, vi. 67; died 1744, vii. 86
- Popham, sir Home, captures Buenos Ayres, vii. 473, 474
- Popish Plot of 1668. See Charles II., and Oates, Titus.
- Population of England, at the end of the third century, a very mixed one, i. 43, 44; introduction of large bodies of Germans, Burgundians, and Vandals, by the Roman emperors, 43; mixed character of, at the departure of the Romans, 57; cowardice and effeminacy of, as described by Gildas, not credible, 58
- Popular amusements and games, ii. 14, 236, 237, 255-260; 492, 494; iii. 131, 246-255; iv. 251
- Popular sports, *temp.* Richard I., i. 328, 329
- Port. See Wine.
- Porteous, John, captain of the Edinburgh city guard; fires on a mob, killing several persons; convicted of murder; sentenced to death; reprieved, vi. 81; murdered by the mob, 82
- Porteous riots in Edinburgh, vi. 79-84
- Porter, George, his share in the assassination plot, 1696, v. 188, 190; gives evidence against Fenwick, 196
- Portland, William Bentinck, earl of; example of his integrity, v. 178; accompanies William to the siege of Namur, 1695, 179; summons Boufflers to surrender the place, 180; William orders a grant of an estate to him, which is recalled, on the Commons showing it to be unconstitutional, 185; is informed of the assassination plot by Fisher, Pendergrass, 189; and De la Rue, 190; arranges with marshal Boufflers the preliminaries of the peace of Ryswick, 1697, 198; is sent on a mission to France by William, 1698, 207; description of his entrée and private audience, 208, 209; his reception by Louis and the French court, 208; correspondence of, in connection with the first Partition Treaty, 227; signed by him as commissioner, Oct. 11, 229; jealousy of, towards Albemarle; he retires from court and gives up all his offices; but is persuaded by William to continue the negotiations for the second Partition Treaty, 236; he is impeached by the Commons for his concern in the Partition Treaties, 246; attends William on his death bed, 254
- Portland, duke of, appointed viceroy of Ireland, 1782, vi. 446; first lord of the treasury, 1783, vii. 135, 576; supports the Alien bill, 244; opposes lord Loughborough being chancellor; after considerable hesitation gives his adherence to the war party, 244, 245; appointed third secretary of state, 1794, 316; requested to aid the bribery for accomplishing the Irish Union, 372, 373; nominal head of the administration, 1807; resigns the premiership, 1809; died October 29, 1809, 480; home secretary of state, 1794-1801, 576, 577
- Portmore, lord, governor of Gibraltar; hastens to defend it in his 80th year, vi. 56
- Porto Bello, taken by admiral Vernon, vi. 97, 98
- Porto Cagero, cardinal, his practisings on Charles II. of Spain, to induce him to give the Spanish inheritance to France, v. 242; his purpose accomplished; chief of the Spanish council, 243
- Portugal, prince regent of. See John of Portugal.
- Post, insecurity and tardiness of the, 18th century, vii. 92, 93; introduction of mail coaches, 1784, 93; rapid increase and celerity of communication by, viii. 389, 390; insufficiency of postal accommodation, 390; public opinion on Rowland Hill's penny postage plan, 424, 425; the system is tried, found successful, and finally adopted, 425, 426; variety of stamps in use, 426
- Pottinger, sir Henry, the British plenipotentiary at Canton; his proceedings as such, viii. 448; concludes the treaty of Nanking, 449
- Pounds, John, his benevolent career; died 1839, viii. 399
- Power loom, invented by Dr. Cartwright, vii. 54
- Pragmatic Sanction published by Charles VI., April 17, 1713, v. 389
- Prague, peace of, May 30, 1635, v. 386; taken by the elector of Bavaria, Nov. 25, 1741, vi. 167; besieged by Frederick of Prussia, 1758, unavailingly, 228, 229
- Pratt, sir C. See Camden, Lord.
- Presburg, peace of, signed, Dec. 26, 1805, vii. 446-448
- Presbyterians. See Nonconformists.
- Press, the. See Newspapers.
- Preston, lord, plots against William; tried; and convicted, v. 125; implicates several eminent persons with being concerned in the plot, 126
- Preston, captain, tried for abetting the murder of a mulatto; defended by John Adams; found 'not guilty,' vi. 313
- Preston-Pans, battle of, Sept. 1745, vi. 129-131
- Prevost, sir George, governor-in-chief of the British North American provinces, viii. 8; his failure in an attack on Plattsburg; outcry raised against him; resigns; demands a court martial, but dies before it commences, viii. 16
- Priestley, Dr. Joseph, accused of being opposed to the church of England, vii. 195; becomes a Unitarian minister at Birmingham, 1780, *ib.*; his character, 195, 196; his "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham," published, 1791; the riots of 1791; the rioters burn his chapel, house, and books, and compel him to flee the town, 196
- Printing, begun in England by Caxton about 1474, ii. 128
- Printing and the importation of books, encouragement afforded to by Richard III. ii. 200, 201
- Prior, Matthew, accompanies St. John, viscount Bolingbroke, on his embassy to France, 1712, v. 396; excluded from the act of grace, 1717, vi. 30
- Prisons. See Gaols.
- Pritchard, British consul at Tahiti; the French outrage on that island compels him to quit it, viii. 521
- Privateering, prevalence of, 1781; abolition of, recommended, 1856, vi. 420, 421
- Probus, emperor, sends Burgundians and Vandals into Britain, i. 43

- Prohibitory bill passed, vi. 362
 Roma occupied by the British, April 1825, viii. 220
 Property qualification bill, passed 1711, v. 370, 371
 Provera marches to relieve Mantua; surrenders himself and army to Bonaparte, Jan. 16, 1797, vii. 343
 Provisions, prices of, in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., i. 369; prices of, in 1495 and 1497, ii. 252; proclamation by the Protector Somerset against the unreasonable prices of, iii. 20; scarcity of, and fluctuations in the prices of, in 1573, 1586, 1587, and 1596, 276
 Prynn, William, excessive punishment of, in 1633, for publishing the "Histrio-Mastix," iii. 411; renewed severe sentence on, in 1637, for anti-pretial writing, 423; is released with Burton and Bastwick, on the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, 444; triumphant entry of, into London, *ib.*; prosecution of Laud by, in 1645, iv. 38
 Ptolemy, list of towns in Britain by, i. 44
 Public health, state of the, more especially that of the labouring classes, viii. 391, 392; causes of the bad, 392, 393; arrangements for bettering the, 393, 394; general and local boards of health established; public health act passed, 561
 Pulteney, William, opposes Walpole; his name struck off the Privy Council list, vi. 66; his spiteful quarrel with Walpole; and duel with lord Hervey; opposes the bill for proposing standing armies, 67; and the resolution to publish the parliamentary debates, 68; shows the fallacy of the arguments in favour of reimposing the duty on salt, *ib.*; argues that it is a step towards a general excise, 69; favours the motion for repealing the Septennial act, 74; opposes the Gin act, 1736, 78; created earl of Bath, 104
 Pultowa, invested by the Swedish, v. 345, 346; battle of, July 8, 1709, 346
 Purchase, George, charged with high treason for taking part in a riot, 1710, v. 355; tried, convicted, pardoned, 356; his share in the riot, 357, 358
 Puritans. See Nonconformists.
 Putnam, Israel, a farmer and tavern-keeper; heads his neighbours in the revolution; becomes a general, vi. 354; commands the Americans at the battle of Brooklyn, 1776, 370
 Pym, John, joins in the protestation of the House of Commons in 1621, against the king's interference with their liberty of speech, iii. 382; assists in the debate on the Petition of Right, in 1628, 397; prophetic threat of, to Wentworth, on his becoming minister to Charles I., 409; speech of, impeaching Strafford, 445; conducts the proceedings on the trial of Strafford, 450; moves in the Commons, that the form be changed to a bill of attainder, 451; produces the notes of the Privy Council furnished by Henry Vane, against Strafford, 452; his vehement reply to Strafford's defence, 454; attempted to be seized by the king, on Jan. 3, 1642, 475; addresses the Londoners, iv. 11; death of, Dec. 8th, 1643, 30; buried in Westminster Abbey, *ib.*
 Pyrenees, treaty of the, Nov. 7, 1659, v. 387; battles of the, 1813; vii. 522, 523; view from the, at sunrise, described, 565
 QUADRUPLE alliance signed Aug. 2, 1718; joined by the duke of Savoy and Spain, v. 389
 Quakers, interview between George Fox and Cromwell, iv. 193; case of James Naylor, a Quaker, 204; George Fox lays before Cromwell the sufferings of the, 214; proclamation against holding conventicles, and passive resistance offered to, 251; stubborn resistance of, to the provisions of the Conventicle act in 1664, 267; Penn and Mead arrested and tried for attending a Conventicle, 311; they are acquitted, and Jeffreys fines and imprisons the jury, who are liberated by the judges of the Common Pleas, 312; founding of Pennsylvania by Penn in 1682, 378; fourteen hundred released from prison on the accession of James II., 384; exempted from the Toleration act on certain terms, v. 74; bill for the relief of, passed, 1722, vi. 47; endeavour to obtain the abolition of the slave trade, vii. 466
 Quarterly Review started, 1809, in opposition to the Edinburgh Review; its editor, partisans, and criticism, viii. 127, 128
 Quebec. See Wolfe, vi. 237, 238; capitulates to the English, Sept. 18, 1759, 239; besieged by the Americans, 1760, 240; blockaded by them, 1775, 362
 Queensbury, duke of, character and amusements of the, vii. 102, 103
 Queensbury, James Douglas, duke of, high commissioner to queen Anne; quells the riots made in opposition to the union, 1706, v. 324; he is threatened with assassination, *ib.*; induces Ker to try to thwart the Cameronian schemes, 325; he is advised of the proceedings of the Jacobite plotters by John Ker, 334
 Quesnoy, surrendered to Ormond and Eugene, July 4, 1712, v. 392; taken by the Austrians, 1793, vii. 282
 Quiberon Bay. See Hawke, vi. 239, 240
 Quiberon, the British expedition to, 1795, vii. 320
 RADSTADT, peace of, Mar. 6, 1714, v. 389; congress at, 1797-1799, vii. 381, 382; 413
 Raeburn, his portrait painting, viii. 152
 Raffles, sir Stamford, lieutenant-governor of Java, viii. 214; established a factory in Singapore, 1819, 218
 Ragged schools. See Education, viii. 399
 Ragusa, duke of. See Marmont.
 Raikes, Robert, ordered to attend the bar of the House of Commons for printing the debates, 1729, vi. 67; Sunday schools originated by, 1781, vii. 120; changes in English society noticed by, viii. 401, 402
 Rajah of Nagpoor. See Bhoonsla.
 Rajah Sahib, his contests with Clive; put to death by the Mahrattas, vi. 204, 205
 Raleigh, sir Walter, failure of his first attempt to found a colony in North America, iii. 220; commands the land forces at Plymouth, on the approach of the Armada, 228; goes on board the fleet, 230; assists Essex in his attack on Cadiz in 1596, 265; commands another expe-

- dition with Essex, with whom he disagrees, 266; is deprived of his offices by James I., 310; indicted in 1603, for projecting to dispossess James in favour of Arabella Stuart, 311; brutality of Coke, and calm bearing of Raleigh, during the trial, 312; he is convicted, reprieved, and confined in the Tower, 313; his employments during his confinement, 314, 373; opposition of, to the treaty with Spain in 1604, 318; is released from the Tower in 1616, 374; undertakes an expedition to Guiana, to discover a gold mine, *ib.*; is attacked, driven back, and returns to England, 375; arrested at Plymouth, *ib.*; and executed under his former sentence on Oct. 29, 1618, 376; popular indignation occasioned by his execution, 377
- Ramilies, battle of, May 23, 1706, v. 308, 309
- Ranelagh gardens, its company and amusements, vii. 96, 97
- Rangoon, taken by the British, 1823; defended by sir A. Campbell, viii. 219
- Rawdon, lord. See Moira.
- Rebecca riots. See Riots.
- Rebellion of 1715, vi. 6-22
- Rebellion of 1745, vi. 121-176
- Reciprocity of Duties bill passed July 4, 1823, viii. 189
- Re-coinage bill passed, 1695, v. 184, 185
- Recognition act passed, 1690, v. 104
- Reform, Irish church. See Church, viii. 326, 327; 343, 344; 357.
- Reform, law. See Brougham, viii. 231, 232.
- Reform, parliamentary. See Parliamentary Reform.
- Reformation, commencement of, in England, in 1531, ii. 336; Henry VIII. obtains from Convocation a recognition of his being supreme head of the church in England, "as far as the law of Christ will allow," 337; payment of annates to the see of Rome abolished in 1533, 339; statute forbidding appeals to Rome passed, 350; act of supremacy passed, 357; visitation of the monasteries in 1535, and statute for their dissolution, 366; English bibles ordered to be set up in churches in 1538, 406; act of 1539 passed for the dissolution of abbeys, 408, 417; exposure of impositions connected with images and relics, 409; destruction of the religious houses, 413; act passed in 1539 for enabling the king to make bishops, 417; projected applications of the monastic revenues, and their non-fulfilment, 418; the intolerant statute of the Six Articles passed, 419; reformers executed or driven out of the country by this act, 421; continued burnings for heresies in England, under the Six Articles act, 446, 447; Anne Askew and others burnt, 449; beneficial effect of the act of 1548, allowing of the marriage of priests, 458; various forms of church service before the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer in 1548, 489; dissensions regarding the keeping of holidays, 490; the reading of the Bible forbidden "to the lower sort," 492; progress of, under Edward VI., iii. 8; the Paraphrase of the New Testament published in English, and the Book of Homilies, *ib.*; ecclesiastical visitation to inquire as to the existence of Roman Catholic abuses, and the reading of the Bible in English in churches, 8, 9; act for administering the Sacrament in both kinds, 10; act for the suppression of chauntries, *ib.*; proclamation against religious processions, 11; the abolition of them not popular, *ib.*; act for the uniformity of service, 12; publication of the Book of Common Prayer, 12, 13; persecution of Anabaptists, and burning of Joan Bocher, 39; Articles of Belief set forth by Edward VI., 40; book of Canon laws issued by Cranmer, *ib.*; Roman Catholic bishops deprived of their sees, 40, 41; execution of Somerset, and account of his promotion of the doctrines of the Reformation, 44; sweeping changes effected by Mary on her accession, 57, *et seq.*; Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley condemned for heresy at Oxford, 73; the statutes against heretics revived, 77; the Marian persecution, 79, *et seq.*; list of Protestant victims, 80; martyrdom of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, 83; of Rowland Taylor, at Hadleigh, 85; prevalence of intolerance in both Reformers and Papists, 88; Cranmer burnt, March 21, 1556, 93; the church services ordered to be performed in English on the accession of queen Elizabeth, 108; Mary's statutes in favour of popery repealed, 113; dissensions among the Reformers, and progress of Protestantism on the continent, 116; persecution on the continent of Protestants in the Netherlands and France occasions the settlement of a great number of Calvinists in England, 167; a new statute against Papists passed in 1571, 171; growth of the Puritanical party, 172; plots of the Jesuits against Elizabeth and the Reformation, 180; increased severities enacted against Papists, priests being ordered to quit the country, 181; the pope excommunicates England, and publishes a crusade against, 217
- Reformation in Scotland, progress of, ii. 435; Patrick Hamilton, the first Protestant martyr in Scotland, burnt at St. Andrews, in 1528, *ib.*; James V. opposes himself to it, *ib.*; he refuses Henry VIII.'s proposal to make himself supreme head of the church, *ib.*; Wishart burnt, March 26, 1546, 441; cardinal Beaton assassinated, May 29, *ib.*; hostility of the queen regent to the Reformers, iii. 118; the Lords of the Congregation remonstrate, *ib.*; John Knox arrives from the continent, preaches at Perth, and the Reformers destroy the monastic houses, *ib.*; Elizabeth lends secret assistance to the Reformers, 119; the Congregation has recourse to arms, *ib.*; Elizabeth assists them openly with an army, and they besiege and take Leith, 120; a Confession of Faith drawn up by a parliament in 1560, 121; other acts passed establishing the reformed religion, 122; Knox preaches against the abstraction of the church patrimony, *ib.*; Knox's attacks upon Mary, and her avowal of her hatred of him, 125, 126; essential differences of, from that of the Reformation in England, 136; danger of the establishment of, from the opposition of Mary, 137; the pope's authority abolished, and the Confession of Faith of 1560 sanctioned, by the parliament in December, 1567, 153
- Regency bill passed, v. 306; differences between George III. and his ministers on the, 1765; a regency bill passed, vi. 276; another passed, 1788, for appointing the prince of Wales regent, vii. 154
- Register Book of births, deaths, and marriages,

- order for the keeping of, in every church, by Thomas Cromwell, ii. 455
- Registration bill passed, 1836, viii. 371, 372
- Regner Lodbrok, first invasion of England by, i. 79; second invasion and death, 93
- Remonstrance of London, 1770, vi. 314, 315; of the Massachusetts state against war with Britain, 1812, viii. 5, 7, 8
- Rennie, John, aids in draining the Lincolnshire fens, vii. 15; his early career; and engineering works of Waterloo bridge, and at the Docks, viii. 147, 148
- Rents, rise of, in the reign of Henry VIII., ii. 475
- Resumption bill passed, 1699, v. 234, 235
- Revenue, the amount of, in 1547, ii. 457; sources of, 458; of the crown, as settled on Charles II., iv. 243
- Revenue act, opposition to the, by the Americans, 1768, vi. 307
- Revolution of 1688, the commencement of a new era of English history, iv. 448, *et seq.*
- Revolution in Scotland, v. 90
- Revolution, French, vii. 156-185; 188, 189; 191-193; 199-210; 214, 215; 217-243; 250-253; 260; 271-296; 298; 306-311; 320-323; 325-334; 342-344; 346-353; 379-385; 387-389; 392-396; 405; 407-411
- Revolution, French, of 1830. See Charles X., viii. 250-256
- Revolution, French, narrative of the, of 1848, viii. 555-558; 560-561
- Reynolds, sir Joshua a leading portrait painter, vii. 67; first president of the royal academy; knighted, 70; contributes to the royal academy's first exhibition, 71; critique on his works; the true founder of the English school of painting, 73; died in 1792, viii. 151
- Ricci, Lorenzo, chief of the Jesuits; opposes the suppression of the company, vi. 327
- Ricci, Sebastian, a ceiling painter, v. 463
- Ricci, Marco, a ceiling painter, v. 463
- Richard of Cirencester, record by, of "a profound peace," from A.D. 211-286, i. 31; list of cities in Roman Britain given by, 39
- Richard I., behaviour of, on the death of his father, i. 304; crowned Sept. 3, 1189, 305; massacre of the Jews at the coronation of, 306; engages in the third crusade, 307; mistaken sympathy for the character of, *ib.*; quarrels with Philip of France, and marries Berengaria of Navarre, 308; conquers Cyprus, 309; besieges Acre, *ib.*; which surrenders, 310; Philip returns to France in anger, 311; Richard orders the massacre of the Turkish hostages, because the Holy Cross had not been delivered, 312; marches towards Jerusalem, *ib.*; defeats Saladin in 1191, 313; is forced to retreat after reaching Jaffa, 314; hears of disturbances in England occasioned by the intrigues of his brother John, *ib.*; Longchamp his chancellor in England deposed, 315; Richard is falsely accused of the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, 316; last Eastern campaign of, 317; approaches Jerusalem, but again retreats, 318; attempts in vain to retake Jaffa, agrees to a truce, and sails from Acre on Oct. 9, 1192, 319; is captured on his return, and imprisoned by the emperor of Germany, *ib.*; is ransomed, 320; lands at Sandwich, March 12, 1194, 322; leaves England on May 9, lands at Harfleur, and pardons John, 329; drives Philip out of Normandy, 330; besieges Chaluz, is wounded, and dies April 6, 1199, 330, 331, 332
- Richard II., coronation of, on July 16, 1377, ii. 3; appointment by parliament of a council of regency, *ib.*; ill-success of his foreign wars, and increase of taxation, 4; insurrection against the poll-tax, headed by Wat Tyler, in 1381, 5; the demands of the insurgents granted by, at Mile End, 6; Wat Tyler killed in Smithfield during a parley with the king, who then heads the insurgents himself, and at length dismisses them to their homes, 7; the grants revoked, *ib.*; proposes to abolish slavery, but parliament refuses, *ib.*; statute against the preachers of heresies, 9; contest with the pope as to the bestowal of benefices, 10; is supported in it by the parliament, 11; rise of the Lollards, *ib.*; unnecessary and oppressive interference of the government of, in social affairs, 15-18; marries Anne of Bohemia, 19; intrigues of his uncles and ministers, 20; war with France to support the Flemings in 1383, and truce in 1384, *ib.*; becomes suspicious of the duke of Lancaster, 20, 21; invades and ravages Scotland, 21; rise of Michael de la Pole, *ib.*; projected invasion by the French, and destruction of the French and Flemish fleets, 22; extravagance of, and appointment of a commission of regency, 23; impeachment and dismissal of De la Pole, earl of Suffolk, *ib.*; tampers with the judges, and obtains an opinion that the commission is illegal, 24; goes to London, the Lords assemble in arms, and defeat his adherents, *ib.*; for about a year the government in the hands of a parliamentary council, *ib.*; battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388, *ib.*; dismisses his guardians and assumes the government in 1389, 26; his queen, Anne, dies, 27; goes to Ireland in 1394 with a large army, *ib.*; marries Isabella of France, 28; parliament repeals the commission of regency, and the king becomes despotic, 29; duke of Gloucester arrested and murdered, 30; submission of the barons, *ib.*; quarrel of the duke of Hereford with the duke of Norfolk, 31; he banishes them both, 32; seizes the possessions of the duke of Lancaster on his death in 1398, 33; goes to Ireland with an army, but has little success, 34; learns that Henry of Lancaster has landed in England, and returns to Conway, *ib.*; is captured by the earl of Northumberland, 35; carried to London, 36; is deposed, and resigns his royalty, crown, and heritage, 37; is imprisoned in the Tower, 38; death of, at Pontefract, in 1400, 41; Henry IV. accused of being his murderer, 43; doubts as to the death of, and statement of his escape from Pontefract, and death of, at Stirling, in 1419, 44
- Richard III. created duke of Gloucester in 1461, ii. 150; flies with Edward to the duke of Burgundy on the restoration of Henry VI., 162; lands with Edward at Ravenspur, 163; successfully attacks Warwick at the battle of Barnet, 165; distinguishes himself at the battle of Tewkesbury, 166; different accounts of the personal appearance of, *ib.*; accused of the murder of prince Edward, 167; suppresses the insurrection of Falconbridge, *ib.*; doubts as to his guilt of the murder of Henry VI., 168; quarrels with Clarence, 172; marries

- Anne, daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of prince Edward, *ib.*; popularity of, in the North, *ib.*; opposes the treaty of Picquiny, 174; no foundation for the statement of his causing Clarence's death, 175; takes Berwick, 176; swears fealty to Edward V., 177; arrests earl Rivers and the members of Edward's council, 178; is appointed Protector, 179; accuses Hastings of treason, and causes him to be executed, 181, 182; proclaims his life in danger, 183; accuses Jane Shore of sorcery and conspiracy, 183, 184; Shaw preaches in favour of his claim to the crown, 185; and the duke of Buckingham harangues the citizens on the same subject, *ib.*; parliament assign him the crown on the ground of the illegitimacy of Edward V., 186, 187; causes earl Rivers and others of Edward's council to be beheaded, 187; he is crowned at Westminster, July 6, 1483, 188; death of the two princes in the Tower, *ib.*; evidence as to their murder considered, 188-192; ready submission of the people to, and its causes, 194; mixed character of Richard, *ib.*; acts of clemency and restitution by, *ib.*; revolt of Buckingham, 195; which is suppressed, and Buckingham executed, in 1483, 198; merits of Richard as a legislator, *ib.*; salutary laws passed by the parliament of, 199; causes the statutes to be first printed, and in English, 200; encourages printing and the importation of books, 201; death of his son, 202; negotiates with the duke of Brittany, for the delivery of Henry of Richmond, *ib.*; death of Anne, his queen, 203; publicly disavows any intention of marrying Elizabeth, his brother Edward's daughter, *ib.*; mistaken estimate by, of Henry of Richmond, as an adversary, *ib.*; insufficient precautions against treason taken by, 204; Richmond lands at Milford Haven, *ib.*; inadequate preparations to resist, 205; battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22, 1485, 206; his death, 207
- Richardson, Samuel, his novel of "Pamela" published 1740, 1741; its extraordinary popularity, vii. 87, 88; his "Clarissa" appears 1748; and "Sir C. Grandison" in 1751, 88
- Richborough, Roman colony at, i. 37; notice of the ruins of, 38
- Richelieu, duc de, advises that a battery be directed on the duke of Cumberland's column, at Fontenoy, 1745, which is forced to retreat, vi. 114; drives the duke of Cumberland out of Hanover, 1757; convention of Closter Seven, 229
- Richmond, duke of, secretary of state, 1766, vi. 321; moves for Penn's examination, 361; for an address to the king on the state of the nation, 1778, 388; proposes a bill for extending the right of vote, and other parliamentary reforms, 407
- Right of search, disputes between England and America on the, vii. 544; viii. 4
- Rights, bill of, passed 1689, v. 97
- Riot act passed 1715, vi. 6
- Riots, the Porteus, of Edinburgh, 1786, vi. 78, 79; the Wilkite, London, 1768, 290, 291; and 1771, 318; the Gordon, 1780, 406-410; the Birmingham, 1791, vii. 196-198; in London, 1795, 323; throughout the country, 1800-1801, 391, 392; on the occasion of Burdett's committal to the tower, 1810, 523; in 1812, 543; in 1816, viii. 69-61; the reform, in the city, 1816, 77, 78; at Queen Caroline's funeral procession, 1820, 174; in 1826, 200; the Bristol, 1831, 287-290; raised by John Thom amongst the Canterbury fanatics, 411-417; the Chartist, of 1839, 422; the Frost insurrection at Newport, 422, 423; rioting in 1842, 499; the Rebecca riots in Wales, 505, 506
- Ripon. See Goderich.
- Ripperda, duc de, sent on a secret mission to Vienna, to negotiate a treaty, vi. 54; disgraced; sent to prison; reveals the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, 55
- Rivers, earl, patronage of printing by, ii. 171; appointed of the council of Edward V., 176; arrested with the other members of the council by order of Gloucester, 178; beheaded, 187; poetic composition by, 188
- Rivoli, battle of, Jan. 14, 1797, vii. 342, 343
- Roads, British and Roman, different character of, i. 8, 10, 11
- Robert succeeds William the Conqueror, as duke of Normandy, i. 218; state of Normandy under, 222; denounces his brother William as perjured, and prepares for war, 224; mortgages his dukedom in 1096 to William, 225; becomes one of the leaders of the Crusade, 226; returns to Europe, and marries, 234; invades England, but is reconciled to his brother Henry, to whom he cedes his claims to the crown of England, 237; rebellion of Robert de Belesme against, who is however pardoned and restored to his estates, 238; disaffection of the Norman barons against, fostered by Henry, 239; is attacked by Henry, and taken prisoner, at the battle of Tenchebrai in 1105, 240; dies a prisoner in 1135, 241
- Robert, earl of Gloucester, becomes an adherent of Matilda against Stephen, i. 251; encourages the people of Bristol in their attacks on Stephen's partisans, 252; maintains possession of Bristol and Leeds, 254; lands in England with Matilda in 1139, 260; wins the battle of Lincoln and takes Stephen prisoner, 262, 263; captured at Winchester, and exchanged for Stephen, 265; character of, *ib.*; death of, in 1147, 268
- Robertson, a smuggler, condemned to death for robbing an excise collector, but escapee, vi. 80
- Robespierre, Augustin, commissioned by the French convention to punish the Toulouneae, vii. 291; death scene of, July, 1794, 310
- Robespierre, M. S., leader of the Jacobins; mover of the self-denying ordinance of the national assembly, vii. 205; his hatred of Marat, 277; rouses the mob against the Girondins, 277, 278; maintains the system of terror, 308; officiates at the festival of the Supreme Being, 309; his speech in the hall of the Convention, *ib.*; his arrest; attempts to commit suicide; is guillotined, July 28, 1794, 310; uncertainty as to what was his real character, *ib.*
- Robin Hood, first mention of, i. 323; theories as to the reality of, 323, 324; the representative of resistance to aristocratic tyranny, 324; detestation of oppression, and poetical excellence shown in the Robin Hood ballads, 325; theory of the adventures connected with, being founded on those of the defeated adherents of Simon de Montfort, 376
- Robinson, F. J. See Goderich.
- Rochambeau, comte de, commands the French armament sent to reinforce the Americans,

1780. vi. 413; present at Cornwallis's surrender, 428; a commander in the French army sent against Austria, 1792, vii. 219
- Locheport, failure of the British expedition against, 1757, vi. 229
- Rochejaquelein, Henri de la, a Vendean leader, vii. 294; obtains the chief command of their army, 295; death of, 1793, 296
- Rochester, earl of, lord lieutenant of Ireland, v. 244, 259; supports the motion for inviting Sophia of Hanover to England, 306
- Rockingham, Charles Wentworth, marquess of named first lord of the treasury, 1765, vi. 278, 321; difficulty of his position arising from the disturbances in America, *ib.*; weakness of his administration, 284; again becomes first lord of the treasury, 1782; the king's aversion to; composition of his ministry, 436, 469; notices the power of revenue officers at elections, 441; died, July 1, 1782, 450; his success as a cultivator, vii. 27
- Rodney, admiral sir George, destroys the gun-boats in Havre, vi. 236; commands the fleet sent against Martinique, 255; his victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent, Jan. 16, 1780, 410; captures St. Eustatius, Feb. 1781, 420; defends his conduct against certain charges, 421; arrives at the Barbadoes, Feb. 19, 1782; effects a junction with Hood's squadron, 436; chases de Grasse; gives him a signal defeat, April 12; first employs the manœuvre of "breaking the line," 437; question whether he was entitled to the merit of the idea, discussed, 438; capture of the Ville de Paris, *ib.*; and other French vessels, 439
- Roebuck, Dr., originator of modern improvements in manufacturing iron, and founder of the Carron iron works, vii. 55, 56; becomes embarrassed, 57; refuses to allow Boulton a share in Watt's patent, 61; ultimately agrees to sell his share to Boulton, 62
- Rogers, Samuel, his "Jacqueline" published, 1814, and "Italy," 1822, viii. 121
- Rohilla war, 1774, vii. 124, 125
- Roland, appointed minister of the interior, 1792, vii. 218; his wife; her enthusiastic republicanism, *ib.*; his dismissal, 220; resumes office, 226; execution of his wife, 1793, 293
- Roliça, battle of, Aug. 17, 1808, vii. 502
- Roman dominion in Britain, civilising effects of, i. 34, *et seq.*; roads in Britain, notice of, 34; policy in employing natives in their armies, 36; the army an instrument of civilisation, *ib.*; fortresses in Britain, notice of, 37; colonies in Britain, list of, *ib.*; ancient remains of, 37, 38; cities of, 39; administration in Britain, 44; municipal establishments of, 45; customs, existing remains of, 48, 49; municipalities, rise of separate sovereignties in Britain, from, 59
- Romans, progress of the conquests of, in Britain, i. 20; encouraged the settlement of foreigners in Britain, 44; municipal institutions established by the, 45; evidence of British iron manufacturing, tin and lead mining by the, v. 12, 13
- Rome, intercourse of Britain with, i. 14; taken by the Goths, 56; occupied and spoliated by the French, 1798, vii. 351; annexed to France, 1811, 535
- Romilly, sir Samuel, present at a dinner with Wilkes and Mirabeau; Wilkes defends the severity of the criminal law, vii. 115; rejoices at the occurrence of the French revolution, 183, 184; remarks of, on the September massacres, 1792, 231; describes the various parties in 1794, 303; remarks on the bread riots, 1800, 1801, 391; description of French despotism, 1802, 417; praises Pitt's speech, 1803, 424; solicitor-general, 463; sums up the evidence for Melville's impeachment, 1806, 464; engaged in the inquiry into the princess of Wales's conduct, 465; eloquent speech on the abolition of the slave trade, 478; remark of, on Mrs. Clarke's interference in military promotions, 509; his eulogy on Mr. Perceval, 541; his remarks on Brougham's speech against the regent, viii. 54; one of the leaders in bringing about an amelioration of the nation's social condition, 62; his efforts in reforming the criminal laws lead to the abolition of capital punishment for several cases or kinds of thefts, 63, 64; returned M.P. for Westminster; the death of his wife a proximate cause of his suicide, Nov. 2, 1818, 98
- Rooke, sir George, present at the battle of La Hogue, v. 149; drives Tourville out of his shelter in the bay of La Hogue, destroying nearly all the French ships, 150; defeated at the battle of St. Vincent, and loses a large number of merchant ships he was convoying, 166; commands the armament against Denmark, whose navy he drives to the walls of Copenhagen, 1699, 237; commands the fleet sent against Cadiz, 1702, 261; fails in taking it, but captures some Spanish galleons, *ib.*; commands the expeditionary fleet against Catalonia, 1704, 290; lands at Barcelona, but re-embarks, and effects a junction with sir C. Shovel; the two admirals, with the prince of Darmstadt, attack and capture the rock of Gibraltar, Aug. 2, 291; fights a drawn battle with the French fleet, off Malaga, *ib.*
- Rosbach, battle of, Nov. 5, 1757, vi. 231
- Rose, George, secretary of the treasury; does not acquiesce in Pitt's bill for reform, vii. 146, 147; account of the national assembly's conduct by, 1791, 201; urges Pitt to include Fox and Grenville and their friends in his administration, 431; his account of Pitt's last illness, 461; introduces a bill for regulating savings' banks, 1816, viii. 70
- Rosen supersedes Hamilton as commander of the forces besieging Londonderry, v. 84; his inhuman conduct, *ib.*; he fails in taking the place; raises the siege, Aug. 1, 1689, 86
- Ross, gen., himself and adm. Cockburn incite the slaves of America to rebellion, 1814, viii. 14; defeats the Americans and burns several buildings in Washington, 14, 15; mortally wounded in battle, Sept. 11, 1814, 16
- Roubiliac, L. F., his sculptures, v. 460
- Royal Society incorporated by charter in 1662, v. 62
- Rubens, his paintings; employed by Charles I. v. 463
- Rullecourt, baron de. See Pierson, major.
- Rupert, prince, appointed to the command of the horse in the royal army at Nottingham, iii. 495; early career, iv. 2; first encounter between his cavalry and the parliamentarian forces, 3; insolence displayed by, *ib.*; conduct at the battle of Edgehill, 4, 5; gains the battle at Brentford, 8; and that of Chalgrove Field, 16; takes Bristol, 20; relieves Lathom House, 34; possesses himself of

- York, 35; is defeated at the battle of Marston Moor, 36; retreats to Chester, *ib.*; is defeated at Naseby, 43, 44; his impetuosity, 44; surrenders Bristol, 47, 48; is dismissed from his command by Charles I., 48; meeting of, with Charles, at Newark, and final parting, 53; appears in St. George's channel with a formidable fleet, 121; admiral Blake interrupts the operations of, 124; takes refuge in Kinsale, *ib.*; compelled to leave the Irish coast, *ib.*; sails to the coast of Portugal, and is followed to the Tagus by Blake, 149; escapes to Spain, 150; appointed to the command of the fleet against the Dutch in 1666, with Monk, 279; is suspected of not having aided Monk with sufficient promptitude in his battle with the Dutch fleet, 280; assists in ravaging the Dutch coasts, 282; is appointed to the command of the fleet on the resignation of the duke of York, in 1673, 321
- Rural industry of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 88, *et seq.*
- Rush, Richard, the United States plenipotentiary in London; his description of queen Charlotte, viii. 98, 99; his despatch to Monroe on Canning's letter to himself, 186; his discussions with Londonderry and Canning, 187, 188
- Russell, admiral Edward, allows himself to be tampered with by James II., but is disgusted at that king's declaration, v. 148; commands the English fleet at the naval victory of La Hogue, 149; removed from the command of the fleet, 1693, 161; restored again shortly after, 169; appointed to look after Tourville in 1694, 171; implicated by Fenwick with having held treasonous correspondence with James II., 197; created earl of Orford, 1697, 198; impeached for his concern in the Partition treaties, 246, 247; struck off the privy council list on Anne's succession, 259
- Russell, lord. See Bedford.
- Russell, lord John, takes up the cause of parliamentary reform, 1819; obtains the disfranchisement of Grampound, viii. 102; proposes a partial repeal of the corporation and test acts, so as to admit dissenters to public office; his measure adopted in a compromised form, 232, 233; paymaster of the forces, 267; the government reform bill introduced by him; his speech explanatory of its purpose, 1831, 271, 272; moves the second reading of the bill, 275; it having been thrown out he again brings it forward in the new parliament, 278; carries it in the House of Lords, 280, 281; re-introduces it into the commons, Dec. 12, 1831, 293; his resolution on the surplus funds of the Irish church, 1835, 357; its adoption by the commons leads to the resignation of the Peel ministry, *ib.*; his municipal corporation reform bill, 360, *et seq.*; his measure for commuting tithes, 368, 369; brings forward bills for a general registration, and for regulating the marriage of dissenters, 371; his bills for introducing peer law into Ireland, and amending the criminal law, 1836, 376; eulogises William IV., 377; home secretary, 381; government adopts his resolutions condemnatory of the conduct of the Canadian legislature, 406; his bill for inquiring into and redressing the Canadian grievances, 407; grants the release of Thom, 412, 413; condemned for his leniency towards Frost, 422; proposes a fixed duty on the importation of corn, 436, 437; advocates the principle of a free trade in corn, 438, 439; his speech on the address, 440; his letter to the city of London electors advocating a repeal of the corn laws, 531, 532; the premiership offered him by the queen, 533; which he accepts; but is unable to form a government, 534; first lord of the treasury, July, 1846, 541; his financial statement; apprehends a large expenditure; his plans for meeting it, 554, 555
- Russell, lord Wm., moves a resolution in the House of Commons to take into consideration how to suppress popery and prevent a popish succession, iv. 356; carries up the Exclusion bill to the House of Lords, 357; accused of a participation in the Rye House plot in 1683, 371; is arrested and brought to trial on July 13, 372; noble behaviour of his wife, 373; is convicted, and beheld on July 21, 374
- Ryder, Richard, his bill for punishing stocking or lace frame destroyers passed, 1812, vii. 543; home secretary, 1809-1812, 577
- Rysbrack, J. M., his sculptures, v. 460
- Ryswick, treaty of, concluded, Sept. 22, 1697, v. 198, 199, 388
- Ryland, his house burnt down by the Birmingham rioters, 1791, vii. 197
- SACHEVEREL, Dr., enraged at Defoe for his pamphlet on the dissenters, v. 264; preaches before the lord mayor, Nov. 5, 1709, 347; he is ordered to attend at the bar of the House of Commons, and is impeached, 348; proceedings of parliament against, 350; the articles of impeachment, 350-354; popular manifestations in favour of, 353; the parliament sentences him to three years' suspension from preaching, and his sermons to be burnt, 354; this lenient sentence is celebrated as a triumph by the high church party, 355; his ovation and progress through the country, 359; characteristic description of him, as given by the duchess of Marlborough, 359, 363; preaches before the Commons on the thanksgiving day for peace, July 7, 1713, 398
- Safety Lamp. See Davy; Stephenson.
- St. Alban's, first battle of, on May 22, 1455, ii. 138; Warwick defeated by Queen Margaret in the second battle of, in 1461, 146
- St. Aubyn, sir John, remonstrates against the king's preferring Hanoverian to English interests, vi. 109
- St. Bartholomew's, massacre of, iii. 175, 176
- St. Christopher's given to Great Britain, 1714, v. 397; taken by the French, 1782, vi. 434, 436; restored to Britain, 1783, 458
- St. Domingo, French expedition to; resistance opposed by Toussaint, vii. 418, 419
- St. Eustatius, capture of, by Rodney, 1781; the king surrenders his interest in it to the army and navy, vi. 420; retaken by the French, 434
- St. Germain, count de, French secretary at war; his interview with Steuben, vi. 376
- St. Jean d'Acre, bombardment and capture of, 1840, viii. 435
- St. John, viscount Bolingbroke; he is taken into Marlborough's confidence, v. 275; re-

- signs his place in the ministry, 1707, 333; his connection with Swift and the party press, 370; envies Harley for being stabbed; insinuates that the blow was intended for himself; has a misunderstanding with Harley on this point of honour, 373; congratulates Marlborough on his successes, 1714, 376; secretly negotiates with France for peace, 377; his letter to Ormond, 392; double-dealing of, 393; created viscount Bolingbroke, 1712, but is dissatisfied at not having received an earldom; is despatched on an embassy to the French court; he secures the interest of the duke of Savoy, 396; obtains private interviews with the chevalier St. George, *ib.*; Louis XIV. presents him with a ring 4000*l.* in value, *ib.*; urges the chevalier to turn Protestant; introduces his Schism bill, 399; quarrels with Oxford, and gains the mastery over him, obtaining the supremacy in the ministry, 400; is disappointed at George I. being proclaimed king, vi. 2; loses his secretary of state, 4; escapes to France; becomes the Pretender's secretary of state; is impeached by Walpole, June 9, 5; meets the Pretender at Paris, 23; is dismissed from his service, 24; obtains leave to return to England; obtains an interview with his sovereign, 1727, 56; actively opposes Walpole, 1734, 73; his character described by Walpole, 74-76; he quits England, 76
- St. Julien, admiral, his contest with the British at Tonlon, 1793, vii. 286, 287
- St. Just, cruelty of, vii. 309; decreed and led to the guillotine, 1794, 310
- St. Lucia taken by the British, 1762, vi. 255; again, 1778, 392; ceded to the French, 1783, 458
- St. Pancras church, solecism and unadaptability of its design, viii. 140, 141; designed by the Inwoods; its cost, 146
- St. Paul's Cathedral, burning of the steeple of, in 1561, iii. 130; opening of Wren's new building, Dec. 2, 1697, v. 200; plan of, 201; proposals to repair the old edifice; it is burnt down, 1666, 449; Wren's first design for a new cathedral, 450, 451; first stone laid, 1675; the last, 1710, 451; criticism on, 452
- St. Petersburg founded by Peter the Great, 1703, v. 345
- St. Philip, Byng neglects to try the relief of, vi. 213; it surrenders to French arms, June 27, 1756, 214
- Saint Ruth, commander-in-chief of James II.'s Irish army, v. 127; defeated by the English under Ginkell at Aghrim, July 12, 1691, *ib.*
- St. Sebastian captured by the French, 1719, vi. 37; taken by the British under general Graham, 1813, vii. 566
- St. Vincent taken by the British, 1762, vi. 255; regained 1783, 458
- St. Vincent, battle of, Feb. 14, 1797, vii. 336, 337
- St. Vincent, earl. See Jervis.
- Saladin, extent of the power of, i. 303; takes Jerusalem, 304; fails to relieve Acre, 310; neglecting to restore the Holy Cross, the hostages at Acre are massacred, 311, 312; beheads the Christian captives in retaliation for Richard's massacre of the hostages, 312; defeated by Richard in 1191, 313; commo-
- pels Richard to retreat to Ascalon, but interchanges courtesies with him, 314; captures Jaffa, 318; agrees to a truce with Richard for three years in 1192, and dies in 1193, 319
- Salamanca, or Arapiles, battle of, July 22, 1812, vii. 553, 554
- Sale, sir Robert, general, leaves Cabul, viii. 454; harassed by the enemy, 455; takes Jellalabad, 458; his heroic defence of the place, 453 *et seq.*; marches to the relief of Cabul, 460; mortally wounded at the battle of Ferozeshah, 1845, 544
- Salt, first bed of rock salt discovered in Cheshire in 1670, v. 22; heavy duties levied upon; abolished in 1823, *ib.*; consumption of, in 1839, 23; duty on, revived 1732, vi. 68; which has the effect of preventing the use of the refuse salt as manure, vii. 27
- Sancroft, William, archbishop; refuses to take the oath of allegiance to William III., v. 70; absent at the coronation of William III., 78; deprived of his archbishopric, 1691, 124
- Sanctuary, enormous abuse of, *temp.* Henry VII. ii. 244
- Sanderson, sir Thomas, raises a war-cry against Spain, 1739, vi. 94, 95
- San Domingo, trade of, 1789; slave revolt in, 1791, vii. 260
- Sandwich, lord, sent to watch over the duke of Cumberland, vi. 180; secretary of state, 1763, vi. 263; he resolves to prosecute Wilkes; sets spies on Wilkes's movements and steals his papers; complains of him in Parliament, 267; secretary of state, 1763-1765, 321; aids in cross-examining Penn on the feeling of America towards England, 361; replies to Chatham's proposed amendment on the address, 1777, 381
- Sandys, moves for Walpole's dismissal from the king's councils, 1741, vi. 102; his motion rejected, 103
- San Matco besieged by count of Las Torres; relieved by Peterborough, v. 296
- Saratoga, convention of, signed Oct. 17, 1777, vi. 380
- Sardinia taken by admiral sir J. Leake, 1708, v. 338
- Sarsfield, general, commander of the garrison at Limerick; makes a sortie during the siege of 1690 upon the guns and stores of William's army, destroying or rendering them useless, v. 117; inactive part taken by, at the battle of Aghrim, July, 1691, 128
- Sarum, town and hill-fort in the time of the Roman dominion, i. 13
- Sanders, admiral, supersedes West in his command, 1756, vi. 213, 214; conveys Wolfe and his army to Quebec, 237
- Savannah taken by the British, vi. 399
- Savery, Thomas, steam-engine invented by, v. 39
- Savile, sir George, M.P. for Yorkshire; presents the county petition for redress of grievances, 1780, vi. 401; moves for a list of crown places, 403; his house gutted by the Gordon rioters, 408
- Savings Banks, establishment of, at Tottenham in 1798 and 1804; at Bath in 1808; at Ruthwell in 1810; and in London, 1816, viii. 70
- Savoy annexed to France, 1792, vii. 237; restored to Piedmont, viii. 43

- Saxe, marshal, appointed to command the troops for the projected invasion of England, 1743; that expedition failing he takes the command of an army in the Low Countries, vi. 110; commands the French at Fontenoy, 1745, 113; persuades Louis XV. to retire from the battle, 114; gains the victory over the allies at Lauffeld, July 2, 1747, 180
- Saxe Gotha, princess of. See Frederick of Wales, vii. 84-86; 189, 338
- Saxon shere, "Litus Saxonicum," opinions of Dr. Lappenberg, Sir F. Palgrave, and Mr. Kemble as to its meaning a settlement of Saxons, i. 44
- Saxon invasion of Britain, obscurity of the events of, i. 61; rapid succession of Saxon kings or chiefs, 62; gradual extension of the dominions of, 63; native seats of, *ib.*; heathendom, account of, 65; period, close of, 184; influence of, on the national character, *ib.*
- Saxons, probable settlement of large numbers of, in England, before the Saxon invasion, i. 44, 47; principle of personal freedom probably derived from, 46; obscure interval between their supremacy in Britain, and that of the Romans, i. 56
- Schellenberg, or Donawert, battle of the, July 2, 1704, v. 278
- Schism bill, passed 1714, v. 400; Stanhope desires the repeal of the, vi. 35
- Schomberg, marshal, lands in Ireland with an army, Aug. 13, 1689, v. 86; unable to do anything from the neglected condition of the army, which suffered from want of clothes, medicine, and even necessaries, 100; reinforced, 105; leads the centre at the battle of the Boyne, 108; rallies the retreating Protestants and is slain, July 1, 1690, *ib.*
- Schools. See Education.
- Sciences, sketch of the state of the, *temp.* William and Anne, v. 61-63; knowledge of the, spread and increased by the Jesuits, vi. 327; scientific labours and discoveries of Herschell, Davy, Dalton, Wellaston, and Jenner, viii. 129-131; scientific writers in 1842, 483
- Scinde, conquest and wise administration of, by sir C. J. Napier, 1843, viii. 507-511
- Scindia wars with Holkar; then allies with him against the British, vii. 455; defeated at Assye by Wellington, 458 *et seq.*; and again Nov. 29, 1803; signs a treaty with the British, Dec. 30, 460; joins the Mahratta confederacy against the British, viii. 216; agrees to aid the British against the Pindares; his faithlessness, 217
- Scott, John. See Eldon.
- Scott, sir Walter, prejudices of, against the union, v. 317; his verse romances; publication of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," 1805; "Marmion," 1808; and the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," viii. 119; two critiques, 120; his immense popularity, *ib.*; failure of his dramas, 125; high success of his Waverley novels, 126, 127; his commercial failure an example of the danger of drawing upon future wealth, 199; his honourable efforts to discharge his obligations, *ib.*; urges the Scotch to treat Charles X. respectfully, 256; benefits conferred on his family by the copyright act, 465, 466
- Sebastiani, general, his report on the practicability of France reconquering Egypt, vii. 419, 420; the French ambassador at Constantinople; his offers to sultan Selim, 484; joins Victor in the Peninsula, 522
- Secession. See American Secession.
- Secular law, state of, *temp.* Henry II., i. 283
- Sedgemoor, battle of, July 5, 1685, iv. 395
- Seditious meetings bill brought in by Titt, vii. 323; opposition to it, 323, 324; passed 1795, 324; another passed Mar. 29, 1817, viii. 79, 80
- Selden, John, joins in the protestation of the House of Commons, in 1621, against the king's interference with their liberty of speech, iii. 382; assists in the debate on the Petition of Right, in 1628, 397; committed to the Tower after parliament had been dissolved, in 1629, 404
- Selwyn, major, denounces British interference in continental affairs, vi. 138
- Senlac, original name of the spot where the battle of Hastings was fought, i. 180 *et seq.*
- Septennial act, debates and remarks on the; passed 1716; vi. 24, 25; its repeal agitated, 73
- Seringapatam, besieged and taken by the British, 1791, vii. 259; and again in, 1799, 378, 379
- Seton, Mr., of Pitmedden, one of the commissioners for establishing the union, 1706, v. 322; vii. 11; his arguments in favour of the scheme, 323
- Settlement, early establishment of the law of, iii. 269; ill effects of, and severities exercised under, 270; its severity on the poor, v. 48, 49; vii. 11; viii. 67; slightly alleviated, 1861, 67, 68
- Seven years' war, history of the, vi. 215, 216; 228-236; 249-251; 254-257; 467
- Severus, wall of, i. 29, 30; suppresses the revolt of the Brigantes and Maetæ, 31; death of, A.D. 211, *ib.*
- Seville, peace of, Nov. 9, 1729, v. 390; vi. 60
- Seymour, sir Edward, his remarks on the want of good British generals, v. 153; his contempt of Scotland's poverty, 215; comptroller, 1702, 259
- Seymour, lord Thomas, brother of Somerset, marries Catherine, widow of Henry VIII., iii. 15; quarrels with his brother, *ib.*; addresses the princess Elizabeth after the death of his wife, 16; is accused of treason, convicted, and executed, *ib.*; charge against, of defrauding the Mint in conjunction with sir J. Sharrington, 19; letters of, to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, 18
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of, becomes a member of the Cabal ministry, in 1667, iv. 302; character of, by Butler and Dryden, 304; complicity of, in Charles becoming a pensioner of France, 306; shifting policy of, *ib.*; is created earl of Shaftesbury, and made lord chancellor, 318; character of, 319; declares the Declaration of Indulgence illegal, 321; is dismissed from his office of chancellor, and becomes the leader of the opposition, 323; letter attributed to, descriptive of the composition of the House of Commons, *ib.*; committed to the Tower for opinions expressed in the House of Lords, in 1677, 328; is suspected of having fomented the Popish

- Plot in 1678, 333; is named president of the council in 1679, and continues to lead the opposition, 344; is dismissed from the presidency, 352; presents the duke of York as a popish recusant to the Grand Jury at Westminster, *ib.*; supports the Exclusion Bill in the House of Lords, which is rejected, 357; is indicted for high treason in 1681, and the grand jury throw out the bill, 364; he flies to Holland, 366; death of, in 1683, *ib.*
- Shah Alnm. See Alum, Shah.
- Shah Soojah, an expelled sovereign, and pensioner of the East India Company, viii. 450; the British undertake the Afghan war to re-enthroned him, 451; restored to his sovereignty, 453; complains of his position, 453, 454; assassinated, 460
- Shakspere, William, characteristics of his dramas, iii. 301; nationality of, *ib.*; knowledge of, and taste for, disseminated by Steele, v. 408; Roubiliac's statue of, 461; impulse given to Shaksperean criticism, viii. 483, 484
- Shannon, fight between the, and the Chesapeake, June 1, 1813, viii. 11
- Sharpe, Granville, aids in promoting the abolition of slavery, vii. 466
- Sharp, William; his engravings, viii. 156
- Shaw, sir James; his courage in quelling the riots of 1816, vii. 77
- Sheffield, trades of, v. 28; obtains parliamentary representation, 1832, viii. 307; population in 1831 and 1861, 308
- Shelburne, earl of, dismissed his offices, and treated with coldness by the king for voting against government on the general warrant question, 1764, vi. 269; secretary of state, 1766-1768, 285, 321; praises the king's nobleness of mind, 432; secretary of state, 1782, 436, 469; his remarks on contractors, 441; circular issued by, on the volunteer question, 442, 443; his Irish trade motion rejected, 444; commences overtures of peace with Franklin, 449; Fox obtains a share in the negotiations; differences arise between the two; Shelburne appointed 6rst lord of the treasury, 1782, 450; resigns his premiership, Feb. 24, 1783, 460; advocates for free trade, *ib.*
- Shelley, P. B.; "Queen Mab" published, 1812; drowned, 1821; high character of his poetry, viii. 121
- Shepherd, sir Samuel, attorney-general; prosecutes Hone for libel, viii. 86, 87
- Sheridan, R. B., elected M.P. for Stafford, vi. 419; resigns office, 1782, 450; defends the proceedings of the National Assembly; Burke renounces him, vii. 187; condemns, with others, the proceedings of the National Convention against Louis XVI. 243; opposes the "Traitorous Correspondence" bill, 267; patriotically supports the mutiny bills of 1797, 341; his speech on the projected French invasion of England, 1798, 350; moves an amendment to the address, 1799, 371; advocates a hearty co-operation with Spain against France, 499
- Sherrifmuir, battle of, Nov. 13, 1715, vi. 15, 16
- Shippen; his remarks on the king's speech, 1717, vi. 33, 34; sent to the Tower in consequence, 34
- Shore, sir John. See Teignmouth, lord.
- Shovel, sir Clondcley, joins with sir G. Rooke and the prince of Darmstadt in the capture of Gibraltar, 1704, v. 291; commands the fleet carrying troops to Barcelona, 294; commands the English and Dutch fleet employed in the attack upon France, 1707; bombards Toulon; wrecked on his return home, Oct. 22, 332; supposed to have been murdered by an old woman; description of the wreck, 333
- Shrewsbury (or Hateley Field), battle of, July 21, 1403, when Hotspur fell, ii. 49
- Shrewsbury, duke of, negotiates with Anne as to her revenue, v. 98, 99; William III.'s favourite minister; resigns his secretaryship of state in the command of James II., to whom he deserts, 1690, 102, 103; again offered the office of secretary of state, which he accepts along with a dukedom, 170; recommends Marlborough to William's favour, 172; correspondence between William and, 1696, 194, 195; accused of having communicated with James II., 197; the Queen appoints him lord high treasurer, 400; vi. 1
- Sidmouth, viscount. See Addington.
- Sidney, Algernon, opposes the trial of the king, iv. 106; is accused of participation in the Rye-House Plot, in 1683, 372; his defence, and conviction, 374; is beheaded on Dec. 7, 375
- Sidney, sir Philip, serves in the army sent to assist the Netherlands, iii. 183; death of, at Zutphen, 184; funeral of, 213
- Sieyès, abbé, proposes that the Tiers États be called the "National Assembly," vii. 168, his plans for a constitution accepted by the people, 321; a member of the French directory, 383, appointed one of the three consuls 1799, 385
- Sign paintings. See Painting.
- Sikh war, 1845, 1846, viii. 544, 545
- Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Europe, i. 12
- Silchester, i. 13; account of the Roman city of, i. 39, 40, 41
- Silk; Lombe's mill at Derby; trade of; state of manufacture, v. 20, 21; prohibition of Indian silks, 38
- Silures, unsubdued during the reign of Claudius, i. 22
- Simmel, Lambert, imposture of, ii. 212; represents himself as son of the duke of Clarence, *ib.*; his pretensions supported by the duchess of Burgundy, *ib.*; proclaimed king in Dublin, 213; lands in England with a force under Martin Swartz, is defeated at Stoke, on June 4, 1487, and taken prisoner, *ib.*; appointed to a mean office in Henry's kitchen, 214
- Sindercomb, Miles, plot of, against Cromwell, iv. 205; its failure, *ib.*
- Sing, Cheyte. See Cheyte Sing.
- Singapore, ceded to the British, viii. 218
- Singh, Ammer. See Ochterlony.
- Sinking fund scheme, Pitt's, vii. 147, 148
- Seward, earl of Northumbria (the Seward of Shakespere's Macbeth), notice of, i. 163
- Skippon, major, his speech to the Londoners, iv. 10; takes the place of Essex as commander, 37; commands the centre with Fairfax at battle of Naseby, 43; escorts the payment of money to the Scots for the surrender of Charles I., 63
- Slave trade carried on by Bristol traders, 17th and 18th centuries, v. 7; by the merchants of

- Liverpool and Lyme, 25; Assiento contract for the supply of slaves renounced by England 1750, vi. 467; debate on, 1792; parliament resolves on its abolition, vii. 212; slaves emancipated by France, 1792, 418; she desires to re-establish the trade, 419; debates on, 1806; progress of the cause of abolition; parliament resolves to abolish, 466-468; slave trade abolition bill passed; receives the royal assent, March 25, 1807, 478; England and America agree to put down, 19; abolished by Bonaparte; persisted in by Portugal and Spain, 46; debates on, 1823, 1824
- Slavery, existence of, in England under the Romans, i. 46; imposed by statute as a punishment for vagrancy in 1547, ii. 470; the statute repealed in 1549, iii. 38
- Slavery, colonial; Canning's resolutions for ameliorating the condition of slaves with a view to their ultimate emancipation agreed to, viii. 193; slavery laws, 194; case of Mr. Smith the missionary, 194, 195; résumé of parliamentary efforts towards abolishing, 327; resolutions in Mr. Stanley's bill for the abolition of, in the British colonies, 327, 328; progress of the bill through parliament, 1833, 328; the first day of emancipation in America, Aug. 1, 1834, 329; Dr. Channing's address on the abolition of, 329, 330; proposition of president Lincoln in 1862 to emancipate slaves, 330; effects of the abolition, 330, 333; treaty with Brazil for abolition of, Oct. 18, 1825, 383; emancipation of the slaves in Jamaica, 419
- Smirke, sir R., his architectural works, vii. 81; viii. 144
- Smith, John, a missionary, tried on a charge of inciting the Demerara negroes to revolt; sentenced to death; dies in consequence of imprisonment while in ill-health; his case brought before the British parliament, viii. 194, 195
- Smith, sir Sidney, conducts the blowing up of the French fleet and arsenals on the evacuation of Toulon, Dec. 1793, vii. 290; defends Acre, 1799, 380, 381; commands the English fleet assisting the Turks, 1801, 405; commands a squadron at Palermo, 1806, 473
- Smith, Sydney, desires the continuance of peace, 1823, viii. 183; "Mrs. Partington's" speech on the reform bill, 1831, 284, 285; urges lord Grey to create peers to secure the passing of the reform bill, 294; describes the cruelty of not allowing counsel to prisoners, 369, 370; his idea of the queen's first duty, 399
- Smolensk, battle before, 1812; evacuated by the Russians, vii. 557
- Smollett, Tobias, his vivid description of the attack upon Carthage, vi. 98, 99; publication of his "Roderick Random," 1748; "Peregrine Pickle," 1751; and "Ferdinand, Count Fathom," 1753, vii. 89; manners of 18th century illustrated from his works, 91, 92, 94, 95, 112
- Smuggling, extensive practice of, vi. 78-80; vii. 145
- Soane, sir John, built the Bank of England, the Treasury front, and some other edifices, viii. 143, 144
- Soap, duties formerly laid upon, and consumption of, v. 23
- Sobraon, battle of, Feb. 10, 1846, viii. 545
- Social evils, temp. William and Anne, v. 60
- Societies, for reforming manners, first adopted by the Puritans, v. 205; Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established about 1698, 206; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established about 1698, *ib.*; an older one was established in 1649, but it died out soon after the Restoration, *ib.*; artists stimulated by the Society of Arts, vii. 66; Society of Sign Painters, and exhibition of paintings by them, 69; meetings of the London Corresponding, the Constitutional Information, and the Friends of the People Societies, denouncing the French revolutionary doctrines, 247; Hampden Clubs, viii. 73 *et seq.*; Society of Spencean Philanthropists, 75, 76; British Institution, 151; Society of Painters in Water-colours formed 1805, 155; Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge originated by lord Brougham, 1826, 230; good and cheap literature issued by it, 230, 231
- Socinians, statute against, 1698, v. 204
- Soda, manufacture of, promoted by the abolition of the tax on salt, v. 22
- Solmes, count, leads the Dutch guards at the battle of the Boyne, v. 108; his charge on the Irish, 109, 110; commands the English at Steinkirk; his conduct at the battle blamed, 153, 154; slain, 1693, 154
- Somers, lord, named solicitor-general, 1689, v. 68; made lord keeper, 1693, 161; is the leader of his party, 169; promoted to the lord chancellorship, 1697; and made a peer, 198; sends William a blank commission for appointing commissioners, 228; removed from his lord chancellorship, 1700, 235; impeached in 1701 for his concern in the Partition treaties, 246; conferred with by William on the state of English politics, 251; loses his place in the privy council on the accession of queen Anne, 1702, 259; his weariness of factions, 270; has a great influence in bringing about the union of the two kingdoms, 315; his opinion on the Septennial Act; died, 1716, vi. 25
- Somerset, Edward Seymour, duke of. See Hertford, earl of.
- Somerset House, notice of the building erected by the duke of Somerset, iii. 36
- Somerset, Robert Carr, earl of, rapid ride of, from London to Edinburgh to inform James of Elizabeth's death, iii. 308; lavishness of James towards, 341; assumes the government of the kingdom after Cecil's death, 360; marriage of, to the divorced lady Essex, 361; trial of, with the countess, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, 365, 366; deceitful conduct of the king towards, 365; they are convicted, and pardoned, 367
- Somersetshire, a specimen of its dialect, v. 15; agricultural progress of, King's Sedgmoor and the Quantock hills, vii. 23; Exmoor, its black-cocks and stags, 23, 24; forty-one persons to every 100 acres, 24
- Sophia, princess, of Hanover; her parentage, husband, and child; description of; becomes heir to the English crown, v. 241; death of, May 14, 1728, 399
- Sophia, princess of Zell, wife of George I., from whom she was divorced and confined in Alden Castle on account of a supposed connection with count Königsmark, vi. 3; died November 13, 1726, 56
- Soubise, prince de, encamps near Mueheln, vi. 230; defeated at Rossbach by Frederick, 231
- Soult, marshal, serves in Jourdan's army, vii

- 312; defeated by Moore at Corunna, Jan. 1809, 506; his testimony to Moore's merits, 507; takes possession of Oporto, March 29, 510; obliges Wellington to retreat, 1809, 523; defeated at the battle of Albuera, May, 1811, 538; retreats to Seville, 538, 539; and joins forces with Marmont, 539; commands the French army in Spain, 1813, 562; fights the battles of the Pyrenees, 562, 563; his engagement with Wellington and Hill, 567; defeated by Wellington at Orthez, Feb. 27, 1814, 569; retreats to Toulouse, where he again fights with Wellington, April 10, 570; his enthusiastic reception at the queen's coronation, viii, 410; succeeds to the ministry on Thiers' resignation, 435
- South Sea Company, its proposed scheme; eagerness of the public to obtain shares, 1720, vi, 40; various other contemporary schemes, 41; the company endeavours to obtain a monopoly by repressing other companies, which brings about its own downfall; the rapid sinking of the stock, 42; and final bursting of the bubble; Walpole appointed to restore the national credit, 43; the South Sea scheme compared with the Mississippi scheme of John Law, 43, 44; bribery complaints from various trades, showing their deplorable state and the universal want of money, 44; Walpole's plan for sustaining the national credit; committee of inquiry appointed; flight of Knight, the cashier of the company; the various fates of earl Stanhope, earl of Sunderland, Aislachie, James Craggs, and the postmaster-general, 45; the directors' estates are confiscated, and themselves declared incapable of holding any government office, 46
- Southey, Robert, character of the ancient Britons by, i, 11; he condemns the inquisitorial character of the property tax, viii, 53; his style described by Byron, viii, 118; his mental decay, 467
- Southwell, poor law reforms carried out at, prior to 1834, vii, 338
- Sovereigns, Table of. See Tables.
- Spafelds meeting of reformers and riot, 1816, viii, 76-78
- Spencean philanthropists, the, their origin and objects, viii, 75, 76
- Spencer, earl. First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794, vii, 316; secretary of state for home department, 1806, 464
- Spenser, Edmund, embodiment of early English legends by, i, 2; characteristics of his poetry, iii, 300
- Spenser, Hugh. See Edward II.
- Spithead, the mutiny at, 1797, vii, 338-340
- Sports and Games. See England.
- Stael, Madame de, her remarks on Pitt and Fox, vii, 270; her description of the first days of the consulate, 393, 394
- Stage. See Drama.
- Stage coaches in the 18th century; manners as connected with, vii, 91, 92
- Stair, earl of, commands the British troops in Flanders, 1743, vi, 110; cut off from his supplies; advises George II. to make some perilous adventure; his advice not being adopted, he resigns his commission, 111
- Stamp Act passed 1711; duties imposed by it; effects produced by, v, 394; for taxing America, 1765, vi, 271, 272; opposition to it in America, 272, 273; debates and remarks on the, 272-274; further opposition in America, 278; petition of London merchants against it, 278, 280; Pitt urges its repeal, 279, 280; examination of Dr. Franklin on the American temper respecting the, 280, 281; repeal of the, 283, 284
- Standard, battle of the, i, 253
- Stanhope, James, earl of, general, sent with reinforcements for the relief of Barcelona, 1706, v, 298; carries Port Mahon in conjunction with admiral Leake, 1708, 338; applies the question of Sacheverel's impeachment to the high church doctrines, 352; persuades Charles to take the field against Philip V.; gains the battle of Almenara, July 20, 1710; and that near Saragossa, Aug. 20; enters Madrid, Sept. 21, 366; retreats to Brihuega; is surprised by the French under Vendôme; fights with him, and surrenders himself and army, Dec. 9, 367; becomes a secretary of state, vi, 5; introduces a law excluding crown pensioners from parliament, 25; negotiates, for a French alliance, with the abbé Dubois, 27; discountenances violent measures against Russia, 28; reverses Gyllenburg's intrigues to the council; disagrees with Townshend, *ib.*; obtains the chief administration of affairs, 30; raised to the peerage, 1717, 32; desires to avert the war with Spain, 1718, 34; obtains the repeal of the occasional Conformity and Schism acts; desires also that of the Test act; and the mitigation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, 35; his death, caused by a rush of blood into his head during a fit of anger, 1721, 46
- Stanhope, earl, his experiments on the construction of steam-ships, 1794, vii, 305
- Stanhope, Charles, cleared of the charge of bribery brought against him, vi, 45
- Stanislaus Leczinsky, set up as king of Poland by Charles XII. v, 330; began to reign, 1704; Augustus restored in 1709, 476; his claim to the throne supported by France on the death of Augustus, vi, 71
- Stanley, E. G. S. See Derby, earl of.
- Star-Chamber court instituted by Henry VII. in 1488, ii, 242; extended jurisdiction given to, by Charles I., iii, 406; severe sentence of, on Prynne, in 1633, for publishing the "Histrio-mastix," 411; and on Dr. Leighton for writing against Prelacy, 413; convicts and inflicts heavy punishments, in 1637, on Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, for their anti-prelatical writings, 423; fines the city of London 70,000*l.* for an infringement of the conditions on which they held their lands in Ulster, 426; its prisoners released on the opening of the Long Parliament, in Nov. 1640, 444; abolished by statute, 460
- Staremborg, general, joins general Stanhope in a campaign against Philip of Spain, 1710, v, 366; engages Vendôme at Villa Viciosa, Dec. 10; retreats to Barcelona, 367
- Statute of Winchester, 1285, provisions of, i, 385, 386
- Statutes of Labourers, passed in 1349 and 1351, in order to fix their residence, and to establish a scale of wages, i, 470, 471; injustice and inefficiency of, 472
- Steam-boats, Stanhope's experiments in the construction of, vii, 305; introduction of, on the Clyde, the Thames, and Loch Lomond, viii, 131, 132; first employed by the navy in

- the Birmese war, 221; improvements in, 409; war steamers first employed in battle at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, 1840, 435
- Steam-engine; Savery's invention; bill for encouraging the, v. 29; employed in the cotton manufacture, vii. 52; thirty-three million spindles driven in 1856 by, 53, vast improvements in the, made by Watt, 61; Watt and Boulton's Soho works, 62; final establishment of the, and its amazing influence upon the affairs of the world, 63, 64; the sword's antagonist, *ib.*; applied to navigation purposes, 305, viii. 131, 132
- Steam printing machine; its influence in promoting a spread of knowledge, viii. 132
- Steele, Richard, Swift's intimacy with, v. 369; turned out of his employment for satirising Harley, 370; expelled the House of Commons for writing a pamphlet entitled the "Crisis," 1713; ably defended by Addison and Walpole, 399; starts the "Tatler," April 12, 1709, 402; character and aim of this work, 403; his influence and objects as an essayist, 406; with Addison directs the attention of the people to Shakspeare and Milton, 408; his creation of Sir A. Freeport, Captain Sentry, and Will Honeycomb, 409, 410; the Spectator's club, 410, 411; his notice of three plays, 420; description of the prude and coquette by, 423; denounces luxurious dining and the fashion of duelling, 427; endeavours to repress gaming, 429; advocates for mercy towards the rebel lords, vi. 20; opposed the Peerage bill, 1719, 38
- Steinkirk, battle of, Aug. 3, 1692, v. 152, 153; debate on the, 153, 154
- Stephen, earl of Boulogne, swears to the succession of Matilda, i. 244; departs for England on the death of Henry I. 249; crowned king of England on Dec. 26, 1135, 250; remarkable outbreak of the people against the Forest Laws, and general confusion, *ib.*; preferred by the people to a female sovereign, 251; evil effects of the feudal system under, *ib.*; early reaction of the nobles in favour of Matilda, *ib.*; is attacked by David, king of Scotland, who supports the claim of Matilda, 252; the Scots defeated by the bishop of Durham, with the aid of the Saxons, in the battle of the Standard, 253; reduces some of the disaffected barons, 254; quarrels with the clergy, and arrests the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, 260; his brother, the bishop of Winchester, denounces him at a synod, and he is threatened with excommunication, *ib.*; Matilda lands in England to support her claim, and is besieged in Arundel castle, 261; is allowed to pass to Bristol to join the earl of Gloucester, *ib.*; evils of the destructive partisan war, *ib.*; battle of Lincoln, 262; taken prisoner and confined in Bristol castle, 263; his wife expels Matilda from London with the aid of the inhabitants, 263; is exchanged for the earl of Gloucester, who had been captured at Winchester, 265; sympathy of the people for, *ib.*; besieges Matilda in Oxford, 266; turmoil and desolation in the kingdom in 1142, 267; is attacked by Henry II., whom he accepts as his successor, 268; dies Oct. 25, 1154, 269
- Stephenson, George, his rise from the position of engine foreman; his patent safety lamp; constructs a locomotive, 1814, viii. 259; constructs the Darlington and Stockton, and the Liverpool and Manchester railways, 259, 260; his "Rocket" engine; railway works by himself and his son, Robert, 260, 261
- Sterne, Lawrence, his "Tristram Shandy" published, 1759-1767, vii. 89
- Steuken, aide-de-camp to Frederick of Prussia, vi. 376; volunteers into the American service, 377; condition of the American army according to, 383; he drills and re-organises it, 383, 384; one of the court appointed to try André; his concern for André, 415; renders valuable assistance at the siege of York Town, 1781, 427; his remarks on the siege, 427, 428
- Stevenson, colonel, pursues the Scindia's army, vii. 457; unable to join Wellington in time to take part in the battle of Assaye, 458; takes Asseerghur and Burhampoor, 460
- Stewart, General, sent to take Rosetta; compelled to retreat, 1807, vii. 485
- Stockdale and Hansard, case off. See Hansard.
- Stockholm, treaty of, Mar. 24, 1724, v. 389; Mar. 3, 1813, vii. 580
- Stockings, manufacture of, in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, v. 19
- Stoke, battle of, in support of Lambert Simnel, on June 4, 1487, ii. 213
- Stonehenge, notice of, i. 13
- Stopford, sir R. admiral; his naval successes against Mehemet Ali, viii. 434, 435
- Storm, great, of 1703; Eddystone lighthouse destroyed by it, v. 10, 11, 269
- Stormont, lord, maltreated by the Gordon rioters, 1730, vi. 408; secretary of state, 1779-1782, 469
- Stothard, his paintings; vignettes, viii. 152
- Strabo, statement of, relating to the peaceful communication of the Britons with the Romans, after Caesar's invasion, i. 8
- Strafford, earl of (sir Thomas Wentworth), supports the Petition of Right in 1628, iii. 397; becomes chief minister of Charles I. after the death of Buckingham, 409; is created a viscount, made Lord President of the North, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, 410; explains to Laud the principle of *thorough*, on which England and Ireland were to be governed, 411; proposes to the king a monopoly of salt, 416; strong expressions in favour of the levy of Ship Money, 421; prevented by illness from taking the command of the English forces against the Scots at Newburn, 437; wishes to return to Ireland, but the king pledges himself for his safety, and he remains in London, 439; is impeached by the House of Commons in 1641, 444, 445; is arrested and committed to the Tower, 446; charges brought against, 448; preparation of Westminster Hall for the trial of, 449; conduct of during the trial, 450; his defence, 451; papers of the Privy Council furnished against, 452; his eloquent speech on, during his defence, 453; a bill of attainder passed against, by both Houses, 456; firm demeanour of, at his execution, on May 12, 1641, 458
- Strafford, lord, sir John Byng, accusation against respecting Oliver the spy, quite unfounded, viii. 81, 82
- Strange, sir Robert, an engraver; his diligence and skill, viii. 77
- Strathallan, viscount. See Drummond, Wm

- Struensee**, a favourite of the king of Denmark; a conspiracy organised against by the queen dowager; tried and beheaded, vi. 329
- Sturt**, Jedediah, obtains a share in Arkwright's spinning machine, vii. 47
- Stuart family**, note on the three last members of the, vi. 197
- Stuart, Charles Edward Louis Casimir** (The Young Pretender); born 1720, vi. 47; called from Rome to Paris to aid in an invasion of Great Britain, 1743; the expedition failing he retires to Gravelines, 110; Jacobitism of England and Scotland, 114-117; determines upon restoring the fortunes of his house, 117; writes to his father of his intentions, 118; arrives at Eriska, July 23, 1745, 121; his voyage from Belleisle; takes shelter in Macdonald's house; his cold reception, 122; persuades Clanranald and two other chiefs to join him; lands at Borodale, July 25; communicates with the clan chiefs; persuades Cameron of Lochiel to aid in his enterprise, 123; the Glenfinnan gathering, Aug. 19; his standard is raised and the Stuart proclamation read, 124; his own resources and the crippled state of the government's army, 125; marches southwards; reaches Perth, Sept. 4, having passed Cope marching northwards; enters Perth; his cause gains ground; he is joined by Drummond and Murray, 126; crosses the Forth; joined by lord Kilmarnock; reaches Corstorphine; preparations for defence at Edinburgh, 127; obtains possession of the town, Sept. 17; enters Holyrood house; James VIII. proclaimed king; Cope embarks his troops at Aberdeen; lands at Dunbar, and marches towards Edinburgh, 128; battle of Preston-Pans, Sept. 21, in which Cope receives a signal defeat, 129, 130; sleeps at Pinkie house; and returns to Edinburgh, 131; blockade of Edinburgh Castle; intends crossing the border, 132; English opinions of the rebellion, 132, 133; enters Cumberland, Nov. 8; expects a great insurrectionary movement among the English; the inhabitants of Kilmarnock refuse to rise, 140; cause of the non-resistance to his advance; Carlisle is invested, Nov. 10, 141; and taken three days after, 142; the dubiousness of his cause; he continues his march into England, 144; Manchester recruits; the town is taken by a sergeant, a drum, and a woman; Johnstone's narrative thereof, 145; the lukewarmness of Manchester, 146; marches on to Macclesfield; crosses the Mersey; reaches Derby, Dec. 5, *ib.*; they plunder the town of the collected taxes; the duke of Cumberland pursues him, and gen. Wade advances upon him from the north, 147; the enthusiasm of his Highlanders; their eagerness to fight Cumberland; a retreat is resolved upon, 148; Johnstone's fictitious narrative of the panic in London, 148, 149; the Londoners prepare for defence, 150; his cause receives no encouragement from the commercial or industrious public, 151, 152; he retreats from Derby, 155; loses confidence; his mistaken notions and weakness of character, 156; he is pursued by Cumberland and Oglethorpe, 157; the retreat is delayed by bad roads; lord Murray takes up a position near Clifton to wait the attack of the pursuing army, *ib.*; has a skirmish with the foremost dragoons, whom he beats back; arrives at Carlisle; the prince leaves that city in the hands of a few followers; his callous indifference as to their fate, 158; Carlisle is invested by the Duke of Cumberland; it capitulates, Dec. 30; the Highland army recrosses the border, Dec. 20; reaches Glasgow; makes heavy levies on the citizens; gen. Hawley's contempt for the Highlanders, 160; the battle of Falkirk, 161; Hawley's retreat, 162; lord Lovat's double dealing, 163; the prince's rage at hearing of the desertions in his army, 164; arrival at Inverness, 165; encamps at Culloden Moor, 166; his confidence of gaining a victory, 167; he is met by Cumberland and receives a thorough defeat, May 16, 1746; his conduct in the battle, 168; the barbarities after the battle, 170; his wanderings in the highlands; gains shelter in South Uist island; escapes to Skye; is befriended by Flora MacDonald, 175; escapes to France, Sept. 20, 176; refuses to quit Paris when ordered; is imprisoned at Vincennes; turned loose in Savoy; visits England in 1750, 181; Canova's bust of him at Rome; takes the title of count of Albany; died, Jan. 31, 1788, 196
- Stuart, James Francis Edward** (the Pretender), makes an attempt to land in Scotland, but fails and returns to Dunkirk, 1708, v. 335; his private interviews with Bolingbroke, 1712, 396; adheres firmly to the church of Rome in spite of the Jacobites urging him to turn Protestant, 399; issues a manifesto on the death of Queen Anne, asserting his right to the vacant throne, vi. 4; the earl of Mar raises his standard at Braemar, Sept. 6, 1715; and proclaims him James VIII. of Scotland, and James III. of England, 7; lands at Peterhead, and joins the camp at Perth, Jan. 16, 1716; his spiritless appearance; assumes the royal state, 17; retreats before Argyle; takes flight to France, Feb.; his compassion for the villagers whose homes had been burnt down, 18; arrives at Paris; meets Bolingbroke there, 23; and dismisses him from his service, 24; forms an alliance with Spain, 1718; arrives at Madrid, 35; failure of the expedition against Scotland, 36; birth of his son, the Young Pretender, 1720, 47; declaration issued, Sept. 22, 1722, proposing that George I. should yield up the British throne to James III., 49; it is burnt as a libel by order of parliament, *ib.*; hopelessness of his cause, 1727, 60, 61; bill against his two sons, 1744, 115; note on the Stuart family; Canova's tomb of, and his sons, Charles Edward, and Henry, Cardinal York; died at Rome, 1765, 196
- Stuart James**, his Athenian antiquarian inquiries, vii. 81
- Stuart, sir John**, commander of the British army; defeats the French general Reynier at the battle of Maida, July 4, 1806, vii. 473
- Stubbs, Philip**, picture of the times afforded by his "Anatomic of A^muses," iii. 246 *et seq.*
- Suetonius**, account by, of the expedition of Caligula to invade Britain, i. 17
- Suetonius Paulinus** assumes the command of the Romans in Britain, A.D. 58, attacks and takes Mona (Anglesey), the chief seat of the Druids, i. 22; returns to repress the revolt of Bonduca, 24; obtains a conquest over her, 25

Suffolk, agricultural condition of, vii. 6; the labourers, farmers, and housewives of, 7; a seat of the husbandry implement trade, 8

Suffolk, de la Poles, dukes of. See Richard II. and Henry VI.

Suffolk, Howard, lady, George II.'s mistress; Walpole devotes himself to queen Caroline, not lady Suffolk, vi. 58

Suffolk, lord, a secretary of state, 1771-1779, vi. 381, 469; his reply to Chatham's speech on the address, 381, 382

Sugar duties, alterations of a free trade tendency in the, proposed by lord John Russell, 1841, viii. 437, debates on them, 437-439; rejection of the ministerial propositions, 439; further debates on the, 1844, 516, 517

Sunday schools. See education.

Sujah Dowlah, vizier of Oude; Shah Alum's landed property sold to; hires an army from the English; invades the Rohilla country, vii. 124; died, 126

Sullivan, general, in the American army; taken prisoner at Brooklyn, vi. 370; employed by Howe as his agent to the congress, 372

Sunderland, Charles Spencer, earl of Marlborough's son-in-law; dismissed his secretaryship of state, 1710, v. 363; secretary of state, 1717, vi. 30; accused of being concerned in the South Sea scheme fraud; acquitted; resigns his post of first commissioner of the Treasury, 45; his death, 1722, 47

Sunderland, Robert Spencer, earl of, one of William's confidential advisers, v. 168; his character and principles, 169; entertains William at Althorp, 1695, 181; lord chamberlain; issues an order to prevent stage licentiousness, 206; attempts to obtain the lord chancellorship for Somers, 239; William's correspondence with, on the state of English affairs in 1701, 251

Surajah Dowlah succeeds his grandfather, April, 1756; in hopes of booty he storms and takes Calcutta; tragedy of the black hole, June 29, vi. 222; sufferings of the prisoners, 223; marches from Moorshedabad; encamps near Fort William; signs a treaty of alliance with Clive; goes over to the French, 224; defeated by Clive at Plassey, June 23, 1757, 225; seeks protection from the French at Patna; murder of, 226

Surrey, earl of. See Henry VIII.

Sutton, Manners, re-elected speaker of the House of Commons, 1819, viii. 99; again in 1830, 262; chosen for the sixth time, 1831, 278; again, with Mr. Littleton as candidate, 1833, 318; fails in being elected, 1835, 355

Suwarroff, a Russian general; captures Ismail; cruelties perpetrated, vii. 191; defeats the Poles, Oct. 10, 1794; captures Warsaw; barbarities inflicted on the inhabitants, 315; commands the Russo-Austrian army, 1799; gains the battle of Trebbia, 382; returns home, 393

Sweyn, with a Danish fleet, ravages England in 980, i. 151; returns to avenge the massacre of the Danes, 153; lands again in 1012, and proclaims himself king of England, 155; London surrenders to, *ib.*; death of, in 1014, *ib.*

Swift, Jonathan, points out to parliament men the dangers of quarrelling, v. 246; a satirical

party writer; his character as a partisan, v. 369; his dealings with Harley and St. John, who make him their tool, 370; his opinion on Marlborough's dismissal from office, 379; the operation of the stamp duty according to, 394; author of the pamphlet "The Public Spirit of the Whigs;" is presented with £100 by the earl of Oxford, 399; his contributions to the "Tatler," 413; meanness in asking for place, 414; his remarks upon the education of ladies, 421; his "Battle of the Books," 435; character of his writings, 442; marvellous power of preserving the circumstantiality of his tales, and the complete personification of his characters, 443; his "Tale of a Tub," *ib.*; and "Gulliver's Travels," 443, 444; condemns Vanbrugh's architecture, 456; author of the Drapier's letters inveighing against Wood's patent for a copper coinage, 1724, vi. 51; a reward of £300 offered for the discovery of the author of the letters; withdrawal of the patent, 52; died, 1745, vii. 86; application of his story of the "Spider and the Bee," viii. 468

Swinfeld, bishop of Hereford, account of the Household Roll of, for 1289 and 1290, i. 392; domestic life and duties of the bishop, 393; manor houses of, and modes of living at, 393, 394; Christmas feast of, 395; prices of articles used by, 396; state of domestics, labourers, and serfs under, 396, 397; journey of, to London, 399; lodging and provision on the road, 400; arrival of, in London, 401; notice of London markets and shops, 402; departs from London, 404; visitations of, 405; gardens, orchard, and vineyard, of, at Bosbury, 406; building operations of, at Womenswold, in Kent, 407; furniture provided for, 408; dresses provided by, and the prices, 409.

TABLES, of treaties, 1326-1731, v. 382-390; of contemporary sovereigns from 1689-1714, 475, 476; of British writers arranged chronologically, 477-483; chronological list of treaties from 1732-1748, vi. 120; principal officers of state, 1741-1770, 320, 321; contemporary sovereigns, 1714-1788, 465, 466; treaty list, 1750-1784, 467, 468; principal officers of state, 1768-1782, 469; the growth of the national debt, 470-472; treaties from 1787 to 1802, vii. 412, 413; population of Great Britain; of England in 1700, 1750, and 1801; of Scotland and Wales in 1801, all arranged by counties, 414; contemporary sovereigns and rulers, 1789-1814, 573, 575; principal officers of state, 1783-1815, 576, 577; chronological table of treaties, 1802-1814, 578-581; the national debt, 1793-1815, 582; population of Great Britain in 1811, *ib.*; table of deceased British writers of the 19th century, viii. 133-138; list of George IV.'s ministers, June, 1820, 158; lists of the Canning cabinet, 1827, 210; and the Grey ministry, Dec. 1830, 267; contemporary sovereigns and rulers, 1815-1837, 268; population of the United Kingdom, 1821 and 1831, 269; lists of the Peel cabinet, 354; and of the Melbourne ministry, 1837, 381; table of treaties, 1815-1850, 382, 383; and of the national debt, 1815-1837; growth of the debt, 384; chronological table of British

- writers of the 19th century, 487-491; table of contemporary sovereigns, 568, 569; of the population, 1841-1851, 570; occupations of the people, 1851, 571, 572; censuses of religious worship, 572; and education, 1851, 573; public income and expenditure, 1815-1850, 574; commerce, 575
- Tacitus**, statement of, that Cæsar did not conquer Britain, i. 8; his account of the Britons affords an early indication of the national character, 20; the speeches attributed by, to Caractacus, Boadicea, and Galgacus, probably fictitious, but affording a true representation of the facts and feelings of the period, 21
- Talavera**, battle of, 28 July, 1809, vii. 522, 523
- Talbot**, lord, defied by Joan of Arc, ii. 85; taken prisoner at the battle of Patay, 88; the possessions of the duke of Burgundy, ravaged by, 92; death of, at Castillon in 1458, 93
- Talfourd**, T. N., his eloquent speech at Reading, viii. 108; principles of his copyright bill, 463, 464; the bill rejected, 464
- Talesin**, notice by, of the massacre of the monks of Bangor, i. 69
- Tallard** sent as ambassador to the English court, 1698; his remarks upon the state of political parties, v. 209; negotiates with William III. the terms of the Partition treaty, 226, 227; ordered to leave the Rhine and advance into Suabia at the head of his army, 1704, 274; joins the Elector of Bavaria, Aug. 8, 280; they encamp near the Nebel, 281; takes up his head quarters at the village of Blenheim, *ib.*; faults in the disposition of his troops, 282; he leads the main body of the French army; is opposed by Marlborough, defeated, and compelled to retreat to Soderheim, where he surrenders himself, 283; carried to England by Marlborough, 287
- Talleyrand**, Bishop of Autun; considers church property to belong to the nation, vii. 185; visits London as the agent of the French government; received with coldness and reserve; returns to Paris; again returns to England on an embassy, 209; which also had a bad reception, 210; assists Bonaparte's intrigues for power, 333; his correspondence with Grenville, 387-389; Fox's negotiations with, for peace, 1806, 469; end of the negotiations, 470; suspected of having revealed the secret articles of Tilsit to the English, 490; one of the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna, viii. 42 *et seq.*; secretly negotiates with Castlereagh and Metternich, 44; resigns his Presidentship of the Council, 46; anxious to prevent capital punishment, 46, 47
- Talmash** commands some troops sent against Brest, v. 171; unable to land his men; mortally wounded in the attempt, 1694, 172
- Tallor**, objects, plan, and character of Steele's; started, 1709, v. 402, 403
- Taylor**, Rowland, behaviour of, in prison, iii. 34; martyrdom at Hadleigh in 1555, 85
- Tea**, formerly taxed; prices of, early part of 18th century, v. 38, 39
- Teignmouth**, sacked by the French under Tourville, July 1690, v. 115; a subscription raised in behalf of the inhabitants of, 116
- Teignmouth**, lord, as sir John Shore, he succeeds earl Cornwallis as governor-general of India, vii. 377, succeeded by lord Mornington, 1798, 378
- Telford**, Thomas, his career and great engineering works, viii. 147; opinion in 1830 of the capabilities of the locomotive engine, 259
- Templars (Knights)**, mission from the kingdom of Jerusalem to, in 1185, i. 303; dissolution of the order of the, in France, in 1307, 439; and suppression of, in England, in 1308, *ib.*; their house in London given to the students of the law, 440
- Temple**, earl, moves an amendment in the address, 1755, vi. 209; first lord of the admiralty, 1756, 218; desires to save Byng under cover of the king's name; dismissed his office, 220; lord privy seal, 227; fails in obtaining the garter, 240; supports Pitt's war policy, 1761, 251; resigns office, 252; Wilkes' friend; disapproves of "The North Briton's" attack on the Scotch, 261; visits Wilkes in the Tower, 262; dismissed his lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire; struck off the privy council list, 263; his share in the negotiations for Pitt's return to power, 1765, 277, 278; declines the king's offer of the first lord of the treasuryship, 285; suggested to be the author of "Junius," 295, 296, 298; lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1782, 450; secretary of state, 1783; differs with Pitt; resigns, vii. 139
- Temple**, sir William, concludes the Triple Alliance in 1668, iv. 308; it is repudiated in 1671, and he retires to private life, 315; notice of the prince of Orange by, 329; suggests a scheme of government by a cabinet, 343
- Tenchebrai**, battle of, in 1105, i. 240
- Tennyson**, Alfred, his poetry, viii. 480, 481
- Tesse**, marshal, joins Philip V.; with him invades Catalonia, 1706, v. 297; raises the siege of Barcelona, 298
- Test Act**, William proposes, without avail, the repeal of the, 1689, v. 73; repeal of, suggested, 1730, vi. 62, 63; again in 1772, 328; in 1790, vii. 187; repealed, 1828, viii. 232, 233
- Tewkesbury**, the Lancastrians totally defeated at the battle of, on May 4, 1471, ii. 166
- Teynham**, Henry Francis, lord, his reform plans and suggestions, viii. 311
- Thackeray**, W. M., volubriousness and character of his novels, viii. 475, 479
- Thanet**, complete insulation of, in the time of the Romans, i. 37
- Theatre**. See Drama.
- Thelwall**, John, arrested on a charge of high treason, vii. 300; trial of; defended by Erskine, and acquitted, 303
- Theodosius**, repels the invasion of the Picts and Scots into Britain, i. 54
- Thiers**, M., his account of the intended invasion of Britain by Napoleon, i. 17; his remarks on Wellington, vii. 529; president of the French council, viii. 430; his warlike tone towards England, 430, 434, 435; the king refusing to acquiesce in his hostile speech to be delivered to the chambers, he resigns, 435
- Thistle**, order of the, revived by queen Anne, 1703; statutes of the, broken by Georges I. and IV., v. 327
- Thistlewood**, Arthur, a Spencean fanatic, viii. 75; one of the leaders of the Spafields reformers, 76; antecedents of, viii. 160; conspires to assassinate the cabinet ministers; his plot discovered, and himself tried and executed, 1820, 160, 161

- Thom, J. N., his earlier career; imprisoned, viii. 412; released by lord John Russell, 412, 413; proclaims himself the Messiah at Bough-ton, 413; rouses the people, 413, 414; his three days' march, 414-416; the tragedy of Bosenden Wood, 415, 417; slain in the en-counter, 416
- Thomson, James, his "Castle of Indolence," published, 1748; died same year, vii. 87
- Thomson, C. P., vice-president of the board of trade, and treasurer of the navy, 1830, viii. 267; his remarks on Peel's repeal of the house tax, 1834, 347; president of the board of trade, 347, 381
- Thornhill, sir J., his roof paintings, v. 463; opens an academy of painting, 1724, vii. 67; sug-gests a plan for a Royal Academy, 68
- Thurlow, Edward, attorney-general, vi. 339; lord chancellor, 1778-1792, 388, 469; vii. 576; opposes Burke's Economical Reform bill, vi. 439; and the contractors' and revenue officers' bills, 440; opposes Fox's Libel bill in the House of Lords, vii. 212, 213; becoming ob-noxious to the ministry, he is compelled to give up the great seal, 1792, 213
- Ticonderoga, British attack on, 1758, repulsed, vi. 233; surprised by the Americans, 1775, 350, 351; re-captured by Burgoyne, 1777, 379
- Tielmans, tried for conspiring against the Ne-therlands government; found guilty; ban-ished, 1830, viii. 257
- Tierney, George, opposes Pitt's income tax scheme, 1798, vii. 359, 360; his conduct in the Caroline debate of, 1820, viii. 162, 165; master of the Mint, 210
- Tilait, treaty of, July, 1807, vii. 488, 489, 579
- Tin mines and manufactories, v. 13
- Tintern Abbey, foundation of, i. 256
- Tinville, Fouquier, furious zeal shown by, as public accuser, vii. 272, 273; executed, 1795, 321
- Tippoo Saib, son of Hyder Ali; concludes a peace with the British, vii. 134; wars against the British under Cornwallis, 1790, 1791; defeated May 15, 1791; surrenders Seringa-patam, Feb. 1792, and concludes a peace, Mar. 19, 258, 259; Bonaparte's letter to, 1799, 377; he relies upon assistance from the French; general Harris enters his territory of Mysore, Mar. 5, 1799, 378; Seringapatam stormed and Tippoo slain, May 4, 379; divi-sion of his territory, *ib.*
- Titus, allusion of, to the security afforded to the Britons by the sea, i. 3
- Tocqueville, his remarks on the public opinion respecting the French revolution, vii. 182; and the French national character, 288
- Tolentino, treaty of, Feb. 19, 1797, vii. 412
- Toleration Act, passed, 1689, v. 73; an imper-fect boon, 73, 74
- Tooe, Wolfe, captured; sentenced to death; commits suicide; died Nov. 19, 1798, vii. 368
- Tomline, bishop. See Pretyman.
- Tooke, Horne, arrested on a charge of high treason, vii. 300; trial of, 302; defended by Erskine and acquitted, 303
- Torgan, battle of, 1760, vi. 240
- Torres Vedras, construction of, and events con-nected with Wellington's lines of, vii. 529-532
- Torrington, earl of, sent out to fight the French, defeated off Beachy Head, June, 1690; his haeseness and hesitating conduct, v. 111
- Postig, brother of Harold, succeeds Siward as earl of Northumbria, i. 171; oppression ex-ercised by, occasions an insurrection, 175; u banished, 176; invades England with a force of Norwegians, is defeated and slain at Stam-ford Bridge in 1066, 180
- Toulon, besieged by the allies, 1707, v. 332; negotiations of the royalists of, with lord Hood, vii. 286; the fleet and harbour surren-dered to the British, 287; political opinions of its inhabitants, 287, 288; besieged by the republicans, 287-290; the British compelled to evacuate the place, 290; republican bar-barities, 290-292
- Tournay, surrendered to the allies, 1709, v. 343; invested by the French, 1745, vi. 213
- Tourville, count de, a French admiral; defeats Torrington off Beachy Head, June 30, 1690, v. 111; anchors off Torbay, July 22, lands his troops at Teignmouth and devastates the vil-lage, 115; sails for France, 116; defeated by Russell off La Hogue, May 19, 1692, 149; his fleet, having assembled, is again dispersed on the 23rd by admiral Rooke, 150; joins the Toulon fleet, 166; sails into the Mediterra-nean, 171
- Townley, colonel in the Pretender's army; tried, vi. 172; executed, 1746, 173
- Townley, Charles, his collection of sculpture; bought for the British Museum, 1805, viii. 150
- Towns, manufacturing condition of, in 1636, iii. 499
- Townshend, lord Charles, his fear that France will render aid to the Pretender, vi. 17; dis-agrees with Stanhope; dismissed from his office of secretary of state; offered the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, 28; which he reluc-tantly accepts, 29; but is dismissed from it, April 3, 1717, 30; appointed secretary of state in room of earl Stanhope, 1721, 46; accom-panies George I. to Hanover, 1727, 56, 57; quarrels with Walpole; resigns office, 61; and retires to the country, 62
- Townshend, brigadier-general, completes Wolfe's victory before Quebec, 1759, vi. 238, 239
- Townshend, Charles, chancellor of the exche-quer, 1766, vi. 285, 321; his atonishment at Pitt's political schemes, 285, 286; dies of fever, 1768, 288
- Townshend, Thomas, draws attention to the tardiness of action by the navy authorities, 1778, vi. 392; secretary of state, 1782, 450, 469
- Towton, the battle of, on March 29, 1461, and victory of the Yorkists, ii. 147, 148; consti-tution of the contending armies of the Roses, 147
- Trafalgar, battle of, Oct. 21, 1805, vi. 446-448
- Traitorous correspondence bill passed, 1744; debate on it, vi. 115, 116; another introduced, 1793, and passed in a modified form, vii. 267; debate on, 267, 270
- Travancore, rajah of, attacked by Tippoo, vii. 258; wars against Britain, 1807-1809, viii. 212, 213
- Travelling, means for, as shown in bishop Swin-field's journey between Prestbury and Lon-don, i. 399, 404; another journey from Oxford to Canterbury in 1289, 401; travelling in London, 1289, 402; as shown in his visita-tions, in 1290, 405; mode of, as exhibited by a Scotch army in 1312, 431; dangers of, in the latter half of the 15th century, ii. 127;

- dangerous condition of the London streets, temp. Henry VIII., 479; statute passed for repairing the highways, 1555, 480; means for, on the Thames, temp. Henry VIII., 481; insecurity of, illustrated in the murder of Arden of Feversham, in 1551, 485; custom of resorting to the seaside for pleasure a modern one, v. 8; horror of, in a hilly country, *ib.*; partly caused by the bad roads, temp. queen Anne, 9; Bath and Tunbridge Wells, the principle resorts of pleasure seekers, 9, 10; in Yorkshire, temp. Q. Anne, 26; bad state of the road between London and Kennington, 1736, vi. 84; stage coaches, inns, and travelling accommodation about 1737, vii. 91; dangers from highwaymen, drunken drivers, and rapid coaching, 92; first mail coach started (1784) by Mr. Palmer, 93
- Treasonable Attempts bill passed 1795; its objects; debate on it, vii. 323, 324
- Treason, bills for regulating trials in cases of high, brought forward; not passed, 1692, v. 146; passed 1695; lord Ashley's speech on, 185
- Treaties, chronological table of, and the wars connected with them, from 1326 to 1731, v. 382-390; from 1732 to 1748, vi. 120; from 1750 to 1784, 467, 468; from 1787 to June 25, 1802, vii. 412, 413; from 1802 to 1814, 578-581; from 1815 to 1850, viii. 332-333
- Trevor, sir John, master of the rolls; parliamentary corruption commenced by, v. 102; receives a thousand guinea bribe for assisting in passing the Orphan act; he is discovered, found guilty, and expelled the House of Commons, of which he was the speaker, 177
- Tribute, not paid by Britain for some time after the invasion of Cæsar, i. 16
- Trichinopoly defended by Mahomed Ali, vi. 203; the siege raised by the British, 205
- Triennial bill introduced and passed by both Houses, 1693; but vetoed by the king; becomes law, 1694, v. 159, 173
- Trinobantea, the kings of the, i. 14
- Triple Alliance, the, concluded, Jan. 4, 1717, vi. 29
- Trogoff, admiral, commands the Toulon fleet, 1793; an anti-revolutionist, vii. 286
- Troppau, Congress of, Oct. 20, 1820, viii. 382
- Trotter, the navy paymaster; his evidence against lord Melville, 1805, vii. 439
- Trumbull, sir William; ambassador and secretary of state; first encourager of Pope's poetical talents, v. 416
- Tuileries, attack on the, Aug. 1792, vii. 225, 226
- Tullibardine, marquis, joins the Scotch insurrection of 1715, vi. 8; and the earl Marischal's expedition, 1719, 36; accompanies Charles Edward in his descent upon Scotland, 121; raises the Pretender's standard, Aug. 19, 1745, 124
- Turin invested by the French, 1706; prince Eugene compels them to raise the siege, v. 300
- Turner, bishop of Ely, enters into Jacobitical intrigues, v. 124; implicated by Preston in his plot, 126
- Turner, J. W. M.; character of his principal pictures, viii. 153, 154; his early popularity, 154; style of his earlier water colour paintings, 155
- Turnpikes, laws relating to, amended and consolidated, in consequence of the Rebecca riots, viii. 506
- Tyrawley, lord, placed at the bar of the House of Commons to give evidence on the Spanish war, v. 368
- Tyrconnel; his schemes in favour of James II., v. 80; puts Ireland into a state of defence, *ib.*; domineers over the Irish protestants, and places the power of the kingdom in the hands of the papists, 81; assumes the viceroyship of Ireland under James, 1691, 127
- ULFUS, lands given by, to the chapter of York, with a horn as the symbol of the title, i. 120
- Ulm capitulated to the allies, Sept. 12, 1704, v. 287; peace of, July 3, 1620, 386; besieged by Napoleon; to whom it is surrendered by Mack, Oct. 20, 1805, vii. 444, 445
- Union, Anne empowered by parliament to negotiate for a, with Scotland, 1702, v. 259, 260; progress of the negotiations; debates and speeches; national feelings elicited, 311-328; the act of union received the royal assent, March 6, 1787, 323
- Union with Ireland proposed in George III.'s message to parliament, Jan. 22, 1793, vii. 360; progress of the bill for; debate, &c., 369-376; completed, 1800, 376
- United Irishmen, the, organised; they scheme a rebellion, vii. 362, 363; narrative of the rebellion, 363-369
- University of London opened, 1828, viii. 231; debate on the motion for granting a charter to the; the motion carried, 1835; various names applied to the institution, 357
- Utrecht, commencement of negotiations at, 1711, v. 381; union of, Jan. 22, 1579, 385; terms of the peace announced to parliament, 394, 395; treaty of, signed by Great Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and the States-General, April 11, and by Spain, July 13, 1713; conditions of the treaty, 389-397
- Uxbridge, lord, leads the English cavalry at Quatre Bras, viii. 30; his legs shot off at Waterloo, 36
- VACCINATION discovered by E. Jenner; the great good that has resulted from its practice, viii. 130, 131
- Vagrancy, statute to repress, in 1504, ii. 252; atrocious severity of one in 1536, 342; renewed statute in 1547, imposing slavery as a punishment, 470; repealed, 1549, iii. 38; statute of Elizabeth against, 269; inefficiency of the laws against, 270; hardships of the vagrancy laws on the poor, viii. 67
- Valençay, treaty of, 8 Dec. 1813, vii. 580
- Valencia besieged by Philip, v. 296; stratagem employed by Peterborough in accomplishing its relief, 296, 297
- Valenciennes, siege of; and capitulation to the allies, July 28, 1793, vii. 282
- Valmy, *duc de*. See Kellermann.
- Valmy, battle of, Sept. 20, 1792, vii. 234
- Vanbrugh, sir John, commences the Blenheim palace, 1705, v. 304; begins his practice as architect in his 36th year, with Castle Howard, 455; his chief works; their character con-

- demned by the wits and essayists, but properly appreciated by sir J. Reynolds, 456
- Vandamme, general, repulsed by Abercromby in Holland, 1799, vii. 386; defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of the Katsbach, 1813, 563
- Vandeveldes, their sea paintings; they found a school of painting, v. 463
- Vane, sir Henry, the younger, produces the papers of the Privy Council to prove the guilt of Strafford, iii. 452; chief negotiator with Scotland for an alliance with the parliament, iv. 27; his modifications of the treaty in favour of toleration, 28; a leading Independent statesman, 57; wishes to keep the army intact, 69; one of the chief disputants with the king at the treaty of Newport, 98; bears testimony to the talent of Charles, 99; retires into the country after the ejection of members by the army, till after the king's execution, 104; remarks of Mrs. Hntehinson on his conduct at this period, *ib.*; becomes an active member of the Council of State, 115; President of the Committee for the Navy, 149; conduct of, at the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Oliver Cromwell, 158; publishes a pamphlet describing a new form of government, 199; Cromwell in vain endeavours to persuade him not to act in opposition to his government; and he is imprisoned, 199; is excepted from the Act of Indemnity in 1660, but his life recommended to be spared, 248; is tried for high treason in 1662, 260; able defence of, and the king's letter recommending him to be put out of the way on account of it, 261; his execution, on June 14, 1662, 262
- Vansittart, Nicholas, as British envoy attempts to avert a war with Denmark, 1801, vii. 402; chancellor of the exchequer, 1812-1820, 577, viii. 158; unwilling to believe that the annexation of Saxony to Prussia had been consented to by British ministers, viii. 43
- Varangians, the Anglo-Saxons driven from England, become the emperor's guard at Constantinople, i. 189; valour displayed by, 190
- Vauxhall gardens, company and amusement of, 18th century, contrasted with those of Ranelagh, vii. 96-98
- Vellore, mutiny at, 1806, vii. 462, 463
- Vendôme, duke of, commands the French army in the Netherlands, 1707, v. 332; and the one sent against Brabant, 1708, 335; his incredulity regarding Marlborough's quick march of July 11, 1708; he is defeated by him the same day, 337; commands Philip V.'s army; defeats Stanhope and Staremberg, 367
- Veneti, inhabitants of Brittany, character of, i. 2; intimate relations of, with England, *ib.*; resistance offered by, to Caesar, 3; assistance afforded to, by the Britons, *ib.*; conquest of, by Caesar, *ib.*
- Venice entered by the French, May 16, 1797, vii. 343; cession of, to Austria, 1797, 346, 347
- Venloo carried by storm by the English, Sept. 18, 1702, v. 260
- Venner, Thomas, futile attempt at insurrection of, in 1657, in favour of the Fifth Monarchy, iv. 206
- Verdun capitulated to the Prussians, Sept. 2, 1792, vii. 234
- Vergennes, count de, French minister for foreign affairs; his interview with Franklin and Lee, 1776; vi. 372; with Steuben, 1777, 376, 377; and with Mr. Oswald, Shelburn's agent, 1782, 450; offended at the United States signing a peace without obtaining the consent of France, 457, 458
- Vergniand, an eloquent Girondin, vii. 205; obtains a draft of a decree for forming the national convention, 226; his war cry against the Prussians, 1792, 228; proposes to obtain the people's judgment on the sentence passed against Louis XVI.; votes the king's death, 251; as president of the convention declares the sentence of death against Louis, 252; interferes in behalf of Mrs. Elliott, on her being arrested, 1793, 270; executed, Oct. 31, 1793, 293
- Vernon, Edward, vice-admiral; takes Porto Bello; despatched against the Spanish-American possessions; advises the capture of Carthage, vi. 98; renders no assistance to general Wentworth, 99; boasts of having destroyed all the enemy's castles, 100
- Verona, congress of, Aug. 25, 1822, viii. 382
- Verrio, employment of, to ornament Windsor Castle, iv. 355; his ceiling paintings, v. 447, 463
- Verulam, attacked and destroyed by Boadicea, A.D. 61, i. 23, 24
- Vespasian, conquests of, in Britain, i. 20; triumph bestowed on, *ib.*
- Victor, marshal, with Macdonald, defeated by Suwarroff at Trebbia, 1799, vii. 382; defeated by Melas, 1800, 395; retreats from Talavera to Torrijos; joined by Sebastiani and king Joseph, 1809, 522, 523
- Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy joins the confederacy against France; his war with the French, v. 123; his despair at the devastation of his country by the French; Schomberg sent to cheer him, 127; defeated at Marsiglia, 166; makes peace with France, 195; thus losing his chance to the English crown; marries Anne Marie of Orleans, a descendant of Charles I. of England, 241; Anne requests subsidies for him, 267; besieged in Turin by the French, 1706, 300; joins the allies in a campaign against France, 1707; ineffectually bombards Toulon, 332; signs the treaty of Utrecht; Sicily, and a claim to the Spanish succession, yielded to, 397; reigned as king of Sardinia, 1720-1730, vi. 466
- Victoria, queen, daughter of the duke and duchess of Kent, born May 24, 1819, viii. 97; she succeeds to the throne on the death of her uncle, William IV., June 20, 1837; her demeanour and appearance at the audience with the privy council, 379, 380; meets her parliament; enthusiastically received; her speech; general feeling of loyalty towards, and attachment to; opens her new parliament, 405; her speech, 404, 405; her coronation, 409, 410; opens parliament, 1839; speech, 417; refuses to accede to sir R. Peel's request to dismiss her ladies of the bedchamber, 420; approbation of her conduct manifested by some, 420, 421; and aspersions thrown on her behaviour by others, 421; marries prince Albert, 426; her life attempted by Oxford, 428; speech on proleguing parliament, 429; speech on opening parliament by commission, 439; her

- answer to the amendment of the address, 440, 441; birth of her first child; and of the prince of Wales; speech on opening the parliamentary session, 1842, 493; two attempts on her life by Francis and Bean; bill passed for better protecting her person; speech on proroguing parliament, 497; speech, 1844, 511; visited by Louis Philippe, 522; speech, 1845, 524; with prince Albert visits Germany, 530; offers the premiership to lord J. Russell, 533, 534; her parting interview with sir R. Peel, 534; speech, 1846, 535; prorogues parliament; speech, 552; speech, 1849, 562, 563
- Vienna entered by the French, 1805, vii. 449, 450; and May, 1809, 515
- Vienna, congress of, 1815, 42-44
- Vienna, treaty of, April 30, 1725, v. 389, 390; the treaty of alliance of, March 16, 1731, 390; vi. 60; peace of, Nov. 18, 1738, 77, 78, 120; peace of, Oct. 14, 1809, vii. 516, 517, 579; treaty of, March 23, 1815; federative constitution signed at, June, 1815; convention entered into at, Aug. 1815, viii. 382
- Vikings, notice of the, i. 78
- Villadaria, marquis of, captain-general of Andalusia; opposes sir George Rooke and duke of Ormond, 1702, v. 261; sent to recapture Gibraltar, meets with no success, and is superseded by De Pontis, 292
- Villars, marshal, concludes a negotiation with Cavalier, the leader of the Camisards, or revolted Protestants of the Cevennes, 1704, v. 265; unites his army with Marsin's, 1705, 301; opposes himself between the allies and France, 1709; follows them after the siege of Tournay; encamps at Malplaquet, 343; defeated by Marlborough at that place, 344; constructs a series of fortified lines, which are forced by Marlborough, 1711, notwithstanding the superiority of his French army, 376; opposes the allied army, 1712; corresponds secretly with Ormond, 392; defeats prince Eugene at Denain, July 24, 393
- Villeneuve, admiral of the Toulon fleet; chased by Nelson to the West Indies, and back to Europe, vii. 441; where he engages with sir R. Calder, July 22, 1805, 442; ordered by Napoleon to enter the Mediterranean and proceed to Toulon; in executing which he is defeated by Nelson at Trafalgar, 446-448
- Villeroy succeeds Luxemburg as general of the French army, v. 178; takes Dixmuyde and Deynse, and attacks William before Namur, 179; retires, 180; attacks prince Eugene, but is repulsed, 1700, 250; appointed to command a detachment of the French army in the campaign of 1704, 274; ordered to follow Marlborough, who gives him the slip near the Moselle, 275; threatens Marlborough before Landau, 287; takes Huy and invests Liege, 1705, 302; retreats before Marlborough within the French lines, *ib.*; Marlborough follows and forces the lines; Villeroy then retreats beyond the Dyle, 304; his position, May 23, 1706, 308; defeated by Marlborough at the battle of Ramillies, 309; retreats to Louvain, *ib.*
- Vimiero, battle of, Aug. 21, 1808, vii. 502
- Vinegar Hill, battle of, near Enniscorthy, 1798, vii. 365
- Virginia, first attempts to found a colony in, iii. 220; founding of the colony of, under James Smith, in 1606, 343; sufferings of the first colonists, and subsequent progress of the colony, 344, 345
- Vittoria, battle of, June 21, 1813, vii. 562
- Volunteers; earl of Shelburne's circular proposing the raising of, 1782, vii. 442, 443; spontaneously raised by the Irish, 1779, 444; strength of, in Ireland, 1782, 446; formation of corps of, encouraged by government, 1794, 304; imperfectly aided by the government, 1798, 360; rapid enrolment of, in July and August 1808, 427; total number in November, 428; Pitt and the volunteers at Walmer, *ib.*; general organization of, throughout England and Scotland; reviewed by the king at Hyde Park and elsewhere, 429; debate on the volunteer system; it is supported by Pitt, 429, 430; feebly aided by the ministers, 430; abstract of a list of yeomanry and volunteer corps, Dec. 1803, 434
- Vortigern, legend of, i. 61
- Vyvyan, sir Richard, moves for the rejection of the Reform bill, 1831, viii. 275; speech of, on the Municipal Reform bill, 1835, 363
- WADE, general, carries off Gyllenberg's papers, vi. 29; quells a riot at Glasgow, 1725, 53; evidence of, on the Porteous riots, 1736, 83; sends troops under Oglethorpe to pursue the rebels of 1745, 157; ordered to return to Newcastle, 159
- Wagers, act to prevent, passed 1768, v. 341
- Wages of labourers in 1288, i. 398; of artificers, 408; statutes for the regulation of the scale of, for labourers, 471; statutes for the regulation of, and for the hours of labour, in 1493, ii. 113, 114; truck forbidden, 114; new statute for the regulation of, in 1495, 252; found ineffectual, and repealed in 1496, *ib.*; new statute for the regulation of, in 1515, 475; the legislature declare in 1563 that the statutes cannot be enforced on account of the high price of provisions, iii. 276; income and wages of various classes in the time of queen Anne, v. 49, 50; of the outdoor agricultural labourer, 50; combinations of labourers to demand a rise in, in Edward III.'s reign, vi. 184, 185; the relation between master and man in the question of, 185, 186
- Wagram, battle of, July 5, 1809, vii. 516
- Wakefield, battle of, defeat of the Yorkists, and death of the duke of York, Dec. 31, 1460, ii. 145
- Walcheren, narrative of the expedition against, 1809, vii. 517-521
- Waldeck, prince of, conduct of, at the battle of Fontenoy, 1745, vi. 114
- Waldegrave, lord, character of George III. as portrayed by, vi. 241, 242
- Waldegrave, lady, marries the duke of Gloucester, vi. 330; letter of, to her father, sir E. Walpole, on her position as duchess of Gloucester, 331, 332
- Wale, a sign painter; his portrait of Shakspeare, vii. 70
- Wales, state of, as described by Giraldus in 1188, i. 277, 278; Llewellyn, prince of, is summoned to do homage to Edward I., and refuses, 383; is attacked by Edward and

- forced to submit, in 1277, 384; his attendants in London dislike their food and their treatment there, *ib.*; renewed revolt of, in 1282, 387; is slain, and his brother executed, 388; prince Edward, born at Caernarvon, April 25, 1284, created prince of Wales, 389; statute passed for the settlement of, by Edward I., 390; insurrection in 1287 suppressed, 411; another insurrection in 1295 subdued, 417; popularity of Richard II. in, *ib.*; revolt of, against Henry IV. under Owen Glendower, 42; severe measures taken for the repression of, *ib.*; Henry IV. and his army repulsed, in 1402, 43; successful resistance of, during the life of Glendower, 50, 51
- Walker, Andrew, weeds the Devil's Acre; founder of the London ragged schools, viii. 399
- Walker, George, a Presbyterian minister, one of the principal defenders of Londonderry, v. 82, *et seq.*; appointed, with Baker, to succeed Lundy as governor of Londonderry, during the siege, 83; slain at the battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690, 108
- Walker, James, Vauxhall bridge designed and executed by, viii. 148
- Wallace, William, heads a revolt in Scotland in 1297, against Edward I., i. 420; defeats the English at Stirling, 420, 421; created guardian of the kingdom, 421; is defeated at Falkirk, 422; continued warfare of, *ib.*; is betrayed, and taken prisoner, 424; is taken to London, where he arrives Aug. 22, 1305, 425; is executed, *ib.*
- Waller, Edmund, the royalist plot of, discovered, iv. 15; saves his life by bribing the House of Commons, 16
- Waller, sir William, successful against the royalists, iv. 15; defeated at Lansdown, 19; blockades Oxford, in company with Essex, 33; jealousies between him and Essex, 34; pursues the king into Worcestershire, and is defeated by him, *ib.*; called out for the defence of London, 37
- Walloon weavers, introduction of, into England by the protector Somerset, iii. 45; driven from England by Mary, 46
- Walmoden, count, commands the English army in Hanover, 1794, vii. 313; defeated by Piehegru, 314
- Walpole, Robert, succeeds St. John as secretary at war, 1708, v. 335; his argument in applying the principle of resistance to the general doctrine of the subjects' obedience, 351; he is elected a member of queen Anne's third parliament, which met Nov. 25, 1710, 364; defends Steele in the House of Commons, 399; his contempt for literature, 414; condemns Vanbrugh's architecture, 456; impeaches Bolingbroke of high treason, June 9, 1715, vi. 5; moves the adjournment of the House to prevent the appeal for mercy towards the rebel lords, 20; character of his ministerial government, 26, 27; resigns the chancellorship of exchequer, 30; opposes an address of thanks, 1718, 35; opposed the Peerage bill, 1719, 38; his prudence during the South Sea scheme, 42; called upon to retrieve the national credit, 43; again becomes chancellor of the exchequer, 1721, 46; cancels Wood's patent for a copper coinage, 52; his interview with George II. announcing George I.'s death, 57; prepares the royal speech for sir S. Compton. The minister elect; is confirmed in power by bribing the king, 58; quarrels with Townshend; becomes supreme in the administration, 61; successfully repulses the attempts of the Dissenter, to obtain a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, 62, 63; revives the salt duty, 1732, 68; his warehousing system for the prevention of smuggling; his excise scheme, 69; narrowly escapes being mobbed, 70; debate upon the excise scheme; it fails in passing, 71; maintains the policy of neutrality in the wars of 1734, 72; advantages obtained thereby, *ib.*; his character as given by Wyndham, 73, 74; his character of Bolingbroke, 74-76; attends the queen during her last illness, 86; fears the loss of power in consequence of her death, 87; not a patron of letters, 89; proposes to enlarge the lord chamberlain's powers in reference to plays, *ib.*; brings forward his bill for licensing plays, 90; driven into a war with Spain; persists in keeping office, 92; reproves sir W. Wyndham, 95; his struggle to retain power; he is deserted by the Duke of Agyle, whom he dismisses from all his employments, 96; regarded with jealousy by the duke of Newcastle, 97; endeavours to prevent the war with Spain, 101; Mr. Sandys persuades the king to remove him from office; Walpole's defence, 102; the motion is negatived; his unpopularity increases; he resigns, Feb. 1, 1742; created earl of Orford, 103; a parliamentary inquiry is made into his administration; he passes through the ordeal, *ib.*; he is carried about in effigy by the mob, 107; anecdote of, 108; died March, 1745, 113
- Walsingham, sir Francis. See Elizabeth.
- Waltheof, earl, submits to William the Conqueror, i. 188; joins Canute and Edgar Atheling on their invasion in 1070, 193; refuses to take an active part in the conspiracy against William in 1073, 201; is betrayed by his wife (daughter of William the Conqueror), and executed, *ib.*
- Walton, captain, his conduct in the battle with the Spanish fleet, 1718, and model despatch to his admiral, vi. 34
- Wansdyke, notice of, i. 10
- Wantage, description of Alfred's home at, i. 85, 86
- Warbeck, Perkin, lands in Ireland in 1492, and announces himself as second son of Edward IV., ii. 220; claims and receives the protection of the duchess of Burgundy, *ib.*; doubtful *ex parte* accounts of, and pretended confession, 221; letter of, to Isabella of Spain, 222; attempts a landing at Deal, and is repulsed, 225; is expelled from Burgundy, and finds refuge with James IV. of Scotland, *ib.*; marries Catherine Gordon, 226; his position in Scotland in 1496 described by one of the spies of Henry VII., 227; difficulties of supposing him an impostor, 228; invades England, supported by James IV., but is compelled to retreat, 229; unpopularity of, occasioned by the foreign assistance, *ib.*; leaves Scotland, and lands in Cornwall, 230; attacks Exeter, but is repulsed, *ib.*; is deserted by his forces, and flies to sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey, where he is taken prisoner, 230, 231; attempts to escape, is retaken, and imprisoned in the Tower, 231; exhibited to

- the public, and reads his confession, 232; is executed at Tyburn, Nov. 23, 1499, 233
- War-chariots, Southey's notice of, i. 11; Cæsar's description of, i. 12
- Ward, James, an animal painter, viii. 155
- Ward, M. P. for St. Alban's; his intended Irish church motions, viii. 343
- Wardle, colonel, causes an inquiry to be made into the duke of York's conduct as commander-in-chief, 1809, vii. 508; popularity; subsequent contempt for, 510
- Warner, Rev. Dr., manners of; as evidence of those of the clergy of his day, vii. 110
- Warren, sir J. B., commands the squadron sent against Quiberon, 1795, vii. 320; engages the French off Ireland, Oct. 1798, 368
- Warsaw, alliance of, Mar. 31, 1683, v. 388; treaty of, Feb. 24, 1768, vi. 467; defended by Kosciusko, 1794, vii. 315; entered by the French, 1807, 481
- Warwick, Neville, earl of, supports the claims of Richard duke of York, ii. 136; important assistance of, at the first battle of St. Alban's, 138; returns from Calais to attend an attempted reconciliation of the York and Lancastrian factions, 141; attempt on his life and his escape to Calais, 142; is declared a traitor by the parliament at Coventry, 143; lands in Kent, enters London, wins the battle of Northampton, and takes Henry prisoner, in 1460, *ib.*; defeated by queen Margaret at the second battle of St. Alban's in 1461, 146; joins Edward, duke of York, and enters London, *ib.*; marches with Edward to the North, and wins the battle of Towton, 147; the representative of popular opinion, 150; becomes estranged from Edward, 156; wealth and power of, 167; joins with Clarence in an attempt to dethrone Edward, who is taken prisoner, but escapes, 158; is defeated by Edward at Stamford, 159; is reconciled to queen Margaret, *ib.*; invades England, and restores Henry without a battle, 160; is slain at the battle of Barnet, April 14, 1471, 165
- Warwick, Dudley, earl of, nearly made prisoner at the battle of Pinkie, iii. 7; is sent to subdue the Norfolk rebels under Ket, 26; defeats them at Dussin-dale, 27; recommends clemency, 28; acquires political power, 30; heads the confederacy of nobles against Somerset, 32; obtains possession of the Tower, 33; is joined by lord Russell and the army, 34; is created duke of Northumberland, 43; becomes the actual governor of the king, 46; marries his son to the lady Jane Grey, 47; causes lady Jane to be proclaimed queen, June 10, 1553, 51; leaves London to oppose the advance of Mary, 52; is arrested, 54; tried for treason, convicted, and executed, *ib.*; apostatises before his death, 55
- Washington, George, born 1732, vi. 207; his early career; becomes adjutant-general; unsuccessfully defends the British posts on the Ohio; serves under general Braddock, 1755, *ib.*; his opinion of American affairs, 1774, 342; his view of civil war, 351; appointed commander-in-chief of the United States army, 1775, 355; his character; refuses all pay but the discharge of expenses, 356; composition of his army; arrives at Boston, July 3, *ib.*; blockades the town, 359; his impatience; makes preparations for an attack, 362; the British evacuate the place. Mar. 17,
- 1776, 363; refuses Howe's letter to him, 1776, 369, 370; retreats before Cornwallia; crosses the Delaware and destroys the boats, thus hindering his pursuer's passage; surprises the Hessians at Trenton; retreats to Princetown, 371; there defeats a body of British troops; his high military qualities displayed in the campaign, 372; perplexed at Howe's conduct; marches to oppose him at Philadelphia, 378; goes into winter quarters at Valley Forge; sufferings of his army from want of food and clothing, 383; augurs new difficulties and greater struggles, 399; remonstrates against Cornwallia's proceedings, 412; receives a commission of lieutenant-general in the French service, 1780, 413; Clinton demands André's release from, 415; confirms the sentence passed upon André by a court martial; defence of his conduct for so doing, 416; his difficulties in sustaining his army, 422; anxiety for the arrival of De Grasse's fleet; on hearing that it had gone to the Chesapeake he changes his plan of operations and also marches thither; his able management of the march, 426; siege, 427; and capitulation of Cornwallia, 428; bequeaths his sword to his son, 462; bids farewell to his army, 462, 463; and retires into private life; reigns his commission, Dec. 20, 1782, 463; retires from the presidency of the United States, Dec. 1796; alarmed at the party spirit rising in the states, vii. 330, 331; president of the United States, 1789-1797, 575
- Washington, British attack on, Aug. 1814, viii. 14, 15
- Wat Tyler. See Richard II.
- Watchmen. See Police, v. 46.
- Waterford capitulates to William III., July 21, 1690, v. 115
- Waterloo, battle of, June 18, 1815, viii. 30-37
- Watson, admiral, co-operates with Clive in destroying the pirates of Gheriah, and in the re-capture of Calcutta, 1757, vi. 224; refuses to sign Clive's false treaty, 225
- Watson, bishop, opposes a free trade between England and France, fearing the latter's pre-eminence in a commercial contest, vii. 59
- Watson, sen., a Spa-fields meeting leader, viii. 76; addresses the meeting, 77; tried for high treason; found not guilty, 78
- Watson, jun., a Spa-fields meeting leader, viii. 76; impels the mob to riot; his prominent part in the riot; taken, 77; escapes, 78
- Watt, James, his career as philosophical instrument maker at Glasgow, vii. 59, 60; turns his attention to the improvement of the steam engine, 60, 61; gradual maturing of his thoughts and final success, May, 1768, 61; connects himself first with Dr. Roebuck, *ib.*; but subsequently with Boulton, 62; the two become the proprietors of the Soho works, *ib.*; vast influence of his invention on the affairs of the world, 63, 64
- Weaver, description of the laboura of a, v. 5; double occupation of farmer and, in Lancashire and Ireland, vii. 46
- Webb, general, present at Blenheim, 1704, v. 285; conducts a convoy to Lille; attacked by a large French force; succeeds in defeating them, and arrives before Lille with his army; his success the main cause of the surrender of Lille; receives the thanks of parliament;

- meanness of Marlborough towards, causes him to leave the army, 1708, 340
- Webb, John, inspector of hospitals; his report on the unhealthiness of Zealand, vii. 520, 521
- Wedderburn. See Loughborough, lord.
- Wedgwood, Josiah, improves the manufacture of earthen and china-ware, vii. 57, 58
- Wellesley, marquess of, his speech on the French revolution, vii. 297; despairs of British success in Holland, 1794, 312; fears a French invasion of Ireland, 1796, 331; succeeds lord Teignmouth as governor-general of India, 1798, 378; negotiates with Tippoo Sahib, *ib.*; attacked in parliament, 453, 454, 461; adopts the subsidiary system policy, 454; resigns the government of India, July, 1805, 461; secretary for foreign affairs, 1809, 526; resigns the seals, Feb. 19, 1812, 539; appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, viii. 178; lord steward, 267
- Wellington, duke of, Arthur Wellesley; condemns Massena's conduct in his retreat of 1811 as barbarous, v. 280; colonel; assists his brother lord Mornington in governing India, vii. 378; appointed to the command of the Nizam of the Deccan's army, 1799; his wonder at the size of the army, *ib.*; congratulates his brother on the success of the British arms in India, 379; returns to England, Sept. 1805, 454; reinstates the Peishwa in his capital of Poonah, 455; appointed to the command of 17,000 men, June 26th, 1803; his letter to Scindia, 456; crosses the Godavery, 457; how he formed his plan of the battle of Assye, 458, 459; the battle, Sept. 23, 459, 460; battle of Argaum, Nov. 29; obtains possession of Fort Gawilghur, Dec. 15, thus ending the Mahratta war, 460; receives the order of the Bath; returns to England; account of the famine in India by, 461; principal secretary in Ireland, 1807, 480; his advice on the Buenos Ayres affairs, 485; commands the reserve forces in the Copenhagen expedition, 1807, 490; sent with troops to Portugal; sails from Cork, July 12, 1808, 499; placed under Dalrymple and Burrard, 500; lands at Figuiera, Aug. 1; defeats the French at Roliça, Aug. 17, 501; gains the victory at Vimieiro, Aug. 21, 502; his future actions clogged by Burrard's command, 502, 503; convention of Cintra; recalled home; examined before a court, 503; opinion of, on Mrs. Clarke's bribes, 509, 510; ordered to replace sir John Cradock in Portugal; lands at Lisbon, April 22, 1809, 511; passage of the Douro; compels Soult to retreat from Oporto, 512; enters Spain; makes a junction with Cuesta, 521; gains the battle of Talavera, July 28, 522-524; created viscount Wellington, 524; arranges for the defence of Portugal, *ib.*; worried by the ministers, 524, 525; sagacity and penetrating judgment of, 529; construction of the lines of Torres Vedras, 530; they stop Massena's course, 530, 531; unable to relieve Ciudad Rodrigo, 531; battle of Busaco, Sept. 27, 1810, 531, 532; evacuates Coimbra and retires within his lines, 532; his arguments with the ministry for continuing the war in the Peninsula, 537, 538; pursues Massena on his evacuating Portugal, and defeats him at Fuentes d' Onoro, May 5, 1811, and at Albuera, May 16, 538; preparations for the campaign of 1812, 547; insufficient artillery and means of transport; capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, Jan. 19, 1812, 548; siege of Badajoz, Mar. 16 to April 7, 549; the assault and surrender, April 7, 549, 550; unable to restrain the excesses of his soldiers, 550, 551; difficulties in obtaining supplies and reinforcements; his perseverance under the obstacles created by government, 551, 552; advances into Spain, June 13; capture of the Salamanca forts, June 29, 552; follows general Marmont's movements 552, 553; wins the battle of Salamanca, July 22, 553, 554; his conduct before the battle, 553; and after, 554; effects of the victory, 554, 555; enters Madrid, Aug. 12; the siege of Burgos fails, 555; the retreat, 555, 556; his candour, *ib.*; commander-in-chief of all the forces in the Peninsula; gains the battle of Vittoria, June 21, 1813, 562; obtains possession of the passes of the Pyrenees, 565; his remonstrance to the admiralty, 566; passes into France, *ib.*; after some struggling he effects the passage of the Nivelle, 566, 567; gains the battle of Orthez, Feb. 27, 1814, 569; crosses the Garonne, and defeats Soult at Toulouse, April 10, 570; lands at Dover, June 28, 572; receives the thanks of parliament for his services, 572, 573; his respect for private property and defenceless places, viii. 14; succeeds lord Castlereagh as British minister at Vienna, 25; his opinion of Bonaparte's escape from Elba, 26; prepares to defend the Netherlands, 26, 28; his accurate knowledge of Napoleon's advance, 28, 29; attends the ball at Brussels, *ib.*; his sudden departure from it, and march to Quatre-Bras, 29; the battle of Ligny, 29, 30; takes up his position on the field of Waterloo; Byron's description of the field of Waterloo, 30, 31; his position and that of the French, 31; the character and condition of the two armies, 31, 32; the struggle at Hougoumont, 32-34; the battle as described by Wellington, 34, 35; British firmness and endurance, *ib.*; Wellington's fortitude, 35; Wellington's and Blucher's share in the victory, 35, 36; arrival of Blucher and the Prussians, 36; the crisis; the victory won, June 18; joins in pursuing the French, *ib.*; his emotions at the loss of his soldiers, 37; refuses to acquiesce in Bonaparte's going to America, and declines having anything to do with his execution should that be resolved on, 39, 40; signs the declaration of the allies, 40; erroneous views concerning Wellington's conduct entertained by M. Thiers, 41; his firm moderation preserves Paris from unnecessary humiliation, 41, 42; representative of Great Britain at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the evacuation of France by the allied troops is agreed upon, 99; master-general of the ordnance, 158; a member of the conference for averting public proceedings against queen Caroline, 167; induces George IV. to consent to Canning being secretary for foreign affairs; represents Great Britain at the Verona congress; Canning's instructions to him, 181; resigns both his seat in the cabinet and his office of commander-in-chief on the accession of Canning's ministry, 1827, 204, 205; his share in the negotiations for a new premier, 211; his interest in the Madras mutiny, 214; accepts the command in chief of the army, 1827, 225; on the

- resignation of Lord Goderich the king requests him to form a government, 227; formation of his administration, 227, 228; defends the expression "untoward event" in the royal speech, 228, 229; Brougham objects to his being at the head of the government, 229; his severe attitude towards Mr. Huskisson leads to the other four Canningite ministers resigning, 234; his views on the Catholic question, 236; his difficulty in obtaining the king's sanction to allow this question to be brought forward by government, 237; announces the intention to the Lords, 237, 238; the king dismisses his ministry, but recalls it, 238; speech of, on the Catholic Relief bill, 239, 240; duel with the earl of Winchelsea on his refusing to withdraw a calumny against him, 240; character of George IV. as given by, 243; Brougham's harsh opinion of his ministry, 245; his proposed policy towards the new French government of 1830, 257; present at the opening of the London and Manchester railway, 262; his declaration against parliamentary reform, 262, 263; the lord mayor elect advises him to enter London with a strong guard, 264; advises the king not to go to London, and is himself, from apprehension of bloodshed, deterred from going, 265; resigns his premiership, 265; his reception of the news of the proposed Reform Bill of 1831, 272; his speech against it, 281, 282; popular speculations as to his putting down public excitement, 297; attempts to form a government, 297, 298; his account of the cause of his failure, 298, 299; withdraws from opposing the reform bill, 300; supports the Poor Law Amendment bill, 342; his consideration in enabling earl Grey to recover himself in parliament, 345; negotiations for the Peel ministry, 351, 352; his dictatorship, as first lord of the treasury and sole secretary of state, with lord Lyndhurst, 1834, 353; secretary of state for foreign affairs, 354; announces the resignation of the Peel ministry to the lords, 357; his eulogy of William IV., 377; his enthusiastic reception at the queen's coronation, 410; recommends sir R. Peel to the queen for her minister, 420; opposed to the proposed system of a penny postage, 424; deprecates a war with France, 430; praises the conduct and achievements of the Indian army, 453; his reply to sir R. Peel's memorandum vindicating his conduct in the corn law question; determines to support Peel's administration, 532, 533; his admiration of Peel's courage in re-accepting the premiership, 535; his successful plan for repressing a Chartist insurrection, 559
- Wentworth, sir Thomas. See *Strafford*, earl of.
- Wentworth, general, commands the land forces against Carthage, 1741, vi. 98; attacks Fort San Lazaro; fails in taking it, 99
- Wesley, John, with Whitefield, the founder of Methodism; his character, vii. 121, 122
- West, Benjamin, a favourite of George III's; one of the founders of the Royal Academy, vii. 70; exhibits at the first Royal Academy exhibition, 71; succeeds Reynolds as president, 74; early career, *ib.*; patronised by the king, 74, 75; critique on his picture of "The Death of Wolfe," 75; nominally head of the British school of painting, 1792-1820, viii. 151
- West, rear-admiral; his attack upon the French fleet unsupported by Byng, 1756, vi. 213; superseded by admiral Saunders, 213, 214; received with favour at court, 214
- Westmacott, his sculptures, viii. 150
- Westminster, Edward the Confessor's palace of, i. 176
- Westminster bridge opened 1750; constructed by Labeyle, vii. 82
- Westmoreland, population and trade of, v. 29
- Wetherell, sir Charles, counsel at the trial of Watson, 1817, viii. 78; recorder of Bristol; an opponent of the Reform Bill, his conduct rouses the Bristolians into a riot, 288; his irritating address in behalf of municipal corporations, 1835, 364
- Weymouth, Thomas, viscount, secretary of state, 1768-1770, vi. 291, 321; complains of Wilkes' libelling him, 291; opposes the duke of Richmond's motion for an address, 1778, 388; secretary of state, 1775-1779, 469
- Wharnclife, lord, gives notice of his motion to request the king not to dissolve parliament, 1831, viii. 276; makes his motion, 277; moves for the rejection of the reform bill, 281; said to have been requested to moderate his opposition to the reform bill by the king, 294; his modified opposition, 294, 295; lord privy seal, 354; died Dec. 19, 1846, 535
- Wharton, Philip, duke of, makes a furious attack upon the earl of Stanhope, which so roused the earl's anger as to cause his death, 1721, vi. 46
- Whateley, rev. Thomas, important poor law reforms carried out by, at Cookham, Berkshire, viii. 337, 338
- Whitbread, Samuel, presides at a meeting of the Society of "the Friends of the People," vii. 247; moves for a vote of censure against lord Melville, 439; and his impeachment, 1805, 439, 440; his grief for Mr. Perceval, 1812, 541; declaims against the destruction of military buildings at Washington, 1814, viii. 16, 16; his peace motion rejected, 1815, 27; protests against the annexing Saxony to Prussia, 43; his poor law reform plan, 1807, 69, 70; savings banks recommended by, 70
- Whitefield, George, character of, one of the founders of Methodism, vii. 121, 122
- Whitehall burnt down in 1698; the banqueting house the only portion saved, v. 207
- Whitelock, gen., appointed to command the British troops at Plata, 1807, vii. 483; lands with 7,800 men near Buenos Ayres, June 28, 485; failure of his expedition; tried by court martial and disgraced, 486
- Whitworth, lord, English ambassador at Paris; his interview with Bonaparte for the purpose of obtaining an explanation of his views towards Great Britain, February, 1803, vii. 420; violence shown by Bonaparte at a second interview with, March, 422, 423
- Widdrington, William, lord, impeached of high treason, 1716, vi. 19; tried and found guilty, *ib.*; is reprieved, 20; an act of grace, passed 1717, releases him from prison, 30
- Wight, Isle of, conquered by Vespasian, i. 20; untruth of the tradition that John retired to, after the signing of Magna Charta, 353; Charles I. escapes to, iv. 87
- Wilberforce, William, returned M.P. for Hull, 1780, vi. 418; his experience of club life, vii. 105, 106; and the licentiousness among Cam-

- bridge students, 111, 112; returned M.P. for Yorkshire in the parliament of 1784, 144; draws the attention of the House to the African slave trade; the committee appointed decide that it shall be gradually abolished, 212; his first open opposition to Pitt, 1794, 318; his opinion of lord Grenville's hostile answer to Napoleon, 1800, 389; fears the defeat of the Austrians, by Bonaparte, 1805, 444; indefatigable efforts of, to obtain the abolition of the slave trade, 467, 468; the two great objects of his life; his "Practical Christianity" published, viii. 123; his vain attempts to end the struggle between George IV. and queen Caroline, 167, 168; last speech in parliament, 1824, 194; his thankfulness for having lived to see England's willingness to abolish slavery; died July 29, 1833
- Wilkes, John, publishes the "North Briton," 1762, vi. 260; attacks the king and Bute, 260, 261; his comments on the king's speech in the "North Briton," No. 45; arrested and imprisoned; he is released, being protected as a member of parliament from arrest, 262; deprived of his colonelcy of militia, 263; supported and encouraged by earl Temple, 265; caricatured by Hogarth; defended by Churchill, 266; Sandwich proposes to prosecute him; sets spies on his motions, and obtains clandestinely some of his papers; wounded in a duel with Mr. Martin; takes flight to France; is expelled the House of Commons, 267; his proceedings against Halifax and Egremont fail; but he obtains 1000*l.* from Mr. Wood for false imprisonment, 268; prosecuted for libels, found guilty, and outlawed, Nov. 1, 1764, 270; elected member for Middlesex; surrenders himself at the King's Bench prison as an outlaw; the mob endeavours to rescue him, 290; legal proceedings against him for libel; he is sentenced to two years' imprisonment and two fines of 500*l.*; lord Weymouth prosecutes him for libel, and Wilkes is expelled the house, 291; his birthday celebrated by the Londoners, *ib.*; his expulsions from parliament and re-elections; agitations and debates about the legality of his re-elections, 292; attacked by Junius, 294; released from prison; becomes an alderman and city agitator, 316; concerned in the printer's affair, 1771; the House and the king afraid to prosecute him, 318; obtains a seat in parliament without opposition, 1774, 345; lord mayor of London, 1775; presents the address and remonstrance to the king, denouncing the government measures towards America, 348; chamberlain of London; his address to Pitt, 1784, vii. 142; his parliamentary reform motion, 1776, viii. 306
- Wilkie, sir David, style and popularity of his paintings, viii. 153
- Wilkins, William, his architectural works, viii. 144, 145
- Wilkinson, Catherine, the originator of public baths and washhouses, 1832, viii. 393
- William of Normandy, descent and position of, i. 169; visits Edward, and observes the position of affairs, and the state of parties at his court, *ib.*; releases Harold from his imprisonment by the count of Ponthien, 173; exacts an oath from Harold to support his claim to the throne of England, 174; rage of, at the news of Harold having been chosen king, 177; prepares for the invasion, 178; lands at Pevensey, 179; fights and wins the battle of Senlac, or Hastings, 181; founds the "Abbey of Battle," 182; elected king of England, 185; subdues London, 186; crowned on Dec. 25, 1066, *ib.*; tumult on the occasion, and probable cause of, 186, 187; Edgar Atheling submits to, 187; conciliatory policy of, *ib.*; builds fortresses and creates fiefs, *ib.*; visits Normandy, 188; oppressions of the Norman chieftains in England while away, 189; Anglo-Saxon insurrections against, 190; returns to England, and promises to maintain the laws of Edward the Confessor, *ib.*; violates his promise, and becomes tyrannical, 191; remarkable energy of, *ib.*; insurrection in the North suppressed by, 192; repulses the invasion of Canute, king of Denmark, and devastates Northumbria, 193; scarcity and famine in consequence, *ib.*; confiscation of Saxon estates by, 194; gradual restoration of security by the establishment of Norman fiefs, 195; numerical preponderance of the Saxons in the time of, 196; marches to Chester in 1070, and suppresses the insurrection in Mercia, *ib.*; blockades Hereward in the Isle of Ely, and compels him to submit, 198, 199; insurrection in Maine suppressed by, with an army of Normans and English, 201; revolt of nobles in England suppressed, and execution of Waltheof, *ib.*; continental wars and family quarrels of, 202; oath of fealty taken to, 203; Domesday Book compiled by order of, in 1085, *ib.*; Forest Laws enacted by, and misery occasioned by the enclosure of the New Forest, 206; knight service instituted by, 214, *et seq.*; feudal exactions imposed by, 215; besieges Mantes in 1087, is hurt, and dies on Sept. 9, 218; character of, 219
- William II., Rufus, coronation of, as king of England, on Sept. 26, 1087, i. 219; early severities of, and insurrection of the Norman nobles against, 220; insurrection suppressed by the assistance of the English, 221; oppressive proceedings of, *ib.*; description of the court of, 221, 222; repulses Malcolm of Scotland, and builds Carlisle castle, 224; his brother Robert challenges him, and declares war, *ib.*; taxes England to pay the mortgage money for Normandy to duke Robert, 225; sufferings of England from the oppressions of, *ib.*; seizes Normandy in 1095, 230; Westminster Hall built by, *ib.*; killed by Walter Tyrrel on August 1, 1100, 231
- William, prince of Orange, called to the command of the forces of Holland on the invasion in 1672, by Louis XIV., iv. 318; after the murder of the De Witts, he succeeds in expelling the French, *ib.*; marries the princess Mary, 329; concludes the peace of Nimeguen, 331; is invited to interfere in the affairs of England, 433; publishes a declaration announcing his design to come to the assistance of the English people, 434; sails from Helvoetsluys, and lands at Torbay, Nov. 5, 1688, 436; marches to Exeter, 437; his first reception not encouraging, *ib.*; is joined by the duke of Grafton and Churchill, and other commanders, 438; and by the prince of Denmark and the princess Anne, 439; advances to Hungerford, 440; his Dutch guards march to Westminster, 442; sends a message to James, which induces him to leave London,

- and proceed to Rochester, *ib.*; arrives at St. James's, Dec. 19, and is met by peers, members of former parliaments, the lord mayor and citizens, 443; is requested to call a Convention, and in the meanwhile undertake the administration of affairs, 444; parliament meets in 1689, *ib.*; their proceedings, *ib.*; their final resolutions, 445; princess of Orange arrives at Whitehall, *ib.*; Declaration of Rights, *ib.*; William and Mary proclaimed king and queen, 447
- William III., the preservation of England due to his resolution and conduct, v. 65; weak health, character and appearance, 65-67; wishes to govern by a balance of parties; his own secretary for foreign affairs, 67; twelve judges appointed by; jealousy of the English towards his Dutch friends, Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zuylistein, 68; speech on opening parliament, Feb. 18, 1689, 69; desires large supplies, the abolition of the hearth tax, 71, and religious toleration, 72, desires to make all Protestants eligible to government employment, 73; suspected of being adverse to the Anglican church, 74; quells the mutiny at Ipswich, 75; apprehends several persons disaffected towards him, 76; opposition towards, shown, by the Whigs, in the postponing of the Indemnity bill, 77; coronation of William and Mary, April 11; the Commons promise to support him in a war with France, 78; negotiates with Tyrconnel, who faithlessly schemes in James's favour, 80; refuses to proscrib Claverhouse, 88; his letter to the Scotch convention, suggesting a union, 89; the throne of Scotland settled upon himself and Mary, 90; speech of, on meeting parliament, Oct. 19, 1689, asking for supplies to carry on the war with Ireland and France, 97; annoyed by the misunderstandings as to the princess Anne's position, 98; his disgust at the contest between the Whigs and Tories; resolves to go to Holland, leaving the kingdom in the queen's hands, 99; changes his design, and resolves to go to Ireland; dissolves parliament, 100; refuses to inform the Commons who recommended Shales to be commissary of stores, 101; applies himself to remedy the abuses of the government departments, and to prepare for an Irish campaign, 101, 102; his dislike to bribery; deserted by his favourite minister, Shrewsbury, *ib.*; jealousy of parliament in settling the revenue, 103; act of recognition, 104; authorises Carmarthen to present an act of grace for political offences, which was passed, *ib.*; prorogues parliament, places the government in the queen's hands, and leaves London for Ireland, June 14, 1690, 105; his energetic conduct and vigilance in reorganising the army, *ib.*; absurd reports of him in Ireland previous to his landing at Belfast on the 14th of June, 106; his march to the Boyne; considerate conduct of his troops, *ib.*; encamps on the Boyne's bank, opposite to that on which James II. was; while reconnoitring he is wounded; his death is reported, and triumphantly proclaimed in Paris, 107; arrangements for the battle; position of the army; Schomberg commands the centre, his son the right, and William himself the left; courage and perseverance of; gains the battle, July 1; his departure for Ireland the signal for the French to attack the English coast; the queen's energetic conduct, 112; William's movements from place to place; enters Dublin, July 6, 114; captures Waterford on the 21st, 115; determines to invest Limerick, *ib.*; William encamps before Limerick, August 8th, 116; commences the siege on the 19th; but raises it on the 29th, 118; leaves Ireland and lands at Bristol, Sept 6, *ib.*; speech on opening the second session of parliament, Oct 2, 119; large war supply granted him; his position with regard to English and foreign politics, 119 *et seq.*; his mental qualities a security against England's degradation, 121; closes his second parliamentary session, Jan 5, 1691; and leaves for Holland, where he is enthusiastically received, *ib.*; congress at the Hague; stipulates for the religious toleration of the Waldenses; a secret article to that effect is introduced into a treaty signed Feb. 8, 1691, 124; he breaks up the congress; arrives in England, April 13, and leaves again for Holland, May 1, *ib.*; vacancies filled up, *ib.*; plot of Preston and Ashton against William; his clemency and conduct with regard to this and other plots, 125; sends Marlborough into Flanders, 127; plots against his government in Scotland, 130; his lenient disposition towards the Highlanders, 131; examination of the question as to William's share in the Glencoe massacre, 135, 136; causes an inquiry into the massacre, 140, 141; his leniency towards Stair, 141; character of, unjustly assailed, 142-144; Marlborough is dismissed from office; court quarrels, 145; bill for establishing the independence of the judges vetoed by; sets out for Holland, March 5, 1692, 147; Grandva's plot to assassinate William discovered, 151; defeat of William by Luxemburg at the battle of Steinkirk, Aug. 3, 152; his concern for his soldiers at this battle, 153; William returns to England, Oct. 18, 154; speech on meeting parliament, Nov. 4, 155; vetoes a parliamentary reform bill, 159; closes the session of parliament; changes some of the ministry, 161; makes preparations for a campaign, 163; Kensington and Versailles, *ib.*; leaves London to join his army on the continent, Mar. 24, 1693; prepares for battle; defeated at Landen, July 29, 164-166; his conduct in battle, and admirable skill in covering his retreat, 165; thankful that the result was not worse, 166; returns to Kensington, Nov. 167; forms a new ministry, 167, *et seq.*; adopts the principle of government by party, 167, 168; prorogues parliament and sets out for the continent, May, 1694, 171; his vexation at the failure of the Brest expedition, 172; returns from the continent, Nov. 9; opens parliament on the 12th; his unhappiness at the illness of the queen, 173; she dies, Dec. 23, 1694; his grief at her loss, 174; he abstains from business for weeks after, 176; prorogues parliament, becomes reconciled to Anne, and departs for the continent, 178; sits down before Namur, 179; obtains possession of the town, July 28, *ib.*; and of the citadel, Aug. 26, 1695, 180; returns to Kensington, Oct. 10; his enthusiastic reception in England; makes a progress through the country, 181; opens a new parliament, Nov. 22, 183; orders

a grant of an estate in Denbighshire to the earl of Portland, but on the commons showing it to be unconstitutional he recalls it, 185; informs the parliament of a design to assassinate him, and of a threatened invasion of England, *ib.*; assassination plot against, Feb. 1696, 186, *et seq.*; leaves England for the Netherlands, May, 1693; his financial difficulties in carrying on the campaign nearly compel him to forsake his kingdom and go to the Indies, 194, 195; closes parliament, 197; embarks for Holland, April, 1697; saves Brussels, 198; negotiations for peace are carried on at Ryswick, *ib.*; the treaty of Ryswick concluded, Sept. 22, 1697; returns to England, Nov. 26; makes an entry into London, and is enthusiastically received, *ib.*; his speech on opening parliament, Dec. 3, 1697, 201; and in 1698, 204; sends Portland on an embassy to France, the chief point for negotiation being that of the Spanish succession, 207, 208; his vexation at the defenceless state of the kingdom, 210; hires Evelyn's house for Peter the Great; his interview with the czar, 211; grants the Commons' petition to discourage the woollen and encourage the linen trade of Ireland, 213; his answer to the petition against the African and Indian company, 216; his conduct with regard to the company's Darien scheme, 218; its failure rouses the Scotch against, 222; he proposes the union of the two kingdoms, 223; his anxiety for a partition treaty before the death of Charles II., king of Spain, 226; the partition treaties, *ib.*; goes to Lee, and carries on a negotiation for a partition treaty, 227; correspondence of, with his ministers, 228; obtains a blank commission from his lord chancellor, Somers, *ib.*; the first partition treaty signed, October 11, 1698, 229; the second is signed in 1700, but Louis dupes William, and seizes the Spanish crown for his own grandson, 230; speech on opening the new parliament, *ib.*; notwithstanding his anxious desire to retain his troops, they are disbanded by parliament, Dec., *ib.*; he is deprived of his Dutch guards, 231; his mortification, and resolve to abandon England, *ib.*; the speech he intended to deliver to parliament announcing this resolution, 232; but his judgment gets the better of his rash resolve, *ib.*; the dismissal of his Dutch guards, 233; discussion and inquiry into the extent of Irish forfeitures of estates, 234; a bill of resumption is brought in, to which the king reluctantly gave his assent, proroguing the parliament immediately after, 235; Albe-Marle, a new favourite of, 236; persuades Portland not to discontinue the negotiations for a second partition treaty, *ib.*; he sends an armament to protect Sweden; Denmark is driven back, and signs a treaty of peace, 237; his difficulty in governing caused by the party factions, 239; his anxiety on the Spanish succession question, 242; Charles's will is accepted by Louis, and his grandson Philip succeeds to the Spanish throne, 243; conduct of, 244; the new parliament; changes in the ministry, *ib.*; he asks assistance for the States-General, 245; the act of settlement, 246; impeachment of Somers and others for their share in the partition treaties, *ib.*; the popular feeling against the House of Com-

mons, which is presented with the Kentish petition, 247; and the Legion memorial, 248; after long discussions about the partition treaty, the Lords and Commons at length encouraged the king to enter into a league with the States-General against France; he prorogues parliament, June 24; and shortly after embarks for Holland, 249; forms the great alliance, 250; the treaty is signed at the Hague, Sept. 7; the death of James II., *ib.*; Louis proclaims the prince of Wales king of England, by the title of James III.; William confers with Sunderland on the state of affairs in England, 251; returns from Holland, Nov. 4; and dissolves parliament on the 11th, 252; he opens his last parliament, Dec. 30; and delivers his last speech, Dec. 31, *ib.*; the Commons vote him a liberal supply; fractures his collar bone by a fall from his horse; desires the Commons to take steps for the union of England and Scotland, 253; death of, Mar. 8, 1702, 254; discontinued the practice of touching for the king's evil, 272; an encourager of the taste for architecture, 447; prince Albert's high opinion of, viii. 472

William IV., admiral Langara's astonishment at his obedience to orders as midshipman, vi. 452; marries the princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, July 13, 1818, viii. 97; lord high admiral, 1827, 205; accident to, at the lord mayor's banquet, 225; succeeds to the throne on the death of George IV., June 26, 1830, 244; addresses to, on the expediency of providing a regency in case of his decease, 246; speech on proroguing parliament, July 1830, 247; opens parliament, Nov. 2; declares that no reform will be sanctioned by the government, 262; owing to a statement that the duke of Wellington would be attacked, he declines dining with the lord mayor, and postpones his visit to the city, 263, 264; requested to dissolve parliament by lords Grey and Brougham; description of the interview, 276, 277; his excitement; dissolves parliament, 277; opens parliament, 1831; recommends the consideration of the reform question, 278; his constancy; prorogues parliament, 285; again recommends reform, Dec. 1831, 293; desires the lords to give a less decided opposition to the reform bill, 294; petitions to, to create peers if necessary, 295; refuses to create peers at the request of the Cabinet, 296; but ultimately gives a reluctant consent to this measure; uses his personal influence with the opposition peers, 299; and thus secures the passing of the reform bill, 300; his speech on opening parliament, 318, 319; compliments parliament for their exertions bestowed upon public business, 343; desires to effect the union of different party leaders in the same ministry in the hope of settling the Irish church question, 346; dismisses the Melbourne ministry, 349-352; unprecedentedness of this act, 352, 353; his speech, 1835, 355; speech on opening parliament by commission, 1837, 376; his illness and death, June 20, 1837, 376, 377; character of, 377-378; his funeral, 405
Williamson, sir Joseph. See Partition Treaty, v. 229
Wilmington, Spencer, earl of. See Compton, sir S.

- Wilson, a smuggler; robs an excise collector; is apprehended, tried, and found guilty; attempts to escape from prison; heroism displayed in saving his comrade Robertson; executed April 14, 1736, v. 80
- Wilson, John, his writings in "Blackwood's Magazine," viii. 128
- Wilson, Richard, contributes to the first Royal Academy exhibition, vii. 71; classic landscape painter, 73; his works compared with those of Gainsborough, 74
- Wiltshire, a pastoral country; agricultural improvements; bustards formerly abounded in; boldness of this bird; the last specimen probably seen in, in 1805, vii. 21, 22; backward state of farming in, 22
- Wiltshire Downs, ancient British monuments on, i. 12, 13
- Winchelsea, Daniel Finch, earl of, introduces, as earl of Nottingham, the comprehension bill into the House of Lords, v. 73; his despatch to the naval officers, 1692, 149; his differences with Russell, 161, 162; appointed secretary of state, 1702, 259; urges prosecution of the Whigs, 1711, 371
- Winchelsea, earl of, his calumnious letter to the duke of Wellington; refusing to withdraw it, a duel takes place in Batter-sea Fields, Mar. 21, 1820, and an apology tendered at its conclusion, viii. 240
- Winchester, the ancient city of, i. 13
- Winchester, Henry, bishop of, influences the election of his brother Stephen in 1135, i. 250; anounces him at a synod for offences against the clergy, 260; supports Matilda, 263; rejoins his brother and supports his cause by the authority "of the holy see," 266; superseded as legate, 268
- Windham, William, approves of parliament's conduct in expressing its feeling on the situation of the French royal family, 1792, vii. 243; sent to Holland to smooth the difficulties as to the command of the allied army, 312, 313; appointed secretary at war, 1794, 316; manages the Quiberon expedition, 320; superseded by Charles Yorke, 1801, 401; opposes Yorke's motion for an army of reserve; advice as to volunteers, 427; secretary of state for war, 1806, 464; his treatment of the volunteers renders him unpopular, *ib.*; secretary of state, 1806, 577
- Wine, effects of the Methuen treaty upon the wine trade, v. 267; claret the general wine of England prior to 1703; port since that date, *ib.*; restrictions on the importation of French, removed by the Scottish parliament, 312
- Winstanley, his lighthouse at Eddystone; perishes with it, 1703, v. 10, 11
- Winton, George, earl of, impeached of high treason; tried and found guilty, 1716, vi. 19; makes his escape, 21, 22
- Witchcraft, instances of the belief in, 18th century, v. 430, 431
- Wolfe, James, colonel, 1757; volunteers to take Rochefort with the assistance of 500 men, vi. 229; serves under Amherst in the expedition against Louisbourg; his gallantry, 233; made major-general and commander of the Quebec expedition; his dinner with Pitt, 235; his passage of the St. Lawrence; lands near Quebec, 237; his night voyage; takes possession of the heights of Abraham; battle with Montcalm; death, Sept. 13, 1759, 238
- Wolsley, colonel, with colonel Barry, conveys supplies to Enniskillen, and defeats the duke of Berwick, 1689, v. 86
- Wolsey, cardinal Thomas, birth, and rise of, under Henry VIII., ii. 265; acts as war minister to Henry VIII. while almoner, 264; accompanies the expedition to France, and is made bishop of Tournay, 268; made chancellor, cardinal, and papal legate, 275; and archbishop of York, *ib.*; magnificence of, 276; the pope secures his support against the doctrines of Luther, *ib.*; maintains the papal supremacy in England, *ib.*; the ostentation of Wolsey the result of policy, 278; his labour and difficulties as a minister, 279; precipitated by Charles V. in his meeting with Henry at Gravelines, 286; asserted promotion by, of the conviction and execution of the duke of Buckingham in 1521, 287; appointed to mediate between Francis I. and Charles V. 291; aspires to the papal chair, and fails, *ib.*; he endeavours to overawe the Commons into the granting of a large subsidy, 296; fosters dissensions in the court of Scotland, 297; takes the blame on himself of having levied taxes without the consent of parliament, 303; sent ambassador to France, 309; difficulties of, arising from the question of the king's divorce from Catherine, 310; concludes an alliance with France, 311; first troubles of, from the king's attachment to Anne Boleyn, 312, 313; receives the French embassy at Hampton Court, 313; is authorised by the pope to inquire into Henry's marriage, 315; is associated with cardinal Campegus for the purpose, *ib.*; arrival of Campegus in England, 316; interview of Catherine with the legates, 317; dissatisfaction of Henry with, 319; is deprived of the great seal, 320; leaves York Place, 321; rejoicings at his fall, 322; destitution of at Esher, *ib.*; is defended in parliament by Thomas Cromwell, 323; is accused of slandering the church of England in the court of Rome, 324; continued interest of, in his colleges, 332; receives a general pardon, and resides in his see of York, *ib.*; his great popularity there, 333; is arrested for high treason, 334; dies at Leicester, on Nov. 29, 1551, on his journey to London, *ib.*
- Wood, alderman, his conduct in the riots of 1816, viii. 77; moves a vote of censure against government for employing Edwards, 161; entertains queen Caroline at his house, 1820, 166
- Wood, William. See Money, vi. 50-52
- Woodfall, H. S., printer and conductor of the "Public Advertiser," containing Junius's letters, vi. 293; publishes a collected edition of the letters, 294; prosecuted for publishing Wilkes's address to the king, 300
- Wool, act passed in 1689, for the prevention of the exportation of, and encouraging the woollen manufacture of this kingdom, v. 4; considered to be the basis of England's wealth, *ib.*; manufacture of, chiefly in the western counties from time of Edward VI., *ib.*; annual value of wool, and the woollen manufactures at the end of the 17th century, *ib.*; Bristol formerly the seat of the commerce of, and the woollen manufactures, 7, 8; extensively employed in making stockings, 19;

- woollen manufacture of Yorkshire 150 years ago, 26; Kendal green cloth, 29; Ireland applies herself to the woollen manufacture; William is implored to discourage it, 212; Ireland prohibited from exporting, 1782, vi. 443
- Woollett, William, a skilful engraver of landscape paintings, vii. 77, 78
- Wordsworth, William, quotations from his poem on the French revolution, vii. 182; and his sonnets, 416; his writings described by Byron; first appears as a poet in 1793, viii. 118; character of his writings, 118, 119; advantages derived by, from the copyright act of 1842, 465, 466
- Wren, sir Christopher, plan of, for rebuilding the city of London, iv. 289; alterations of, at Windsor Castle, 355; he is extensively patronised by William, v. 447; description of his mind; becomes assistant surveyor-general, 448; studies the architecture of France, 449; his plan of rebuilding London, 450; commences the erection of St. Paul's, 1675, *ib.*; his first plan; the cathedral finished, 1710, 451; criticism on the building, 452; his skill shown in the London parish churches, such as St. Stephen's, Walbrook, 452, 453; other buildings erected by, 454; retires from public life, *ib.*; dies at the age of 90, and is buried in the choir of St. Paul's, 455
- Wurmser, Austrian general; succeeds Beaulieu in the command of the army in Italy, 1796, vii. 328; defeated by Bonaparte, *ib.*; defends Mantua; capitulates; chivalrous treatment of, by Bonaparte, 343
- Wurtemberg, duke of, joins Marlborough; shares the alternate command with him, v. 118; his part in the battle of Steinkirk, 152
- Wyat, sir Thomas, insurrection of, against the marriage of queen Mary with Philip of Spain, iii. 61; he marches to London, 63; and is defeated, 64; is executed, 68
- Wyatt, James, his architectural designs, vii. 81, 82; viii. 141, 142
- Wyatt, Samuel, architect of Trinity House, Tower Hill, viii. 142
- Wyattville, sir Jeffrey, his earlier architectural works, viii. 142
- Wycliffe, prosecuted for his opinions, i. 487; supported by the duke of Lancaster, 488; resistance of, to Peter's pecc, 489; translates the New Testament, *ib.*; the precursor of the Reformation, 490; the religious opinions of, not the cause of the insurrection in 1381, ii. 7, 8; many of his opinions declared heretical by a synod of divines, 8; petitions against the Act for the punishment of preachers of heresies, 9; it is repealed, *ib.*; his translation of the Scriptures is proscribed, 10; his death in 1384, *ib.*; enduring effects of his labours, *ib.*; the council of Constance orders his body to be disinterred and burnt, 54
- Wykeham, William of, deprived of his temporalities and dismissed from court, i. 487; notice of his constructions and institutions, 488
- Wyndham, sir William, a Tory leader; attacks Walpole, 1734, vi. 73; his portrait of Walpole, *ib.*; secedes from the House of Commons; his adieu; and reproof from Walpole, 95; died, 1740, 96
- Wyoming, description and state of, vi. 395; de-
- struction of the forts, and massacre of the inhabitants, 1778, 396
- YANDABOO, treaty of, signed Feb. 24, 1826, viii. 220
- Yarmouth, lord, empowered to negotiate for peace, 1806, vii. 469
- York Town taken possession of by lord Cornwallis, 1781, vi. 425
- York, rise of the House of, ii. 130; character of Richard, duke of, *ib.*; popularity of, 134; takes up arms against Somerset, 135; is arrested, *ib.*; is elected Protector by the peers, 136; is superseded, 137; marches towards London, *ib.*; wins the first battle of St. Alban's, on May 22, 1455, 138; condnets Henry to London, 139; is appointed Protector a second time, *ib.*; is again superseded, 141; absents himself from the king's councils, *ib.*; attends in London, in 1458, an attempted reconciliation of the York and Lancastrian factions, *ib.*; commencement of the Civil War of the Roses, in 1459, 142; is declared a traitor by the parliament at Coventry, 143; flies to Ireland, *ib.*; returns from Ireland, after the battle of Northampton, in 1460, *ib.*; claims the crown in a parliament at Westminster, 144; the peers compromise the claim by enacting that York should succeed on Henry's death, *ib.*; queen Margaret resists the compromise, and assembles an army, *ib.*; battle of Wakefield, and death of York, on Dec. 31, 1460, 145
- York, the duchess of, takes refuge, in 1460, in the chambers of John Paston, in the Temple, ii. 143; notice of her family there with her, 144
- York, Frederick, duke of, son of George III., born Aug. 16, 1763, vi. 276; leads the English guards against the French, vii. 281, 282; besieges Valenciennes; the garrison capitulates, July 28, 1793; advances against Dunkirk; compelled to raise the siege, 282; his forbearance and generosity, 283; announces the French decree of no quarter to the British, 308; defeats Pichegru, May 10, 1794, 311; he is recalled on account of incompetency for his position, 312, 313; loses Holland, 313, 314; supersedes sir R. Abercromby in the command of the British and Russian armies in Holland, 1793, 386; his reverses and incompetency, 386, 387; charges brought against him for misrule at the Horse Guards, 508; parliamentary inquiry into his conduct; his disgraceful connection with Mrs. Clarke, 508, 510; his acquittal; resigns his office of commander-in-chief, Mar. 20, 1809, 509; appointed the king's custos, with an allowance of 10,000*l.*, viii. 99, 100; commander-in-chief, 158; his speech on the Roman Catholic Relief bill, 1825; sensation caused by it, 201, 202; his death, Jan. 5, 1827, and burial, Jan. 20, 202
- York, James, duke of. See James II.
- Yorke, Charles, secretary of war, 1801, vii. 401; proposes to raise an army of reserve of 50,000; and subsequently to enrol every fighting man, 1803, 427; home secretary, 1803, 577
- Yorkshire, population of, in 18th century, v. 26; the five great clothing towns in, *ib.*; travelling in, *temp.* queen Anne; industry of, *temp.*

- queen Anne, *ib.*; the marquis of Rockingham's example to the farmers of, vii. 27; cultivation of the East Riding wolds; rapid agricultural progress promoted by Legard's experiments, 27, 28; moors of; improvers, 28; James Croft, the collier, 28, 29; dialect of Craven in, 29, 30
- Young, Arthur, quotations from, illustrative of the agriculture of England, vii. 4-12; 16-18; 22, 23; 27-30; and that of Ireland, 38, 39; notices the prevalence of farming and weaving being the employment of one man in Ireland, 46; quotations from his "Travels in France," illustrating the opinions and state of society in, and agricultural condition of, France, vii, 149, 150; 158-160; 162-167; 175-177; 184
- Young, Edward, his description of ladies' employment, v. 426; his "Night Thoughts" published, 1741, vii. 86, 87
- ZARAGOZA, victory of the allies won near, 1710, v. 366; siege of, 1808, vii. 501
- Zonaras, account by, of the speech of Caractacus, i. 9
- Zorndorf, battle of, 25 Aug. 1758, vi. 233

INDEX TO VOL. IX.

ABERDEEN, earl of, is consulted by the Queen, and charged to form a government, 128; his ministry, 129; the Queen's satisfaction with his cabinet, 130; his character, *ib.*; his policy declared, *ib.*; states that the policy of her Majesty's Government is a policy of peace July 23, 1853, 154; lord John and the premiership, 156; his passionate desire for peace, 195; the fruit of his hesitation is war, 196; Russia misled by him, 197; the difference between himself and lord Palmerston, *ib.*; his complacency at having "averted" war, 199; disagrees with lord Palmerston's advice for the fleets to enter the Black Sea, 200; echoes Falkland's cry for peace! 218; his apology for Russia, 231; the Queen's letter to him, 232; his explanation, 233; discontent and discord in his cabinet, 237; is spoken of by Prince Albert as "*d'une probité et d'un cœur d'or*," 238; dissensions in his cabinet, 292; rejects lord John's proposal regarding a Minister of War, *ib.*; his opinion on the object of lord John's resignation, 294; his ministry defeated on Mr. Roebuck's Motion for Enquiry, 295; resigns office, *ib.*

Abyssinian War, the, 1868, 389; its cost, 370.

Act for punishment of persons threatening the Queen, 50.

Act of Settlement, 4.

Adelaide, Queen, death of, 49; mention of in Queen's speech, 51.

Adrianople surrendered by Turks to Russians, 414.

Adullamites, whig malcontents so named by Mr. Bright, 383.

Afghanistan, the Shah of Persia renounces all claim to dominion in, 1857, 329; war in, 1878, 420; 1879, 422.

Airer, general, his opinion that the army is "here for the winter" (*i.e.*, in the Crimea), 261; writes lord Raglan's order to lord Lucan, 273.

Alabama Claims settled, 401.

Albert, prince, accompanies the Queen on her visit to Ireland, 27; letter on German affairs, 36; proposes Exhibition of Industry of All Nations, 43; utilizes sewage at Osborne, 49; suggests a compromise respecting the Greek quarrel, 58; eulogy on sir Robert Peel, 64; his interview with lord Palmerston respecting foreign despatches, 70; his relation to the Great Exhibition, 89; retrospect of his course, 90; baron Stockmar's anticipations regarding him, *ib.*; his own view of his position as consort of the sovereign, *ib.*; his ideal of constitutional monarchy, 91; his qualifications, 92; the "Spectator" on his speech at York, *ib.*; success as a speaker, *ib.*; his first public speech, 93; his interest in the labouring classes, *ib.*; elected chancellor of the University of Cambridge, 94; opposed to the "truck-system," *ib.*; proposes reform of studies in the university, *ib.*; presides at the conference on National Education, 95; his speech, *ib.*; education of the royal children, *ib.*; lays first stone of docks at Great Grimby, 96; head of Royal Commission on the Fine Arts, *ib.*; first idea of the Great Exhibition, 97; President of the Commission for promoting an Exhibition of the Works of all Nations, *ib.*; speech at the Mansion House, 98; purpose of the exhibition, *ib.*; his opinion of lord Palmerston, 110; emotion at the funeral of the duke of Wellington, 122; objects to a parliamentary enquiry into the working of the Irish system of education, 150; letters on lord John Russell's claim to the premiership, 156; proposed statue to the Prince: his letter, 160; attacked by

press and public for interference in politics, 161; his explanation, *ib.*; duties of his position, *ib.*; his vindication in parliament, 162; the "vigorous constitutional essay" of baron Stockmar, *ib.*; on the Eastern Question, 192; at the opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 227; his visit to Nanoleon at Boulogne, 238; speaks of lord Aberdeen as "*d'une probité et d'un cœur d'or*," *ib.*; his memorandum on the absence of information regarding the Crimea, 239; on the need of reinforcements for the Crimea, 236; his plan, 287; proposes a foreign legion, *ib.*; his memorandum concerning "the real cause and ultimate objects of the Russian war," 288; groundless suspicions regarding him, 293; his speech at the Trinity House, 1855, 301; accompanies the Queen on a visit to the emperor and empress at Paris, 307; lights a bonfire at Balmoral on receipt of the news of the fall of Sebastopol, 313; opinion on the continuance of the war, 314; on the state of the Crimean army, 1855, 317; his view of the Russian proposition regarding the Black Sea, *ib.*; resists proposal for Prussia to be represented at the Paris conference, 320; on the treaty of Peace, 321; is made PRINCE CONSORT, 333; his letter to baron Stockmar on the financial crisis of 1857, *ib.*; accompanies the Queen on a visit to Nanoleon III. at Cherbourg, 359; prognosticates the French war against Austria in Italy, *ib.*; his last "memorandum," 371; illness and death, *ib.*

Albert Victor of Wales, his birth, 376.

Aldershot, camp established at, 131.

Alexander II. of Russia, accession to the throne, 298; his manifesto, *ib.*; orders a new levy of men after the fall of Sebastopol, 313; visits his army in the Crimea, 316; emancipates the serfs, 375; declares his patience exhausted, and proceeds to carry out the "mandate of Europe" by declaring war against Turkey, 1877, 413.

Alexandra, Princess of Denmark, her marriage to the Prince of Wales, 374.

Alfred, prince, duke of Edinburgh, his marriage to the grand duchess Marie of Russia, 405.

Alice, princess, death of, 421.

Allahabad recaptured from the rebels by general Neill, 1856, 346.

Alma, march of the armies towards, 246; battle of, 247.

Alm Bagh, engagement at, under sir Henry Havelock, 1856, 348; sir Colia Campbell's army established at, 349.

Anapa evacuated by the Russians, 310.

Annexation of the Punjab, 42.

Anti-Corn Law League revived, 1852, 114.

Arden, colonel, sent to Constantinople by France to report on its defences, 220.

Argyll, duke of, begins his official career as Lord Privy Seal in lord Aberdeen's Ministry, 128.

Art, prince Albert and the encouragement of, 96.

Arthur, prince, duke of Connaught, married to princess Louise of Prussia, 405.

Ashantee war, 404.

Assaults on the Queen, 50.

Assessed Taxes revised by Mr. Gladstone, 142.

Atrocities of Russian soldiers in the Crimea, 252.

Attack taken by Dost Mohammed, 41.

Australia, gold discovered in, 81.

Austria, revolutionary movement in, 1849, 12.

Azimoolah Khan, an associate of Nana Sahib, 345; at Cawnpore, 346.

Azov, sea of, expedition to, 1855, 310.

- BALACLAVA**, arrival of the allied forces at, 256; description of its defences, 269; battle of, *ib.*; result of the battle, 277.
- Ballard**, lieutenant, at Silistria, 224; and Gurgevo, 225.
- Ballot Act** passed for parliamentary and municipal elections, 401.
- Bank Holiday Act** passed, 400.
- Bank Charter Act** suspended, 1157, 334; 1866, 382.
- Baring, Mr.**, his report on the Bulgarian atrocities, 411.
- Bashi-Bazouks**, the, let loose in Bulgaria, 411.
- Bathiany**, Louis, taken prisoner, tried for treason, and shot at Pesth, 37.
- Battle of Sadowa or Kouiggratz**, 334.
- Battle of the Teheruaya**, 312.
- Beaconsfield**, earl of, *see* Disraeli.
- Besika Bay**, fleet sent to, by England, 37; English and French fleets ordered to, 1853, 189; British fleet sent to, 1876, 411.
- Board Schools** established, 393.
- Bomarsund**, capture and destruction of, 215.
- "Bomba,"** king, yields to the English demands, 305.
- Bosquet**, general, his opinion of the charge of the Light Brigade, 275; supports the Guards at Inkerman, 281.
- Bowring**, sir John, demands satisfaction of Commissioner Yeh, 330.
- Bismarck** made minister of Prussia, 1862, 373; publishes the draft of a proposed secret treaty between France and Prussia, 399; proposes the Berlin Congress, 417.
- "Black Friday"** in the city, 332.
- Black Sea**, the fleet at, under admiral Dundas and sir Edmund Lyons, 220; clauses of the Peace of Paris abrogated, 399.
- Brand**, Mr. Henry, elected speaker, 401.
- Bribery Act** passed, 159.
- Bricks**, duty on, repealed, 54.
- Bright**, Mr., opinion on Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 83; his scheme of reform, 112; his "peace" views on the Russian question, 208; declares the war to be neither just nor necessary, 218; censures the ministry of lord Aberdeen, and denounces them as guilty of the suffering and bloodshed caused by the war, 290; his solemn pathos regarding the war, 291; is rejected by Manchester, but afterwards returned by Birmingham, 332; denounces the India bill of the Derby administration as "clap-trap," 354; his advocacy of reform, 361; his idea of a commercial treaty with France, 363; speech at Birmingham on reform, 377; on the death of Cobden, *ib.*; speech on reform at Rochdale, 333; bestows on the whig malcontents the nickname of "Aduhamites," *ib.*; advocates a peasant proprietorship in Ireland, 391; enters Mr. Gladstone's cabinet, 394.
- Brougham**, lord, a universal censor, 39; carries "An Act to amend the Law of Evidence," 87; his eulogy on the duke of Wellington, 119; his death, 394.
- Brwu**, sir George, sent to Constantinople to charter steamers, 240; captures Kertch, 310.
- Bruat**, admiral, joins sir Edmund Lyons in bombarding Kinburn, 314.
- Bucharest**, peace of, 169.
- Buda-Pesth**, capital of Hungary, 13.
- Bulgakov**, bivouac of the English army on the, 1854, 246.
- Bulgarian atrocities**, the, 411.
- Buol**, count, his circular on lord John Russell's speeches after the Vienna conference, 302.
- Burgoyne**, sir John, sent to Constantinople by England to report on its defence, 220; sides with the French against attacking Sebastopol on the north side, 253; and opposes sir E. Lyons' proposed attack, 261; on our inadequacy of means, 291; on the state of the army, 1853, 308.
- Burmah**, second war with, 131.
- Butler**, captain, at Silistria, 224.
- CABLE** successfully laid between Ireland and America, 385.
- Cairns**, lord, made Lord Chancellor, 390.
- Cambridge University**, commission of enquiry issued, 159.
- Cambridge**, duke of, in the Crimea, 231-82; appointed commander-in-chief, 322.
- Cambridge**, duke of, viceroys of Hanover, his death, 64.
- Cambridge**, university of, Prince Albert elected chancellor, 94.
- Campbell**, sir Colin, is entrusted with the defence of Balacava, 263; his and lord Lucan's commands independent of each other, 269; repulses attack of Russian cavalry, 270; is sent to India as commander-in-chief, 348; reaches Cawnpore, is established at Alum Bagh, and relieves Lucknow, 349; marches back again to Cawnpore and defeats the Gwalior troops, 350; finally captures Lucknow, *ib.*; and announces the campaign at an end, *ib.*
- Canada**, dominion of, united under a viceroy, 338.
- Canning**, George, on peace and war, 212.
- Canning**, earl, succeeds lord Dalhousie as Governor-general of India, 329 and 341; declares war against Persia, 329; intercepts troops sent to China, 334; his energy and firmness, 344; issues proclamation to the native army, *ib.*; vote of thanks from Parliament, 352; his proclamation to the chiefs and people of Oude, 354; is made first Viceroy of India, his proclamation on the transference of India to the crown, 357; his death, 379.
- Cannon**, general, at Silistria, 224; and Gurgevo, 225.
- Caurobert**, general, takes command of the French forces in the Crimea, 256; opposes attack on Sebastopol, 261; at the battle of Balacava, 270; does not spare troops to defend Mount Inkerman, 279; abandons the offensive at Inkerman, 281; his view of the position of the allies after Inkerman, 283; resigns his command, 309.
- Canton**, hostilities at, 1857, 330; European factories burnt, *ib.*; taken by the English, 334; and held as a quarantine, 335.
- Cardigan**, lord, his construction of lord Lucan's order, 272; receives orders for the charge of the Light Brigade, 273; points out the Russian battery, 273; "no choice but to obey," 274; the charge, 275; his address to the survivors, *ib.*; receives the full approval of lord Raglan, 276.
- Cardwell**, his bill for the abolition of purchase in the army, 400.
- Carwarvon**, lord, resigns his office in lord Beaconsfield's cabinet, 415.
- Cathcart**, sir George, his delay at Balacava, 272, 274; re-establishes Turks in 4th redoubt, 277; death at Inkerman, 282.
- Cattle market**, new, 83.
- Cattle plague**, outbreak of, 331; appointment of a royal commission, *ib.*
- Cattley**, Mr., his warning of the Crimean winter, 267.
- Cawnpore**, mutiny at, 345; first massacre at, 346; march of sir H. Havelock, *ib.*; massacre of women and children: the *Well*, 347; Nana Sahib blows up the magazine, *ib.*; relief of the city by sir Henry Havelock, *ib.*
- Cavagnari**, sir L. N., assassinated with his staff at Cabul, 422.
- Cavour**, count, on the mistake of revolutionary means, 38; succeeds in joining Sardinia with England and France (1855) in the Russian war, 299; his declaration about Italy at the Paris Congress, 1856; defiance of Austria, 325; his treaty with Napoleon III. at Plombières, 1853, 359; his cession of Savoy and Nice to France, 366.
- Cemeteries**, suburban, act passed to establish, 52.
- Census**, the, of 1851, 83; of 1861, 370; of 1871, 400; of 1841, '51, '61, '71, '81, 405.
- Cetewayo**, king, war with, 421.
- Charles Albert**, success and reverse of, 1848-9, 11; abdicates in favour of his son, 33; dies broken-hearted at Oporto, *ib.*
- Chasseurs d'Afrique**, 4th, at Balacava, 275.
- Chersonese**, the, description of, 256.
- Chevalier**, M. Michel, negotiates with Mr. Cobden the French Treaty of Commerce, 1860, 364.
- Chillianwallah**, battle of, 41.
- China**, hostilities with, announced in the Queen's Speech, 1857, 329; the affair of the *lorcha Arrow*, 330; sir J. Bowring and Yeh, *ib.*; hostilities at

- Canton, *ib.*; European factories burnt, *ib.*; lord Elgin sent as envoy, 332; capture of Canton, 334; Yeh sent prisoner to Calcutta, 335; Treaty of Tien-Tsin, 1858, *ib.*; breach of the treaty, *ib.*; capture and convention of Peking, destruction of the emperor's summer palace, 336.
- Chobham, training camp established at, 131.
- Cholera, second visitation of, in England, 1849, 43; its causes and remedies, 44; statistics respecting, 45; third visitation, 46; fourth visitation, 49; its cessation, *ib.*; its ravages in the Crimea, in the armies and fleets at Varna and elsewhere, 235.
- Chupatties passed preceding the mutiny in India, 342.
- Charcharyards closed by Act of Parliament, 52.
- Civil service, competitive examination introduced, 307.
- Civil war in America, 368; end of, 377.
- Clarendon, lord, viceroy of Ireland, 26; advocates Queen visiting Ireland, 27; letter to sir George Grey, 28; is made Foreign Secretary in lord Aberdeen's Ministry, 1852, 128; expounds the views of the Ministry on the Czar's overtures, 183; despatch respecting Russia's claim to a protectorate, 187; and on measures for the protection of the Sultan, 188; replies to lord Derby on the Eastern Question, 205; says we are "drifting nearer to war," 208; replies to lord Lyndhurst's great speech on the Russian war, 231; his despatch on England's "terms of peace," 236; expression of the Queen's confidence in him, 318; represents England at Paris during the negotiations for peace, 1856, *ib.*; defends treaty of peace, 321; his views regarding the Belgian press, 325; at the Foreign Office in earl Russell's Ministry, 1855, 379; his death, 1870, 393.
- Clerkenwell House of Detention partially blown down by Fenians, 339.
- Clothilde, princess, her marriage to Prince Napoleon, 359.
- Coal mines, act for inspection, 53.
- Cobden, Richard, challenges protectionists to argue, 21; speech at Aylesbury, *ib.*; motion to reduce national expenditure, 22; demands large reduction in expenditure, 54; condemns lord Palmerston's foreign policy, 61; proposal for mutual disarmament, 87; his "peace views" on the Russian question, 1854, 208; urges that the continuance of the Russian war was unjustifiable, 290; moves a resolution respecting the Chinese war of 1857, 331; and being joined by a combination of parties, defeats lord Palmerston's Government, *ib.*; loses his seat in Parliament, 332; declines the Presidency of the Board of Trade in lord Palmerston's administration, 362; negotiates Treaty of Commerce with France, 364; on lord Palmerston's scheme of the National Defence, 367; his death, 377; testimony to his worth by lord Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright, *ib.*
- Cockburn, sir Alexander, speech on foreign policy, 61; dissents from the Geneva award, 401.
- Colonies, Australian, act concerning government of, 53.
- Commercial Treaty with France, 364.
- Competitive examination introduced into the Civil Service, 307.
- Confederate States of America, 368.
- Consols, fluctuation of, on receipt of news of the *Coup d'Etat* in Paris, 106; fall of, 1854, 217; rise 2 per cent. on the death of the Czar Nicholas, 293.
- Conspirators, French, 104.
- Constitution, stability of, 2; fundamental principles of, 4, 5.
- Constitutional principles, settlement of, 4.
- Constitutional relations of Sovereign and Ministers, 66.
- Convention between England, France, and Sardinia, 1855, 299.
- Convocation, movement for revival of, 77.
- Copyright, International, with France, 117.
- Cotton Famine, the, 1862, 373.
- County Courts, jurisdiction extended, 53.
- "*Coup d'Etat*" in Paris, 105.
- Cranworth, lord, made Lord Chancellor, 1852, 129.
- Crim-Tartary, 241.
- Crimea confirmed to Russia, 1792, 163.
- Crimea, description of, 241.
- Criméan war, *see* Eastern Question.
- Cross, Mr., Home Secretary, 404; carries a bill for the improvement of dwellings of the working classes, 408; his reply to Mr. Gladstone's attack on the foreign policy of the Government, 413.
- Crown and Parliament, mutual relations of, 5.
- Crystal Palace of Hyde Park, 99.
- Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 101; opened by the Queen and Prince Albert, 228.
- Customs Tariff revised by Mr. Gladstone, 145.
- Custoza, battle of, 384.
- Cyprus assigned by Turkey to England, 417.
- DALHOUSIE, earl, Governor-general of India, 44; proclaims the annexation of the province of Pegu, 131; his declaration regarding peace in India, 1856, 328; resigns office of Governor-general, *ib.*; returns home and dies, 1860, 329.
- Dalling, lord, remarks on lord Palmerston, 109.
- Dannenberg, general, at Inkerman, 281.
- Delhi, mutineers march to, 1856, 342; taken by the mutineers, and the king proclaimed Muzul emperor, 343; recaptured by generals Nicholson and Wilson, 347.
- Denison, Mr. John Evelyn, elected Speaker of the House of Commons, 332; retires from the Speakership, and is created viscount Ossington, 400.
- Denmark, integrity of, guaranteed, 37.
- Derby, earl of, *see* Stanley, lord.
- Dhuleep Singh, maharajah, peace made in his name, 39; brought to England, 42.
- Disraeli, Benjamin, leader of protectionists in House of Commons, 8; assails the foreign action of the Government, 16; on Free Trade and reciprocity, 17; opposes repeal of Navigation Laws, 19; on local taxation, *ib.*; motion on the state of the nation, 20; proposes to restore a certain measure of Protection, *ib.*; new scheme of a sinking fund, 21; on the question of Jewish disabilities, 23; always upholds cause of Jews, 24; moves for a Committee on the cost of the Poor Law, 52; opinion on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 82, 83; motion on agricultural distress, 83; opinion on lord Palmerston's fall after his action in the *coup d'Etat* question, 109; takes office as Chancellor of the Exchequer in lord Derby's first administration, 115; begins "educating his party," *ib.*; his address and opinion on the Protectionist policy, 115; introduces a provisional budget, 1852, 116; abandons the doctrines of protection, 117; declaration on the principle of Free Trade, 121; opposes Mr. Villiers' Free Trade resolutions, 123; introduces the Budget, 124; invective "the ornament of debate," 125; his defiant speech, *ib.*; defeat and resignation, 127; his sentiment regarding lord John Russell, 158; his affection for Prince Albert, 162; his speech on the expected hostilities with Russia, 1854, 206; on Mr. Roebuck's motion for an enquiry, 294; on lord John's conduct at Vienna and since, and on lord Palmerston's Ministry, 303; opposes sir G. C. Lewis's Budget of 1857, but is defeated, 330; supports Mr. Cobden on the Chinese war question, 331; on the dowry and annuity to the Princess Royal, 333; holds that the Indian Mutiny was a national and not merely a military revolt, 337; protests against wreaking vengeance in India, 347; in office for the second time as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1858, 353; his difficulties, courage, and patience, *ib.*; announces that the misconceptions between France and England were terminated, *ib.*; disapproves of lord Canning's Oude proclamation, 354; his speech at Slough on the collapse of the Opposition, 355; significant words on the passing of the Act transferring India to the Crown, 356; introduces a Reform Bill, 1859, 361; which is defeated, 362; appeal to the country, *ib.*; vote of want of confidence carried, and resignation of the Ministry, *ib.*; moves a vote of censure on lord Palmerston's Ministry, 377; eulogy on Richard Cobden, *ib.*; is the real head of lord Derby's third administration, 385; proposes to treat Reform by way of resolutions: the "Ten Minutes' Bill," *ib.*; introduces

and carries the second Reform Act, 1868, 386; his Budget, 388; is made Prime Minister on the resignation of lord Derby, 390; his reply to Mr. Gladstone's proposition to disestablish the Irish church, 392; is defeated by a majority of 61,393; appeals to the country, *ib.*; and, on learning the result of the elections, resigns, 394; his famous "Bath letter," 403; his address to his constituents, 404; forns his second ministry, *ib.*; carries out long-meditated views regarding India: visit of Prince of Wales to India: Queen declared Empress of India, 408; purchase of shares in the Suez canal, 409; is created EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, *ib.*; his speech on the Eastern Question, 1876, 410; his opinion of Abd-ul-Hamid II., *ib.*; his declaration regarding the despatch of the fleet to Besika Bay, 1876, 411; sums up his foreign policy as "conditional neutrality," 414; calls out army reserves and brings Indian troops to Malta, 416; attends Congress at Berlin, 417; his return, bringing "peace with honour," 419; his defence of the Treaty, *ib.*; attainment of a "scientific frontier" in India, 420; dissolves Parliament and is defeated by a large majority, 423; resigns office, 424; his death, 1881, *ib.*; honours to his memory, *ib.*

Divorce Act passed, 333.

Don Pacifico, affair of, 56.

Dost Mohammed joins the Sikhs, 41; and escapes to Khyber Pass, 42.

Drainage of London, scheme of, 48.

Droouy de Lhays, M., at the Vienna Conference, 299; resigns his office as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 300.

Dublin Exhibition of 1853, 155.

Dufferin, lord, commissioner to Damascus, 368.

Dundas, vice-admiral, receives letter from lord Raglan on their "duty," 264; failure of his attack on Sebastopol, 266.

"Durham letter" of lord John Russell, 80

EASTERN QUESTION, the, the Czar sounds sir H. Seymour as to the "Sick Man's" inheritance, 133; assurances of the English ministers as to the prospects of peace, 155; difficulty of tracing the history of the conflict, 164; retrospect, A. D. 876 to A. D. 1850, 163; the Ottoman Turks in Europe, *ib.*; Muscovite claim to Constantinople, 166; policy of Peter the Great, 167; his alleged will, *ib.*; effect of Catherine's victories, 168; the Crimea confided to Russia, 1792, *ib.*; Sebastopol commenced, *ib.*; peace of Bucharest, 1812, 169; treaty of Adrianople, *ib.*; independence of the Roumanian principalities, *ib.*; the Egyptian Question, 1833-1841, 170; the Straits' convention, *ib.*; sir Stratford Canning at Constantinople, 171; visit of the Czar Nicholas to England, 1844, *ib.*; the Nesselrode memorandum, 1844, 172; the "repose" of Turkey, 173; Russian aims and disclaimers, 174; two forces swaying Nicholas, 175; reforms urged on Turkey by England, 175-6; France the first disturber, 1850, 177; lord John Russell on the dispute, 177-8; question of the Holy Places, 178; demands of M. Lavalette, *ib.*; concessions to France, 1852, 179; indignation of Russia, *ib.*; Russian advance towards the Principalities, *ib.*; phases of English feeling, 180; the "Times" on the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, *ib.*; the Czar's conversations with sir Hamilton Seymour, 181; the Czar's views respecting Constantinople, *ib.*; his scheme of partition with England, 182; answer of England, 183; the interests of Austria, 184; affair of Montenegro, 185; colonel Rose and the British fleet, *ib.*; Russian demand for a secret treaty with the Porte, 186; its meaning, *ib.*; question of the Holy Places settled, 187; the Russian ultimatum claiming a protectorate, *ib.*; departure of Menchikov from Constantinople, 188; English and French fleets ordered to Besika Bay, 189; occupation of the Principalities, 190; the Czar proclaims a war of religion, *ib.*; protest of Turkey, *ib.*; interests of the Great Powers, 191; especially of England—having regard to her Indian Empire, *ib.*; the Vienna conference and note, 192; English and French fleets called to Constantinople, 193; the Porte issues a conditional declaration of war, *ib.*; the Czar's

religious appeal, 194; excitement in England, *ib.*; lord Palmerston on the situation, 197; difference between lords Aberdeen and Palmerston, *ib.*; concert with Europe broken, 198; England and France in accord, *ib.*; the amended Vienna note rejected by Russia, 199; the fleets ordered to Constantinople, *ib.*; motives for supporting Turkey, 200; beginning of hostilities on the Danube; the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, 201; the massacre of Sinope, 202; indignation thereat in England and France, *ib.*; lord Palmerston's resignation and return to office, 203; Louis Napoleon's proposal adopted by the Cabinet, *ib.*; English and French fleets enter the Black Sea, *ib.*; retirement of the Russian fleet to Sebastopol, 204; new proposals of the Conference, *ib.*; hopes destroyed; indignation in Russia, 205; diplomatic relations broken off, *ib.*; the Czar's terms rejected at Vienna, 206; lord John's speech: "May God defend the right!" *ib.*; lord Palmerston's memorable defence of the ministry, 207; the opinions of the "peace party," 208; deputation of Quakers to the Czar, *ib.*; war manifesto issued by Nicholas, 209; action of Austria, *ib.*; summons of England and France to evacuate the Principalities, 210; rejected by Russia, *ib.*; England and France to a state of war with Russia, March 19, 1854, *ib.*; troops embark for Malta, 211; departure of the Guards, 212; inadequate preparations, *ib.*; sailing of the Baltic fleet, 215; capture and destruction of Bomarsund, *ib.*; publication of the Czar's conversations with sir H. Seymour, 216; treaty of England and France with Turkey, *ib.*; official declaration of war by England, 217; treaty between France and England, 1854, 218; protocol of the four Powers, *ib.*; treaty of Austria and Prussia, *ib.*; Austria the first to act, 219; first movements of England and France, 220; the fleet in the Black Sea, *ib.*; the allied forces at Gallipoli, *ib.*; the commanders-in-chief—lord Raglan and St. Arnaud, 221; council at the Tuileries, 222; advance of the armies to Varna, *ib.*; campaign on the Danube, 223; Turkish victory at Oltienitza, *ib.*; Paskievich's plan of campaign, *ib.*; siege of Silistria, 224; repulse of the Russians under Gortchakov, 225; Battle of Gurgevo, *ib.*; end of the attack upon the Danube, and retreat of Gortchakov to Bucharest, 226; the Principalities evacuated by Russia and occupied by Austria, *ib.*; the first objective of the war attained, *ib.*; eagerness of the English people for war, 228; declaration of the "Times" regarding Sebastopol, 229; views of lord Palmerston, the duke of Newcastle, and Napoleon III. on the question, 229-30; lord Lyndhurst's great speech, 230; decision of the Cabinet to invade the Crimea, 233; the duke of Newcastle's despatch to lord Raglan, 234; his decision, 235; England's "Terms of Peace," 236; the "Times" again on the dilatory conduct of the campaign, 237; Cholera in the armies and fleets, 238; fire in the British magazines at Varna, 239; want of information respecting the Crimea, *ib.*; French proposal for delay overcome by lord Raglan, *ib.*; embarkation of the allied forces at Varna for the Crimea, 240; landing of the troops at Old Fort, 244; dangerous march in the enemy's country, 245; bivouac on the Bulganak, 246; Menchikov in command of the Russian forces, *ib.*; extent of the Russian forces, *ib.*; Menchikov's character and plan of defence, 247; battle of the ALMA, *ib.*; numbers and losses on both sides, 248; results of the victory, 249; receipt of the news at home, *ib.*; exaggerated accounts, 250; lord Raglan's despatches, his opinion of the troops, *ib.*; Sebastopol and its fortifications, 251; refusal of St. Arnaud to march and attack north side, 252; great opportunity consequently lost, 253; the flank march, 254; the English at Bialaava, 255; death of St. Arnaud, who is succeeded in the command by general Canrobert, 256; the Chersonese, position of the allies there, *i.*; defences of Sebastopol—the Flag-staff Bastion, Redan, and Malakoff, 257; number and resources of the garrison, *ib.*; ships of war sunk across the harbour's mouth, 258; Menchikov's army quits Sebastopol, 259; defence

- of Sebastopol by Kornilov and Todleben, 260; the allies lose a third great opportunity, *ib.*; the allies shut up in the Chersonese, 261; their positions before Sebastopol, 262; the Inkerman Heights, *ib.*; separate defence of Balacava, 263; Menchikov's advance, *ib.*; first cannonade of Sebastopol, 264; failure of the naval attack on the sea forts, 266; a week's cannonade, *ib.*; Todleben's energetic defence, *ib.*; Mr. Cattley's warning of the Russian winter, 267; lord Raglan's warning, *ib.*; cholera in the army, *ib.*; Liprandi's army at Tchorgzun, 268; description of Balacava and its defences, 269; the independent commands of lord Lucan and sir Colin Campbell, *ib.*; Menchikov's plan of attack, *ib.*; battle of BALACAVA, 270; charge of the Heavy Brigade under Scarlett, 271; lord Raglan's order to lord Lucan, 272; how construed, 273; lord Raglan's "Fourth order," *ib.*; captain Nolan's message, 274; charge of the Light Brigade under lord Cardigan, 275; lord Lucan and the heavy cavalry, *ib.*; the *Lesser Inkerman*, 268; Russians repulsed by sir De Lacy Evans, 277; Menchikov's sanguine report, 278; grand design of the Russians, *ib.*; numbers of the allies, 278-9; the bells of Sebastopol, 280; battle of INKERMAN, 281; losses at the battle, 282; Russian atrocities, *ib.*; Menchikov's apology, 283; consequences of the battle, *ib.*; waiting for reinforcements, 284; sufferings of the army, *ib.*; great storm, 285; Miss Florence Nightingale at Scutari, *ib.*; patriotic fund founded, *ib.*; honours and rewards to the army, *ib.*; the siege languishing, *ib.*; Prince Albert's proposition respecting reinforcements, 287; Austrian proposition: the "Four Points," 288; Prince Albert's memorandum on "the real cause and ultimate objects of the war," 289; treaty between Austria, France, and Great Britain, 290; the "Four Points" accepted by Russia, 291; death of the Czar Nicholas, 297; battle of Eupatoria, *ib.*; accession of Alexander II., 298; Sardinia joins the allies and sends an army to the Crimea, 299; the Vienna conference, *ib.*; fresh proposition of Austria, 300; end of the conference, *ib.*; the Turkish loan guaranteed by England and France, 304; improved condition of the army in the Crimea, 308; second great cannonade of Sebastopol, 309; resignation of Canrobert, who is succeeded by general Pelissier, *ib.*; expedition to Kertch and the Sea of Azov: great results, 310; third cannonade of Sebastopol, *ib.*; capture of the Mamelon, *ib.*; failure of the assault of June 18, 311; the Malakoff and the Redan, 310; death of lord Raglan, 311; is succeeded by general Simpson, *ib.*; battle of the Tchernaya, 312; fall of SEBASTOPOL, *ib.*; state of feeling in England and in France, 314; capture of Kinburn, *ib.*; siege and surrender of Kars, 315; Omar Pasha's victory on the Ingour, *ib.*; preparations in England for a third campaign, 316; Austrian proposals, 317; the ultimatum accepted by Russia, 318; conference at Paris, *ib.*; virtual end of the war, 319; losses on both sides: cost to England, *ib.*; the peace of Paris, 1856, 321.—Another episode: the Druses and the massacre of the Christian Maronites, 368; convention at Paris, *ib.*—Revival of the Eastern Question, 1876, 409; state of Turkey, 410; rising in the Herzegovina and Bosnia, *ib.*; Turkey virtually repudiates her debt, and so forfeits the sympathy of England, 411; Bulgarian atrocities, *ib.*; fleet sent to Besika Bay, *ib.*; Russian policy in the Balkan peninsula, 412; Servian and Montenegrin wars, *ib.*; conference at Constantinople, 413; war of Russia against Turkey, 1877, *ib.*; fall of Plevna, 414; advance of Russia towards Constantinople, *ib.*; Adrianople surrendered by the Turks, *ib.*; British fleet in the Sea of Marmora, 415; peace of San Stefano, 416; the secret agreement between lord Salisbury and count Shouvalov, 417; Cyprus surrendered to England, *ib.*; the TREATY OF BELLIN, *ib.*
- East India Company, their Charter renewed, 151; bill introduced for transferring the East Indian dominions from the company to the Crown, 352; the bill carried, 355; political end and final dissolution of the Company, 356.
- Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 83; introduced in a modified form, 86; and is carried, *ib.*; repealed in 1871, *ib.*
- Education, the Irish system of, 150.
- Education, national, religious basis of, 150; Minister of, first appointed, 326.
- Edwardes, Herbert Benjamin, defeats army of Moolraj at Mooltan, 39.
- Egerton, colonel, at Inkerman, 281.
- Eglinton, lord, his views of the Irish system of National Education, 159.
- Electric cable successfully laid to America, 385.
- Electric telegraphs of the United Kingdom worked by the Post-office, 396.
- Elgin, earl, envoy to China, 1851, 331; arrival at Hong Kong, 334; attacks and takes Canton, *ib.*; captures Commissioner Yeh, *ib.*; concludes treaty of Tien-Tsin, 335; visits Japan and obtains the treaty of Yeddo, *ib.*; sails to Nanking, *ib.*; returns home, *ib.*; proceeds again to China, captures Peking, and signs convention confirming the treaty of Tien-Tsin, 336; his death, 379.
- Ellenborough, lord, denounces the Foreigners' Enlistment Bill, 290; President of the Board of Control, 354; his intemperate course regarding lord Canning's Oude proclamation, *ib.*; his resignation, 355.
- Encumbered Estates Act (Ireland), 30.
- Enfield rifles supplied to Indian Sepoys, 1856, 342.
- Eugénie, the Empress, marriage of, 134; gives a birth to a son, 1856, 321.
- Eupatoria, battle of, 297.
- Evans, sir de Lacy, repulse Russian attack at the "Lesser Inkerman," 277; advises lord Raglan to abandon the siege of Sebastopol, 284.
- Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, 1851, proposed by Prince Albert, 43; its relation to Prince Albert, 89; designed by Paxton, 99; named the "Crystal Palace," *ib.*; the opening ceremony, *ib.*; the Queen's impressions regarding, *ib.*; statistics regarding, 101; financial success, *ib.*; use of building and surplus, *ib.*
- Expenditure, national, 21, 22.
- Eyre, governor, and the revolt in Jamaica, 381.
- FARADAY, his suggestion for an insulator, 132.
- Fawcett, Mr. Henry, carries a bill for abolishing religious tests in Dublin University, 402.
- Females and children in factories, act to limit hours of labour of, 53.
- Fenian brotherhood, the, in Ireland, 381, 382.
- Ferdinand II. of Naples yields to the English demands, 305; French and English ambassadors withdraw from his court, 1856, 325.
- Fiji Islands annexed by Great Britain, 407.
- Fine Arts, Prince Albert and the, 96.
- Finlay, Mr., his claims on Greece, 56.
- Flagstaff Bastion, the, 257; approached by the French, 279; Todleben's opinion of, 283; the French abandon the idea of seizing, 284.
- Francis Joseph made Emperor of Austria, 13.
- Franco-German war, 398.
- Franklin, sir John, his discovery of the north-west passage; death of, 153.
- Frederick William IV. of Prussia, 11.
- Frederick William of Prussia elected Emperor of the Germans, but refuses to accept the position, 356; his mental incapacity, 359; his death, *ib.*
- Free Trade, Mr. Disraeli on, 17.
- French Empire revived, 120.
- Frere, sir Bartle, governor at the Cape, 421.
- Friendly Societies, act to regulate, 53.
- Fonblanque, Mr., on lord Palmerston's despatches, 68.
- Forbes-Mackenzie Act, 153.
- Foreign policy, retrospect of, since 1816, 9.
- Forrest, lieutenant, at Delhi, 343.
- Forster, W. E., his bill for National Education, 385.
- "Four Points," the, project submitted by Austria, 238.
- Fugitive slave question in America, 160.
- Futtehpoore, victory at, by sir Henry Havelock, 347.
- GALLIOLI, the allied armies at, 220.
- Garibaldi supports Roman triumvirus, 35; defeats Neapolitans at Palestrina, *ib.*

- George, Prince, of Denmark, elected king of Greece, 1863, 374.
- Germany, revolutionary movements in, 1848-9, 11, 31.
- Gibson, Mr. Milner, his question on lord John Russell's conduct at and after the Vienna Conference, 302; is rejected by Manchester, 1857, but afterwards returned for Ashton-under-Lyne, 332; proposes and carries an amendment to lord Palmerston's conspirator bill, causing the defeat and resignation of the Ministry, 352; President of the Board of Trade, 362.
- Giurgevo, battle of, 225.
- Gladstone, William Ewart, supports repeal of Jewish disabilities, 23; tribute to lord Palmerston's speech, 60; opposes Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 86; letters on the state prisons of Naples, 88; his reply to Mr. Disraeli's defiant Budget speech, 1852, 126; his past career and present position, *ib.*; influence of in the House of Commons, 127; is made Chancellor of the Exchequer by lord Aberdeen, 1852, 129; his seat for Oxford University contested, 133; his principles of Finance, 136; proposed conversion of the National Debt, 138; introduces the Budget of 1853, 139; his horror of war, 196; his Budget of 1854, 213; hopes to pay for the war out of current revenue, *ib.*; Income Tax doubled, 214; introduces a supplementary Budget, *ib.*; his speech on Mr. Roebuck's motion for an enquiry, 294; resigns his office, 297; helps to defeat lord Palmerston's Government on the Chinese question, 331; opposes the Divorce Act, 333; on the crown and the Indian army, 355; his visit to the Ionian Islands as Lord High Commissioner, 358; Chancellor of Exchequer in lord Palmerston's second administration, 362; his Budget of 1859, 363; his great Budget of 1860, 364; sir E. B. Lytton's testimony regarding his speech, *ib.*; the paper duties, 365; rejection of the bill by the Lords, 366; Budget passed as a whole by the Lords, 1861, 367; his views regarding lord Palmerston's measure for the national defences, *ib.*; establishes Post-office Savings' Bank, 369; his Budget of 1861, 370; repeal of the paper duty, 370; his Budget of 1862, 373; his Budget of 1863, 374; National Debt reduced by Terminable Annuities, *ib.*; his Budget of 1864—progress of prosperity, 376; his last great Budget, 377; on the Irish Church, 378; rejected at Oxford, *ib.*; and sits for South Lancashire, *ib.*; his Reform Bill of 1866, 383; defeat and resignation of the Government, *ib.*; the upstart that overshadowed Ireland, 391; great speech on Ireland, he declares for the disestablishment of the Church, 392; and gives notice of his three famous resolutions, *ib.*; defeats Ministers by a majority of 61, 393; brings in a bill suspending the exercise of patronage in the Irish Church, *ib.*; his electioneering campaign in South-west Lancashire, *ib.*; he is defeated by 260 votes, *ib.*; is spontaneously returned by Greenwich at the head of the poll, *ib.*; publishes "A Chapter of Autobiography," *ib.*; forms his first Ministry, 394; introduces a bill to disestablish and disendow the Irish Church, 395; the measure passed, 396; the Irish Land Act passed, 1870, 397; introduces the Irish University Bill, which is rejected, 402; resignation and return of the Ministry, *ib.*; assumes the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, *ib.*; announces the immediate dissolution of Parliament, 403; his address to his constituents, 404; general election, *ib.*; Conservative majority returned and consequent resignation of the Gladstone Ministry, *ib.*; temporarily retires from the leadership of the Liberal party, 406; his pamphlet and speeches on the Bulgarian Atrocities, 412; his attack on the foreign policy of the Ministry, 413; proclaims the personal conflict with lord Beaconsfield, 415; begins his first Midlothian campaign, 423; decisive Liberal majority in the new Parliament, and forms his second Ministry, 1880, 424.
- Glyn, lieutenant, at the campaign on the Danube, 225.
- Gold discovered in Australia, 81.
- Goojerat, victory at, 42.
- Gorham, Rev. Mr., case of, 76, 77.
- Gortchakov, three brothers, the, 193.
- Gortchakov, prince Michael, summoned by Omar Pasha to evacuate the Principality, 193.
- Gortchakov, prince, repulsed before Silistria, 225.
- Gortchakov, Michael, arrives at the Crimea, 278; at Inkerman, 281; at Sebastopol, 312; his account of the evacuation of Sebastopol, 313; his address to the army, *ib.*; endeavour to separate France from England, 317; his circular on the rights of kings, 325; on the Polish insurrection of 1863, 375.
- Goschen, Mr., joins the cabinet of earl Russell as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 379.
- Gough, lord, is repulsed at Ramnuzger, 40; fights battle of Chilianwallah, 41; is succeeded in his command by sir C. J. Napier, *ib.*; and gains victory at Goojerat, 42.
- Granville, earl, accepts the office of Foreign Secretary, 108; is made president of the council in lord Aberdeen's ministry, 123; and afterwards transferred to Duchy of Lancaster, *ib.*; succeeds lord Clarendon as Foreign Secretary, 398; his firmness during the Franco-German war, 1870, 399.
- Graham, sir James, attack on lord Palmerston, 59; his speech on protection, 84; made First Lord of the Admiralty in lord Aberdeen's ministry, 129; resigns office under lord Palmerston, 297; his last great speech, 370; his death, *ib.*
- Greece and Don Pacifico, 56.
- Greece has Thessaly and part of Epirus ceded to her by Turkey, 418.
- Grey, sir George, introduces the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in a modified form, 86.
- Grimshy, first stone of docks laid by Prince Albert, 96.
- Gros, baron, represents France in the expedition to China, 336.
- Guards, their departure for the Crimea and the fate which awaited them, 212; at Inkerman, 281; their return from the Crimea, 322.
- Gwalior contingent, mutiny of, 349; utterly routed by sir Colin Campbell, 350.
- HABEAS Corpus Act suspended in Ireland, 1849, 26; again suspended, 1866, 382.
- Hamelin, admiral, failure of his plan for attacking Sebastopol, 266.
- Hamilton, William, fires at the Queen, 50.
- II never annexed by Prussia, 384.
- Harcourt, sir W. V., speech on Turks and Russians, 1876, 409.
- Hardinge, viscount, appointed commander-in-chief, 119; struck with paralysis, 321; resigns his appointment, 322.
- Hartington, marquis of, makes his first conspicuous appearance in politics, 362; Secretary for War, 379; is defeated in North Lancashire, 1863, 394; chosen as leader of the Liberal party on Mr. Gladstone's retirement, 406; proposes motion of censure regarding Indian troops being called to Malta, 417; regains his old seat for North Lancashire, 423; is sent for by the Queen to form a ministry, but points out that Mr. Gladstone is indicated by the elections, 424.
- Havelock, sir Henry, brief memoir of, 346; his march to Cawnpore, *ib.*; attacks and defeats the Nana's army, 347; marches to the relief of Lucknow, 348; is besieged there, *ib.*; is relieved by sir Colin Campbell, 349; dies of dysentery, *ib.*
- "Havelock's saints," 349.
- Haynau defeats Hungarians, 37; is whipped by English draymen, *ib.*; lord Palmerston's despatch respecting, 71.
- Heavy Brigade, charge of, at Balacava, 271.
- Helena, princess, marries prince Christian, 405.
- Henley, Mr., withdraws from the Derby ministry, 1859, 361.
- Herat, war with Persia regarding, 329; the Shah renounces all claim to dominion in, *ib.*
- Herbert, Mr. Sidney, takes office under lord Aberdeen, 129; requests Miss F. Nightingale to proceed to the Crimea, 285; resigns his office, 297; his death, 379.
- Hodson, lieutenant, captures King of Delhi, 348; captures and shoots the son and grandson of the king, 313; his death, *ib.*

- "Hodson's Horse," 348.
 Holkar, maharajah of Indore, his fidelity, 342.
 Holy Places, the question of, 178.
 Home Rule, Mr. Butt's motion on, 1874, 406.
 Hoope-Grant, general, his victory at Kallee Nuddee with sir Colia Campbell, 350.
 House Duty imposed, 87.
 House of Commons, new, 54.
 Hume, Mr. Joseph, on local taxation, 19; second motion to reduce national expenditure, 22; motion for reform, *ib.*; defeats ministers on a question of Income Tax, 87; his motion for a Reform Bill, 112.
 Hungary, revolt in, 12.
 Hungarians, steadfast resistance of, 37; cruel indignities inflicted on them, *ib.*
 Hunt, Ward, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 390; his Budget of 1868, 393; appointed to the admiralty in Mr. Disraeli's second administration, 401; his death, 1877, *ib.*
 Hyde Park, riot in, 1866, 383.
- IONATIEV, general, his influence at Constantinople, 410; the peace of San Stefano, his work, 416.
 India, viceroys of, since the Mutiny, 420.
 India, the Queen declared Empress of, 405.
 Indian Mutiny, the; lord Dalhousie on continued peace in India, 328; real character of the rising, 337; "India quiet throughout," May 1, 1857, 338; causes of the Mutiny, 339; the Mahomedians, *ib.*; the Brahmins, *ib.*; lord Dalhousie's government, 340; Nana Sahib's claim for a pension disallowed, 341; annexation of Oude, *ib.*; lord Dalhousie succeeded by lord Canning, *ib.*; fidelity of the Sikhs and many native princes, 341-2; the chapatties, 342; the greased cartridges, *ib.*; outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut, *ib.*; Delhi taken and the king proclaimed Mogul Emperor, 343; native regiments disarmed at Lahore, *ib.*; exertions of sir John Lawrence, *ib.*; energy and firmness of lord Canning, 344; his proclamation to the native army, *ib.*; siege of the residency at Lucknow and death of sir Henry Lawrence, 345; mutiny at Cawnpore, *ib.*; Nana Sahib in command, *ib.*; his treachery, 346; the first massacre of Cawnpore, *ib.*; march of general Havelock, *ib.*; massacre of women and children, 347; relief of Cawnpore by Havelock, *ib.*; defeat and flight of Nana Sahib, *ib.*; recapture of Delhi, *ib.*; the king taken prisoner, and his son and grandson killed, 348; Havelock and Outram reach Lucknow and are besieged there, *ib.*; sir Colin Campbell commander-in-chief, *ib.*; he relieves Lucknow and defeats the Gwalior troops, 349; ultimate capture of Lucknow, 350; Gwalior retaken by sir Hugh Rose, *ib.*; final suppression of the Mutiny, *ib.*
- Industrial and Provident Societies, formation of legalized, 116.
 Ingour, river of, Russians defeated at by Omar Pasha, 315.
 Inkerman, heights of, 262; battle of, 281; losses at the battle, 282.
 Inkerman, the Lesser, 277.
 Ionian Islands, Mr. Gladstone's visit to as Lord High Commissioner, 353; their cession to Greece, 374.
 Ireland, state of, 25; leaders of the rebellion, 1843-9, *ib.*; Habeas Corpus Act suspended, 26; grant of £50,000, *ib.*; visit of Queen Victoria, 27; revived prosperity, *ib.*; emigration, 29; Encumbered Estates Act, 30; new colleges and universities, 31; Orange Clubs, 32; Income Tax imposed, 147; the Irish system of education, 150; visit of the Queen to the Dublin Exhibition, 1853, 155; Mr. Dilwyn's motion regarding the Irish Church, 378; Mr. Gladstone on the Irish Church, *ib.*; the Fenian brotherhood, 381; suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, 1866, 382; arrests of Fenians, *ib.*; further arrests of Fenians, 383; the Manchester murder, *ib.*; the Clerkenwell explosion, 389; execution of Michael Barrett, *ib.*; unhappy state of, 390; the various remedies proposed, 391; Mr. Maguire's motion regarding, *ib.*; lord Mayo's declaration of policy, *ib.*; Mr. Gladstone declares for the disestablishment of the Church, 392; the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, 395;
- Irish Land Act (1870) passed, 393; the Irish University Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone and defeated, 402; abolition of testa in the University of Dublin, *ib.*; Mr. Butt's motion on Home Rule, 406; obstruction in the House of Commons first resorted to by Home Rulers, 412; it is renewed, 422; Royal Irish University established, *ib.*
 Irish Church, bill passed for disestablishing and disendowing, 396.
 Isandlana, massacre of British troops at, 421.
 Italy, state of and war in, 1848-9, 10, 11; created a kingdom, 370.
- JANOWITSKY, general, in command of *corps d'armée* in rear of the English at Balaclava, 263; at the battle of Balaclava, 270.
 Jacinto, the captain of boards the *Trent*, 371.
 Jamaica, revolt of negroes in, 331; special commission of enquiry, *ib.*
 Japan visited by lord Elgin, 1853, 335.
 Jewish disabilities, question of, 23.
 Jews' Relief Act, 24.
 John of Austria made *Vicar of the Empire*, 12.
 Judicature Act passed by lord Selborne, 402.
- Kars, defence and fall of, 315.
 Kent, duchess of, her death, 372.
 Kerch captured by the allies, 1855, 310.
 Kinburn, the forts bombarded, 314.
 Kinz, Locke, Mr., his motion for reducing the County Franchise, 85.
 Kinglake, Mr., his "History of the War in the Crimea," 178, *et seq.*
 Koffee Kalcabi, king, defeated by sir Garret Wolseley, 405.
 Kohinor, the, 42.
 Königgratz, battle of, 384.
 Kornilov, vice-admiral, proposes to attack the allied fleets, 258; his defence of Sebastopol, 260; his address to the troops, *ib.*; devotion and death of, 265.
 Kossuth, Louis, appointed provisional governor of Hungary, 12; escapes to Turkey, 37; is received in England with honours, *ib.*; his speeches in England, 72.
- LABOURING CLASSES, Prince Albert's interest in, 93.
 Lake, colonel, constructs batteries at Kars, 315.
 La Marmora, general, lands in the Crimea with an army of 10,000 men, 299; holds the line of the Tchernaya, 310; wins battle of the Tchernaya, 312.
 Lansdowne, marquis of, is consulted by the Queen and takes a seat in the cabinet of lord Aberdeen, 128.
 Lawrence, sir Henry, at Mooltan, 40; defence of Lucknow, and death, 345.
 Lawrence, sir John, raises fresh troops to quell the mutiny, 344.
 Lavalette, M., his demands of the Porte, 178.
 Leiningen, prince, at the campaign on the Danube, 225.
 Leopold I., king of the Belgians, death of, 379.
 Leopold, prince, duke of Albany, married to princess Hélène, 405.
 Lesseps, M. de, and the Suez Canal, 397.
 Lesser Inkerman, the, 277.
 Lewis, sir G. C., Chancellor of the Exchequer under lord Palmerston, 297; his first Budget, 1855, 306; the Budget of 1856, 310; the Budget of 1857, 329; gains decisive victory over the opposition, 330; his death, 379.
 Libraries and museums, free, Act to establish, 53.
 Life peerages, right of the Crown to create, 327.
 Light Brigade at Balaclava, 271; its inaction, 272; the charge, 275; its losses, 276; lord Raglan's judgment on, *ib.*
 Limited liability of companies, 305.
 Lincoln, Abraham, elected President of the United States, 1860, 368; abolishes slavery, 375; is assassinated by Wilkes Booth, 1865, 377.
 Liprandi, general, in command of *corps d'armée* in rear of the English at Balaclava, 263; at the battle of Balaclava, 270; makes good the ground he had won, 277; Menchikov's praise of, 278; defeated at the battle of the Tchernaya, 312.
 Lissa, Sardinian fleet defeated at, 384.

- Local Government Board first established, 466.
 Louis Philippe, death of, 64; lord Palmerston's opinion of, 65.
 Louise, princess, married to marquis of Lorne, 405.
 Lowe, Robert, newly-elected to parliament, 125; made Secretary to the Board of Control by lord Aberdeen, 129; retires from office on being charged with mutilating School Reports, 376; his speeches against reform, 378, 383; is made Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, 394; introduces his first Budget, 396; his second Budget, 398; his third Budget—a fiasco, 400; his fourth Budget, 401; his fifth Budget, 402; he is transferred to the Home Secretaryship, *ib.*
 Lubbock, sir John, passes the Bank Holiday Act, 400.
 Lucan, lord, reconnoitring at Mackenzie's Farm, 255; in command of cavalry and horse artillery at Balaclava, 263; his and sir Colin Campbell's commands independent of each other, 269; congratulated by the French on the charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava, 271; his instructions to lord Cardigan, 272; receives lord Raglan's order "to advance," *ib.*; his construction of the order, 273; receives lord Raglan's "Fourth order," *ib.*; orders the charge of the Light Brigade, *ib.*; keeps back the Heavy Brigade, 275; lord Raglan's opinion of him, 276.
 Lucknow, Mutiny at, 344; siege of the residency, 345; Havelock and Outram march to relieve, and are besieged there, 348; relief of by sir Colin Campbell, 349; residency evacuated, *ib.*; ultimate capture of, 350.
 Lushington, captain, succours Russian survivors after the battle of the Alma, 249.
 Lyndhurst, lord, his great speech on the Russian War, 230; his distrust of Napoleon III., 265; denounces the Austrian oppression in Italy, 326; opposes the creation of life peerages, 327; maintains the right of commissioner Yeh to seize the *Arrow*, 331; his speech on the Paper Duties, 366; his death, *ib.*
 Lyons, sir Edmund, at the Greek court, 56; on the *Agamemnon*, 240; proposes an immediate assault on Sebastopol, 261; his share in the naval attack on Sebastopol, 266; converted to the views of Dundas, *ib.*; succeeds Dundas, 285; his report on the feeling of both armies, *ib.*; bombards Kinburn, 314.
 Lytton, sir Edward Bulwer, opposes Mr. Gladstone's Budget of 1853, 147; proposes hostile motion respecting lord John Russell's continuance in office after the Vienna conference, 303; made Colonial Secretary, 355.
 Lytton, lord, viceroy of India, his policy, 420.
 MACAULAY's opinion of lord Palmerston, 109; his last great speech, 1853, 151; opposes the Judges' Exclusion Bill, 152.
 Mackintosh, colonel, imparts valuable information respecting the Crimea, 241.
 Maclean shoots at the Queen, 50.
 Magdala, destruction of, by the British, 389.
 Maguire, Mr., his motion on the state of Ireland, 1868, 391.
 Malakoff, the, 257; its fire silenced, 265; the French attack again brought close up, 310; the French repulsed, 311; stormed by the French, 312.
 Malmesbury, lord, on Free Trade, 17.
 Mamelon, the, carried by the French, 310.
 "Manchester School," lord John Russell on, 22.
 Manitoba becomes a portion of the Dominion of Canada, 397.
 Marie, Grand-duchess, married to the duke of Edinburgh, 405.
 Maritime Law, as agreed at the Congress of Paris, 1856, 324.
 March law proposed by Mr. Lowe, 400.
 Mayo, lord, his declaration of the ministerial policy regarding Ireland, 391.
 McCarthy, Justin, on the constitutional relations of sovereign and ministers, 66; his opinion of the *coup d'état*, 112; his account of the defeat of the Aberdeen Ministry, 295; on lord Dalhousie's administration of India, 340.
 M'Cure discovers the North-west passage, 153.
 Meerut, cartridges distributed at, 342; outbreak of mutiny at, 1856, *ib.*
 Memorandum from the Queen respecting lord Palmerston's despatches, 69.
 Memorial to Prince Consort, site of, 101.
 Meuchikov, prince, his mission, 185; encounters lord S. de Redcliffe, 187; his ultimatum and departure from Constantinople, 183; in command of the Russian forces, military and naval, in the Crimea, 246; his character and plan of defence, 247; is defeated at the Alma, 248; makes no effort to defend northern heights of Sebastopol, 252; sinks ships across Sebastopol harbour, 253; quits Sebastopol with his army, 259; reinforces garrison at Sebastopol, 263; constitutes a *corps d'armée* in rear of English at Balaclava, 263; his plan of attack at Balaclava, 269; his sanguine report after the battle, 278; his headquarters at Inkerman, 279; his apology for the atrocities, 282.
 Merchant Shipping Act introduced, 408.
 Metropolitan Board of Works constituted, 305.
 Metropolitan Burials' Act, 52.
 Mexico, joint expedition to, 1862, 373.
 M'Grath, John, succour of the wounded at the battle of the Alma, 249.
 Michael, the grand duke, his first essay in arms, 279.
 Militia, local, proposed by lord John Russell, 115; the opinions of the Queen and Prince Consort thereupon, *ib.*
 Militia Act introduced by Mr. Walpole, 116.
 Mill, John Stuart, opposes the transfer of the East India dominions from the company to the crown, 355; is elected member for Westminster, 379; is defeated, 1868, 394.
 Milman, dean, conducts the funeral service of the duke of Wellington in St. Paul's, 122.
 Ministers and Parliament, 6.
 Ministry of all the Talents (the second), 128.
 Minto, lord, his mission to Italy, 1347-8, 15.
 Moldavia, geographical position of, 169.
 Molesworth, sir W., Chief Commissioner of Parks and Public Buildings, 129; succeeds lord J. Russell as Colonial Secretary, 1855, 303; his death, *ib.*
 Montenegro, lord, opposes the Paper Duties Bill, 366.
 Montenegro at war with Turkey, 413.
 Montgomery, Mr., disarms native regiments at Lahore, 343.
 Moolraj, Dewan, revolt of, at Mooltan, 39; surrenders, 41; dies, 42.
 Mooltan, siege of, 39; capture of, 40, 41.
 Mouraviev, general, at the siege of Kars, 315.
 NANA SAHIB's claim to a pension disallowed, 341; he is invited by sir H. Wheeler to Cawpore, 345; responds to the appeal, 346; his treachery and the massacre in the boats, *ib.*; his slaughter of women and children, 347; his army defeated by general Havelock, *ib.*; flight, *ib.*
 Napier, sir Charles J., appointed to the command in India, 41.
 Napier, sir Charles, banquet to on being appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet, 214; extravagant expectations disappointed, 215; destruction of Bomarsund, *ib.*; and return home, *ib.*
 Napier, sir Robert, conducts the campaign in Abyssinia, 389; is created lord Napier of Magdala, *ib.*
 Napoleon III. elected president of the republic, 102; takes the inaugural oath, 103; character of, *ib.*; his knowledge of the English country and people, 104; his speech at Cherbourg, *ib.*; the "Saviour of Society," *ib.*; his conflict with the assembly, *ib.*; the *coup d'état*, 105; arrest of generals and deputies, *ib.*; his proclamation, *ib.*; his proposed constitution, *ib.*; his proclamation to the soldiers, 106; massacres and deportations, *ib.*; "Society is saved," *ib.*; the plébiscite, *ib.*; inauguration at Notre Dame, *ib.*; the *souvenirs* of the empire revived, *ib.*; how affected by the fall of lord Palmerston, 109; tour through the centre and south of France, 118; declares that the "empire is peace," *ib.*; made emperor, 120; result of the plébiscite, 124; proclaimed emperor by the title of Napoleon III., *ib.*; and is recognized as such by England, Austria, and Prussia, *ib.*; attacked by

- English statesmen and by the press, 134; his marriage, *ib.*; in search of a policy of adventure, 191; his separate concert with England, 198; letter to the Czar on the massacre at Sinope, 202; his proposal adopted by the English Government, 203; informs the senate and legislative assembly that France and Russia are at war, 216; his views regarding Sebastopol and plan of the campaign, 230; his instructions to St. Arnaud, 234; visit of Prince Albert to the camp at Boulogne, 238; visits the English court, 300; rejects the Austrian proposals brought forward at the Vienna conference, *ib.*; wishes to withdraw the French army from the Crimea, 314; agrees with England in ultimatum to Russia, 317; on unity of action at the council table, 320; birth of the Prince Imperial, 1856, 321; conspiracy against his life by Orsini, 352; failure of the attempt, *ib.*; avows that he had gone into the war with Russia to resuscitate Poland, 358; his views regarding Italy, *ib.*; a *Carbonari*, *ib.*; his treaty with Cavour at Plombières, 359; opens new arsenals at Cherbourg and receives visit there from the Queen and Prince Consort, *ib.*; ominous words to the Austrian ambassador, January 1, 1859, 360; the commercial treaty with England, 364; growing distrust of the emperor in England, 365; English feeling with regard to the cession of Savoy and Nice, 366; the expedition to Mexico, 1862, 373; proposes congress on the affairs of Europe, which is declined by England, 1863, 375; Venetia ceded to him by Austria, 384; presented by him to Italy, *ib.*; his attempt to buy Luxemburg, *ib.*; his New Year's reception, 1870, 379; begins the war with Germany, 15th July, 1870, 398; the battles around Metz,—Sedan,—captivity of Napoleon III.,—fall of the second empire, 399.
- Napoleon, prince, in the Crimea, 282; his marriage to Clothilde, 359.
- Nasmyth, lieutenant, at Silistria, 224.
- National Debt, proposed conversion of, 138; increase of by Russian war, 329; sir Stafford Northcote's proposal to reduce by means of a sinking fund, 408.
- National education, conference on, 95; minister of, first appointed, 326; Mr. Forster's Bill for, 398.
- National expenditure, 21, 22.
- Navigation Laws, repeal of, 18.
- Neill, general, recaptures Allahabad from the rebels, 1856, 346.
- Nesselrode, despatch on Greek question, 57.
- Nesselrode Memorandum, the, 172.
- Nealey hospital, foundation stone laid by the Queen, 309.
- Neutral rights, as agreed at the Congress of Paris, 1856, 324.
- Newcastle, duke of, Secretary for War and the Colonies, 129; his view regarding Sebastopol, 229; sends plan of campaign to the Queen, 230; and suggests to lord Raglan an attack on Sebastopol, *ib.*; his despatch to lord Raglan, 234; his reply to lord Raglan's letter containing his decision, 236; begs to be removed from the Cabinet, 292; lord Palmerston on the duke's merits, 294; resigns office, 297; his death, 379.
- New generation, 1848-1880, 1.
- Newspapers, stamp duties on, abolished, 305.
- New Zealand representative constitution, 117; Maori outbreaks, 375.
- Nicholas I., Czar, sounds sir H. Seymour as to the Sack Man's inheritance, 133; his visit to England, 171; his conversations with sir Hamilton Seymour, 181; his absolutely despotic power, 189; resolution to occupy the Principalities, 190; "this is war," *ib.*; proclaims a war of religion, *ib.*; issues a religious manifesto, 194; is exasperated at the fleets being ordered to Constantinople, 199; retaliates by the "massacre" at Sinope, 202; recalls his ambassadors from London and Paris, 205; receives a Quaker deputation, 208; issues a war manifesto to his people, 209; bitterly humiliated by his defeats, and at having consequently to evacuate the Principalities, 226; accepts the "Four Points" proposed by Austria, 289; his resolve regarding the defence of the Black Sea, 290; orders a levy of 10 out of every 1,000 men, *ib.*; his death, 297; his last words, *ib.*
- Nicholas, the grand duke, his first essay in arms, 279.
- Nielson, general, recaptures Delhi, 347; his death, *ib.*
- Nightingale, Miss Florence, at Seutari, 285.
- Nolan, captain, carries lord Raglan's "Fourth order" to lord Lucan, 273; his death, 274.
- Norfolk, duke of, opinion on Ultramontaniam, 81.
- Normanby, lord, ambassador in Paris, 107.
- Northeote, sir Stafford, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Disraeli's second administration, 404; his Budget, 1875, 407; his Budget, 1875, 408; proposes sinking fund for reduction of national debt, *ib.*; his Budget of 1876, 409; his Budget of 1877, 413; his Budget of 1878, 419; his Budget of 1879, 422.
- North German Confederation under the presidency of Prussia, 384.
- North-west passage discovered by sir John Franklin and M'Clure, 153.
- Novara, battle of, 83.
- OTRAS BILL, Parliamentary, 23, 24.
- O'Brien, Smith, transported for life, 25; pardoned, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*
- Obstruction in the House of Commons, 413, 422.
- O'Connor, Arthur, threatens the Queen, 50.
- Old Fort, Crimea, landing of the allied armies at, 1354, 244.
- Oliphant, Mr., his "Russian Shores of the Black Sea," 241, 253.
- Oltienitz, Russians defeated by Turks at, 223.
- Omar Pasha on the Danube, 223; encounters and defeats the Russians at Otienitz, *ib.*; summons Gortschakov to evacuate the Principalities, 193; defeats 16,000 Russians on the river Ingour, 315.
- Orsini, Felice, escapes from Mantua, 351; conspires against the life of Napoleon III., 352; the attempt, *ib.*; Orsini arrested and guillotined, *ib.*
- Osman Pasha, his gallant defence of Plevna, 414.
- Oude, annexation of, 341; great mutiny in, 344.
- Oudinot, general, issues proclamation to inhabitants of Roman States, 34; is defeated by triumvirs, 35; is successful, *ib.*
- Outram, sir James, "the Bayard of India," defeats the Persians at Kooshab, 329; appointed chief commissioner in Oude, 343; volunteers to serve under Havelock, *ib.*; besieged at Lucknow, *ib.*; relieved by sir Colin Campbell, 349; at Alum Bagh, *ib.*; his earnest remonstrances regarding lord Canning's Oude proclamation, 354.
- Overend, Gurney and Co., failure of, 332.
- Oxford Society for the Protection of Agriculture dissolved, 21.
- Oxford University, Commission of Enquiry issued, 158.
- ПЛОТ, lord George, at Balacava, 274, 275; at Inkerman, 281.
- Palace of Westminster, new, 54.
- Palmerston, lord, Foreign Secretary, 8; retrospect of foreign policy, 9; opinion of him on the continent, 14; intervention in affairs of Italy, *ib.*; opinion of his foreign policy expressed in the "Life of the Prince Consort," *ib.*; holds fast to the policy of maintaining the Austrian Empire, 16; mediates in Sicily and in North Italy, *ib.*; letter on Mr. Disraeli's motion "on the state of the nation," 21; his deep interest in the Hungarian revolt, 37; on Austrian affairs, 38; freedom of speech with regard to his colleagues, *ib.*; on the cholera, 44; letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh on a "National Fast," 47; criticisms on his letter, *ib.*; quarrels with Greece on the Don Pacifico question, 56; orders the fleet to the Piræus, 57; settlement of the dispute, 58; opposition of Palmerston to the Court and the Premier, *ib.*; is eulogized by lord John Russell, 59; five-hours' speech, *ib.*; *Civis Romanus sum*, 60; opinions on Louis Philippe and sir Robert Peel, 65; conjectures as to Peelites, *ib.*; the successor-designate of Peel, *ib.*; honours paid him by the Liberal party, *ib.*; opinion of Mr. Foulhaque on his despatches, 68; the Queo's complaint against him, 69; she addresses a memorandum respecting lord Palmerston to the Prime Minister, *ib.*; his interview with Prince Albert on the subject, 70; his reasons for not resigning, 71;

- his sympathy with the Hungarians, *ib.*; his despatch respecting general Haynau, *ib.*; sympathy with Kosuth, *ib.*; "judicious bottle-holding," *ib.*; strong opinion of the Cabinet on lord Palmerston's want of caution, 73; approves of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, *ib.*; letter on the Papsal aggression, 81; and on public affairs, *ib.*; on Mr. Gladstone's letters from Naples, 88; on the changes of ministers in France, 104; official despatch to lord Normanby after the *coup d'état*, 107; expresses to M. Walewski his approval of the action of the French president, *ib.*; dismissed from the office of Foreign Secretary, 108; offered the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, *ib.*; his explanations respecting his conduct, *ib.*; lord Dalling's remark on his hearing, 109; effect of his dismissal on the Continent, *ib.*; Macanlay's opinion of him, *ib.*; Palmerston and the Prince Consort, 110; his forecast of the session of 1852, 111; defeats lord John Russell's bill for a local militia, 114; refuses offer of office by lord Derby, *ib.*; approves of the militia act introduced by lord Derby's government, 116; on the result of the elections, 1852, 118; opinion of the duke of Wellington, 119; his resolution on the subject of Free Trade, 124; his views on the Home Secretaryship, 127; accepts the office of Home Secretary in lord Aberdeen's ministry, 129; his multifarious activity, *ib.*; on the coming session of 1853, 135; expresses his confidence in the Czar's evacuating the Principalities of his own accord, August, 1853, 154; temporary resignation of, 157; on the power of the Prime Minister to dismiss his colleagues, 163; urges reforms on Turkey, 175; his views regarding Turkey, 176; his peculiar position in lord Aberdeen's ministry, 196; his letter on "Prevention better than Cure," *ib.*; the Queen on lord Palmerston's mode of proceeding, *ib.*; on Russia's mode of advance, and the way to check it, 197; his views with regard to our support of Turkey, 200; his resignation and return to office, 203; his memorable defence of the Ministry and its effect, 207; his glorification of sir Charles Napier on his departure for the Baltic, 215; his reply to Mr. Bright, 218; his memorandum on the necessity of taking Sebastopol and destroying the Russian Black Sea Fleet, 229; speech on Mr. Roebuck's motion for an enquiry, 294; on the merits of the duke of Newcastle, *ib.*; succeeds lord Aberdeen as premier, 256; his letter to lord J. Russell at the Vienna Conference, 299; the ministerial policy attacked, 300; his reply to lord John Russell's challenge; the war not for Turkey merely, 305; his intention to have *du y telegraphic reports* from the campaign in the Crimea, 309; his view of the effect of the fall of Sebastopol, 313; his determination to continue the war if necessary, 317; defends the Treaty of Pesce, 1856, 321; on Russia in India, 329; stipulates for the abolition of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf, *ib.*; is defeated by Mr. Cobden and a combination of parties on the Chinese war question, 331; appeals to the country, 332; great triumph, *ib.*; assurance as to Parliamentary Reform, *ib.*; proposes bill transferring the East Indian dominions from the Company to the crown, 332; introduces the Conspiracy Bill, *ib.*; is defeated and resigns, 1858, 353; announces the withdrawal of the proposed vote of censure regarding lord Ellenborough's despatch, 355; enters on his second premiership at the age of 75, 362; declares his readiness to face a war with France, 366; on the Lords and the Paper Duties Bill, 367; his resolutions, *ib.*; his comprehensive scheme of national defence, *ib.*; on Mr. Gladstone, *ib.*; getting the French out of Syria, 368; the affair of the *Trent*, 370; declines Napoleon the Third's proposal for a European congress, 1863, 375; with-tands a vote of censure on foreign policy, 377; new Parliament—elections in favour of lord Palmerston, 379; his death, *ib.*; burial in Westminster Abbey, *ib.*
- Panic, financial, the, of 1857, 334.
 Panic, commercial, of 1866, 332.
 Pamure, lord, succeeds the duke of Newcastle as secretary of War, 297.
- Panslavism and Russian policy, 412.
 "Papal Aggression," 79.
 Parliament and the crown, 15.
 Parliamentary Oaths Act, 24.
 Paskievitch, prince, his plan of campaign, 223; wounded before Silistria, 225.
 Pate, lieutenant, strikes the Queen, 50.
 Paulov, general, at Inkerman, 281.
 Paxton, sir J., designs the great Exhibition, 99.
 "Peace Party" and the Russian question, 208.
 Peace of Prague, 384.
 Peace of San Stefano, 416.
 Peel, sir Robert, leader of Conservative party, 8; speech on the abolition of the Corn Laws, 20; letter to his tenantry on "The Present State and Prospects of Agriculture," 21; on the question of Jewish disabilities, 23; supports suspension of Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, 26; scheme of Colleges and Universities for Ireland, 31; declaration on Protection, 52; on the need of retrenchment, 54; on the risk of loss in case of hostilities, *ib.*; his last speech, 61; supports plan for Industrial Exhibition, 62; death of, *ib.*; honours to his memory, 63; funeral, *ib.*; Prince Albert's eulogy on, 64.
 Peel, captain, throws burning shell outside breast-work, 263; and is rewarded with the Victoria Cross, 264.
 Pegu, province of, annexed by England, 131.
 Pélissier, general, succeeds Canrobert as Commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea, 1855, 309; on the peace and the birth of the Prince Imperial, 321; succeeds Persigny as English ambassador, 353.
 Penal servitude substituted for transportation, 149.
 Persia, war with, about Herat, 329.
 Persigny, M., ambassador to the English court, 300; resigns his appointment, 353.
 Peter the Great, his policy and alleged will, 167.
 P'ierre, guillotined for attempting the life of Napoleon III., 352.
 Piræus, British fleet at, 57.
 Pius IX., Pope, elected June 16, 1846, effects reforms, annaetia political offences, grants municipal institutions, 10; escapes to Gaeta, 13; deposed from temporal government, 1849, 14; is restored to authority by means of French troops and returns to the Vatican, 35; his plan with regard to the conversion of England, 79; issues a brief, *ib.*; demonstration against, on Guy Fawkes' day, 80.
 Plébiscite, result of, in France, 106.
 Police of Scotland, act to make more effectual, 53.
 Plevna, fall of, 414.
 Plimsoll, Mr., his efforts to correct abuses in building and loading ships, 408.
 Population of United Kingdom, 1851, 83; of 1861, 370; of 1871, 400; of 1841 to 1851, 405.
 Post-office, Sunday business of, 55.
 Post-office Savings' Bank established, 309.
 Prince Imperial (of France), his birth, 321; his death in Zululand, 421.
 Prince of Wales first takes his place in state beside the Queen, 218; visits Paris with his parents, 307; visits Canada and the United States, 368; takes his seat as a peer, 1863, 374; his marriage, *ib.*; birth of prince Albert Victor, 376; dangerous illness, 400; public thanksgiving for his recovery, *ib.*; his visit to India, 1875-6, 408.
 Princess Royal, her dowry and annuity voted, 333; her marriage with prince Frederick William of Prussia, *ib.*
 Principalities, the, their position defined by the Treaty of Paris, 1856, 323.
 Prisons Act, the, transferring power from the local magistrates to the Home Secretary, 1677, 413.
 Prussary Oaths Act, 24.
 Protectionists, 8; agitation by, 17; meetings of, *ib.* Protection, last great debate on, 84; thrown overboard by lord Derby's Government, 117.
 Provident Societies, formation of legalized, 116.
 Public Worship Regulation Act, 407.
 Punjab, annexation of, 42.
 Purchase in the army abolished, 400.
 Pusey, Dr., and Convocation, 77.
 Puseyites, 75.

- QUADRILATERAL, the, 11.
- Quakers, deputation of, to the Czar Nicholas, 208.
- Queenstown, so named in honour of the Queen's visit to Ireland, 27.
- RABETZKY defeats the Sardinians, 33.
- Razlan, lord, receives his peerage, and is made Master-general of the Ordnance, 120; appointed to the command of the English forces, 221; brief memoir of, *ib.*; receives despatch from the duke of Newcastle recommending him to lay siege to Sebastopol, 234; determines to do so, 235-6; his reply to the duke, 236; is "absolutely without information" regarding the Crimea, 239; overcomes the French proposal for delay, *ib.*; sails, with his army, from Yarna for the Crimea, 240; and lands the troops at "Old Fort," 241; marches on to, and fights battle of, ALMA, 247; his despatches home, and opinion of the troops, 250; his opinion as to an immediate advance, 252; refusal of St. Arnaud to attack north side, *ib.*; sacrifices his own desires and judgment, and marches to south side, 254; sole command devolves upon him in consequence of St. Arnaud's illness, *ib.*; narrowly escapes being captured by the Russians, 255; at Balaelava, *ib.*; his opinion of St. Arnaud, 256; supports sir Edmund Lyons's proposal for an attack on Sebastopol, but is overruled, 261; his letter to Dundas describing their "duty," 264; his warning letter to the duke of Newcastle, 267; fights battle of BALACLAVA, 270; his order to lord Lucan, 272; his message by captain Nolan, 273; his judgment on the charge of the Light Brigade, 276; foresees the danger of attack on Inkerman, 279; fights the battle of INKERMAN, 281; rejects sir de Lacy Evans's counsel to abandon the siege of Sebastopol, 284; is created a field-marshal, and receives a letter from the Queen assuring him of her high confidence, 285; failure of the first and second attacks on Sebastopol, 310; death of, 311; eulogy on by lord Ellesmere, *ib.*
- Rammager, battle of, 40.
- Redan, the, 257; explosion at, 265; is restored by Todleben, 266; is again destroyed, *ib.*; quarries stormed by the British, 310; failure of the assault, 311; final attack on, 312.
- Redcliffe, lord Stratford de, returns to Constantinople, 135; his eminent qualities, 171; his position at Constantinople, *ib.*; created a viscount, 1852, 179; encounters prince Menchikov at Constantinople, 187; and defeats his proposal, 188; the Czar's complaints regarding, 189; recommends the Vienna note to the acceptance of the Porte, 192; his prophetic words regarding the war, 1853, 194; opposes the fleets being sent to Constantinople, 199.
- Reform Bill, lord John Russell's, 1852, 112; of 1854, introduction and withdrawal, 157, 158; of 1859, 356, 387.
- Renaud, major, marches to the relief of Cawnpore, 346.
- Repeal of Navigation Laws, 18.
- Retrospect of Queen's reign, 1837-48, 3.
- Revolutionary epoch in Europe, 10.
- Ritualistic movement, 75.
- Roberts, sir Frederick, in command in India, 422.
- Roebuck, John Arthur, motion on foreign policy, 59; views on the "No Pinery" question, 82; and on Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 83; his motion for a committee of enquiry, 293; defeat of his motion of censure on the Government, 1855, 304; denounces the India Bill of the Derby Administration as a great sham, 353.
- Rome, French expedition to, 34; surrender of to the French, 35; French occupation of, *ib.*; French garrison withdrawn from, 399.
- Rorke's Drift, gallant defence of, 421.
- Rose, sir Hugh, captures Calpee and Gwalior, 350.
- Rothschild, baron Lionel de, returned as a member for the City, 22; resigns his seat and is re-elected, 23; again returned by the City in 1852 and 1857, *ib.*; appointed one of the managers of the Conference, *ib.*; takes his seat, 1858, 24.
- Rothschild, house of, takes up English loan of 1856, 320.
- Roumanian Principalities, independence of, 169; description of, 170.
- Roumania proclaimed and acknowledged by the Porte, 1861, 323; enrolled among the kingdoms of Europe, 1881, *ib.*
- Royal Patriotic Fund founded, 285.
- Russell, lord John, Premier, 8; on the "Manchester School," 22; motion respecting Jewish disabilities, *ib.*; introduces and carries Oath Bill, 24; introduces measure for the relief of Irish distress, 26; on the brightening prospects of Ireland, 1856, 32; moves for a select committee on official salaries, 54; in debt as Prime Minister, *ib.*; agrees to abolish Sunday work at Post Office, and afterwards proposes to restore it, 55; opposition to lord Palmerston, 55; eulogizes him in the House of Commons, 59; on sir Robert Peel; proposes public funeral, which is declined, 63; receives memorandum from the Queen respecting lord Palmerston, 69; his contest with lord Palmerston, 72, 73; letter to the bishop of Durham on Popery, 80; introduces Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 83; resignation of Ministers, 85; advises the Queen to send for lord Stanley, *ib.*; returns to office, 86; letter to the Queen on the *comp d'état*, 107; letter to lord Palmerston dismissing him from the office of Foreign Secretary, 108; his action approved by the Cabinet and by the Queen, *ib.*; his explanations in Parliament, 109; introduces a Reform Bill, 1852, 112; introduces a scheme for local militia, 113; which is defeated by lord Palmerston, 114; the Ministry resign office, *ib.*; takes the lead of the House of Commons (lord Aberdeen's Ministry), 128; and is afterwards made President of the Council, *ib.*; remonstrates against steps taken by France at Constantinople, 134; makes a statement of ministerial measures, *ib.*; his declaration for national education to be on a religious basis, 150; expresses his belief of there being a fair prospect of peace, August 16, 1853, 154; speech in Scotland on securing the just right of nations, 155; his claim to the premiership, 156; his Reform Bill of 1854, 157; his emotion on its withdrawal, 158; Mr. Disraeli's sentiments regarding lord John, *ib.*; carries an act to reform the Universities, *ib.*; on the Eastern Question, 177-8; supports lord Palmerston's advice that the fleets should enter the Black Sea, 200; speech on the ambition of Russia,—"May God defend the right!" 206; is with difficulty persuaded to retain leadership of the House, 237; depletes the lack of vigour in the war, 250; statement regarding lord Aberdeen's premiership, 292; advises that lord Palmerston should take the War Department, *ib.*; proposal rejected by lord Aberdeen, *ib.*; threatens to resign, but remains, 293; tenders his resignation, 294; returns to office under lord Palmerston, 297; represents England at the Vienna Conference, 299; failure of the negotiations, *ib.*; wishes to resign, but fearing to weaken the Ministry, retains office, 300; and vehemently supports the rejection of the Austrian proposals, 301; count Buol on his warlike language, 302; Mr. Milner Gibson's question regarding his conduct at and after the Vienna Conference, *ib.*; lord John's reply, 303; Mr. Disraeli's retort, *ib.*; sir Bulwer Lytton's motion, *ib.*; lord John again resigns, *ib.*; and leads an attack on the Ministry, 304; moves resolutions respecting national education, 326; helps to defeat lord Palmerston on the Chinese question, 331; joins in defeating lord Palmerston on the Conspiracy Bill, 352; assumes the part of mediator regarding the India Bill of the Derby administration, 354; heartily vindicates lord Canning, 355; carries resolution opposing the Reform Bill of lord Derby's Government, 362; at the Foreign Office in lord Palmerston's Government, *ib.*; introduces his third Reform Bill, which is afterwards withdrawn, 364; his declaration regarding the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France, 366; called to the House of Lords with the title of earl Russell, 370; his second administration, 379; declares in favour of endowing both Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches in Ireland, 391.
- Russell, Dr., war correspondent of the "Times,"

- 246; his style and statements, 291; his description of the fall of Sebastopol, 312.
- Russia, origin of, 165.
- Russian soldiers, atrocities of, 292.
- Russian War, *see* Eastern Question.
- Rykov, general, his cavalry broken and dispersed by the charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balacava, 271.
- SANOWA, battle of, 384.
- Salisbury, marquis of, Secretary for India in Mr. Disraeli's second administration, 404; goes as plenipotentiary to the conference at Constantinople, 413; succeeds lord Derby as Minister for War, 416; his circular on the peace of San Stefano, *ib.*; his secret understanding with Shouvalov, 417; attends congress at Berlin, *ib.*
- Salomons, alderman, fined £500 for voting without having taken the oath, 23.
- San Juan arbitration settled, 401.
- Sardinians defeated by Radetzky, 83.
- Savoy and Nice ceded to France, 366.
- Scarlett, general, leads the charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balacava, 271.
- Schleswig-Holstein, duchies of, ceded to Austria and Prussia, 375; united to Prussia, 1866, 354.
- School Boards established, 398.
- Scindiah, Maharajah of Gwalior, his fidelity, 341 expelled by mutineers, 349; re-established, 350.
- Scutari hospital, 285.
- Sebastopol, commencement of, 168; the "Times" on the necessity of taking, 229; Todleben's defence of, 260; Russian fleet retires to, 1853, 204; description of, 243; its fortifications, 231, 257; cannonaded by the allies for the first time, 264; failure of the naval attack on, 266; second great cannonade of, 309; third cannonade, 310; fall of, 312; statistics of the siege, 313.
- Secession war in America, 368; end of, 377.
- Serfs, Russian, emancipation of, 375.
- Serbia at war with Turkey, 413.
- "Seven Weeks' War," the, 341.
- Seymour, sir Hamilton, sounded by the Czar Nicholas as to the "Sick Man's" inheritance, 133; conversations with the Czar, 181; his views on the Czar's state of mind, 1854, 209.
- Shaftesbury, earl of (lord Ashley), motion respecting Sunday delivery of letters, 55; favours the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 83; moves vote of censure on the Derby-Disraeli Government, 1858, which is defeated, 355.
- Shepstone, sir Theophilus, mediator with the Boers, 421.
- Sher Ali, opposition to England; his flight from Cabul and death, 420.
- Soere Singh opposes the English, 40; is defeated at Goojerat, 42.
- Shouvalov, count, his secret understanding with lord Salisbury, 417.
- Sikh War, 9.
- Sikhs, second war with, 39; surrender of, 42.
- Sikhs of the Punjab, their fidelity during the mutiny, 1856, 341.
- Silistria, defence of, 224; the siege raised, 225.
- Simpson, general, succeeds to the command in the Crimea on the death of lord Raglan, 311.
- Sinope, Turkish squadron destroyed at by Russian fleet, 202.
- Smith, Mr. W. H., returned for Westminster, 1863, 394.
- Suimonov, general, at Inkerman, 281.
- Soult, marshal, death of, 105.
- South Sea annuities liquidated, 139.
- Sovereignty, descent of the, 2.
- Spithead, naval review at, 199; naval review at, 1856, 321.
- St. Arnaud appointed to the command of the French army in the Crimea, 222; receives instructions from the emperor regarding Sebastopol, 234; tries to delay operations, 239; at battle of Alma, 247; opposes a rapid march and attack on the north side of Sebastopol, 252; and is supported by sir John Burgoyne, 253; incapacitated by illness, 254; gives up command to Canrobert, 256; is carried on board ship and dies, *ib.*; lord Raglan's opinion regarding him, *ib.*
- Stamp duties revised by Mr. Gladstone, 142.
- Stamp duties on newspapers abolished, 305.
- Stanley, lord, 14th earl of Derby, leader of protectionist party in House of Lords, 8; opposes repeal of navigation laws, 19; characterization of Nesselrode's despatch on the Greek question, 57; carries vote of censure on the government, 59; is sent for by the Queen to form a ministry, 85; recommends that the existing ministry should be strengthened, *ib.*; is again sent for by the Queen, but is unable to form a ministry, *ib.*; his intended policy, *ib.*; the "Rupert of Debate," 114; lord Derby's first ministry, 115; proposes to take the sense of the country on free trade and protection, *ib.*; the doctrine of protection thrown overboard, 117; result of the elections, 118; receives the assurance of the confidence of his followers, 123; defeat of his ministry on the Budget, 1832, 127; his resignation, *ib.*; speech on the Eastern Question, 205; sympathy with the views of lord Lyndhurst on the Russian aggression, 231; is sent for by the Queen on the fall of lord Aberdeen, 295; but is unable to form an administration, 296; on the Chinese war of 1857, 331; moves resolution of censure on the government, but is defeated, 331; forms his second administration, 353; votes of censure moved in both houses in consequence of lord Ellenborough's despatch on lord Ganning's Oude proclamation, 355; collapse of the attack, *ib.*; carries the act transferring India to the crown, 356; the Reform Bill of 1859 defeated, 362; appeal to the country: vote of want of confidence carried and resignation of the ministry, *ib.*; on the birth of Prince Albert Victor, 376; describes lord Russell's as a "meddle and muddle" policy, *ib.*; forms his third ministry, 383; Mr. Disraeli the real head of the administration, 385; Reform: the "ten minutes' bill," *ib.*; carries the Second Reform Act, 1863, 386; his illness and resignation of office, 390; his death, 1870, 397.
- Stanley, lord (afterwards 15th earl of Derby), on protective duties, 117; at the Board of Control, 355; resigns his office in lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, 1878, 416.
- Stansfeld, Mr., resigns office on being attacked for his relations with Mazzini, 376.
- Stephens, James, the "bead centre," is seized, but escapes to America, 382.
- Stockmar, baron, estimate formed of him by the Queen and different statesmen, 90; his anticipations regarding Prince Albert, *ib.*; his "vigorous constitutional essay" on the position of Prince Albert, 162.
- Storka, sir Henry, appointed High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, 358.
- Submarine telegraph between England and France, 132.
- Suez Canal opened, 1870, 397; shares in, purchased by the British Government, 409.
- Sunday delivery of letters, 55.
- Sydney, University of, opened, 117.
- TALFOURD, Mr. Justice, death of, 215.
- Tantia Topce with Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, 346; he is hanged, 1859, 347.
- "Taxes on knowledge," 54.
- Tchernaya, the English army at, 255; battle of, 312.
- Telegraph, submarine, between England and France, 132.
- Telegraphs of the United Kingdom worked by the Post-office, 396.
- Terminable Annuities, Mr. Gladstone's scheme of, 374.
- Thames embankment, scheme of, 48.
- Theodore, king of Abyssinia, seizes British subjects, 389; shoots himself on the fall of Magdala, *ib.*; death of his son in England, *ib.*
- Thompson, Dr., succour of the wounded at the battle of the Alma, 249.
- Tickets-of-leave first granted, 149.
- "Times," the, on the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, 180; on the necessity of taking Sebastopol, 229; on the mismanagement of the war, 291; on Prince Albert's Trinity House speech, 301; announces the acceptance by Russia of the Ultimatum, 1856, 318; on possible hostilities be-

- tween France and Austria, 1858, 360; summary of the year 1866, 380.
- Timoviev, general, leads sortie from Sebastopol, 292.
- Todleben, general, opinion regarding an attack on Sebastopol, 252, 253; his position at Sebastopol, 259, 260; his defence of Sebastopol, 260; impossibility of his replying to English artillery, 265; his energy in defending Sebastopol, 266, 267; at Inkerman, 291; his opinion of the Flagstaff Bastion, 293; value of his earthworks as defences, 309.
- Tract XC., 75.
- Trades unionism, 388; finds its way among the agricultural labourers, 401.
- Transportation abolished, 148, 149.
- Transvaal, annexation of, 421.
- Treaties: of Washington on Fisheries and Free Trade between Canada and the United States, 160; of Kutubuk-Kainardji, 168; of Adrianople, 169; of Unkiar Skelessi, 170; between Austria and Prussia, 1854, 218; between France and England, 1854, *ib.*; between Austria, France, and Great Britain, based on the "Four Points," 290; between England and Sweden and Norway, 319; of Paris, 1856, 321, 322; between Austria, England, and France, 1856, 323; of Washington, 1871, 324; of Tien-Tsin, 1358, 335; of Yeddo, 1853, *ib.*; with France and Prussia, guaranteeing Belgium, 399; of Washington signed, 1871, 401; of Berlin, 417; of Gandamak, 420.
- Trenches before Sebastopol, heavy losses in, 311.
- Trent, the affair of, 371.
- "Truck-system," abolition of, advocated by Prince Albert, 94.
- Turkey, origin of, 165.
- ULUNNI, battle of, 422.
- Universities, Act to reform, 153.
- VACCINATION made compulsory, 153.
- Varna, the allied armies advance to, 222.
- Venetia ceded to France by Austria, 384; presented to Italy by France, *ib.*
- Viceroy of India since the mutiny, 420.
- Victor Emmanuel proclaimed king of Sardinia, 34; joins England and France (1855) in the Russian war, 299; and sends 10,000 men to the Crimea, *ib.*; visit to England, 317; marriage of his daughter Clotilde to prince Napoleon, 1858, 359; his speech regarding Austrian Italy, 360; is defeated by the Austrians at Custoza, 384.
- Victoria, Queen, her mode of governing, 2; significance of name, *ib.*; retrospect of reign, 1837-48, 3; her personal advantages, 6; extract from speech on opening the second session of her third parliament, 7; her anxieties and work, 14; visits Ireland, 27; enthusiastic reception by the Irish people, *ib.*; contributes £500 for the relief of sufferers from the cholera, 49; fired at by William Hamilton, 50; struck by lieutenant Pate, *ib.*; threatened by O'Connor, *ib.*; shot at by Maclean, *ib.*; opens parliament by commission, 1850, 51; grief at the death of Peel, 63; her attention to public business, 67; her complaint against lord Palmerston, 68; memorandum respecting lord Palmerston's despatches, 69; receives addresses from the Corporation and Universities on free religion, 80; her own sentiments on the Catholic question, *ib.*; speech on opening parliament, 1851, 82; her impressions regarding the great exhibition, 99; receives news of the *coup d'état* in Paris, 107; view of the situation, *ib.*; speech on opening parliament, 1852, 111; prorogues her third parliament, 1852, 117; loss inflicted by the death of the duke of Wellington, 119; her desire for his funeral to be a public one, 120; speech on opening her fourth parliament, 1852, 121; her views with regard to the government, 128; calls to her council lords Aberdeen and Lansdowne, *ib.*; charges lord Aberdeen to form a government, *ib.*; her satisfaction with the coalition ministry, 130; bequest by Mr. Neild of his whole fortune to her Majesty, 132; visit to the Dublin exhibition, 153; influence of her moral purity on the State, 163; is visited by the Czar Nicholas, 1844, 171; hopes expressed in her speech dismissing parliament re-
- garding the Vienna Conference, 1853, 192; her judgment of Russia, 193; her testimony to lord Palmerston's mode of proceeding, 196; speech proroguing parliament, 198; speech on the Eastern Question on opening parliament, 1854, 205; letter to King Leopold, describing the departure of troops for Malta, 1854, 211; leads the fleet from Spithead on its departure for the Baltic, 215; speech on the occasion of opening the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 227; her letter to lord Aberdeen on his Russian proclivities, 232; her views regarding the party supporting him, 237; prorogues parliament, *ib.*; speech regarding the war, *ib.*; opinion on the behaviour of lord Raglan and the troops in the Crimea, 250; views regarding the attitude of Austria, 287-88; her speech on opening parliament, 1854, 290; personal appeal to the Whigs to stand by her, 294; her testimony to the fitness of lord Palmerston to succeed lord Aberdeen as Premier, 296; is visited by Napoleon III., 300; has news of the "incredible and impossible terms" proposed by Austria at the Vienna Conference, *ib.*; speech on prorogation of parliament, 1855, 306; visits the Emperor and Empress at Paris, accompanied by the Prince Consort, and the Prince and Princess of Wales, 307; enthusiastic reception by the Parisians, *ib.*; records and reflections in the Queen's diary, *ib.*; lays the foundation stone of Netley Hospital, 309; receives a visit from the King of Sardinia, 317; speech on opening parliament, January, 1856, 318; hopes of a general treaty of peace, *ib.*; her confidence in lord Clarendon, *ib.*; receives in State addresses from the Lords and Commons, approving the Peace of Paris, 321; reviews at Aldershot the army returned from the Crimea, *ib.*; receives the Guards on their return to London, 322; offers the congratulations of the new year to her French ally, 328; royal message on opening parliament, 1857, 329; announces hostilities both with Persia and China, *ib.*; royal message on opening the new (fifth) of her reign) parliament, 332; addresses of congratulation from both Houses on the marriage of the Princess Royal, 352; remodels the proclamation announcing the transference of India to the Crown, 356; her letter to lord Canning on hearing how it had been welcomed, 357; visit to Napoleon III. at Cherbourg, 359; opens parliament, May, 1859, 362; announces the Treaty of Commerce with France, 364; opens parliament in person, 1861, 369; opens her seventh parliament in "private State," 381; speech on Reform on opening parliament, 1867, 335; declines to accept Mr. Disraeli's resignation, 1863, without first appealing to the country, 393; declared EMBASSY OF INDIA, 408; receives condolences on the death of Princess Alice, 421.
- Vico, colonel, his testimony to the state of the British Army, 1855, 309.
- Vienna captured by insurrectionists, 12.
- Vienna Conference, the, 1855, 299.
- Villiers, Mr., gives notice of a motion on Free Trade, 122; moves his resolutions, 123; which are defeated, 124.
- Volunteer Rifle Corps, 113; formation of, 363.
- WALEWSKI, M., succeeds to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 300; presides at the peace conference at Paris, 1856, 320; on the Belgian Press, 324; apologises for the intemperate language of the French colonels, and appeals to the English cabinet on the Orsini question, 352.
- Walpole, Mr., Home Secretary in lord Derby's first administration, and as such introduces the Militia Act, 1852, 116; prediction with regard to the reparation of Mr. Disraeli, 125; withdraws from the Derby ministry, 1859, 361.
- Wallace, Mr., his "Russia," 166, 167.
- Wallachia, geographical position of, 169.
- Wellington, duke of, on sir Robert Peel, 63; consulted on the nilisteral crisis, 1851, 85; opinion of lord Palmerston's explanation respecting his action on the *coup d'état* question, 103; supports the Militia Bill of lord Derby's Government, 116; his death at Walmer Castle, 118; his position in

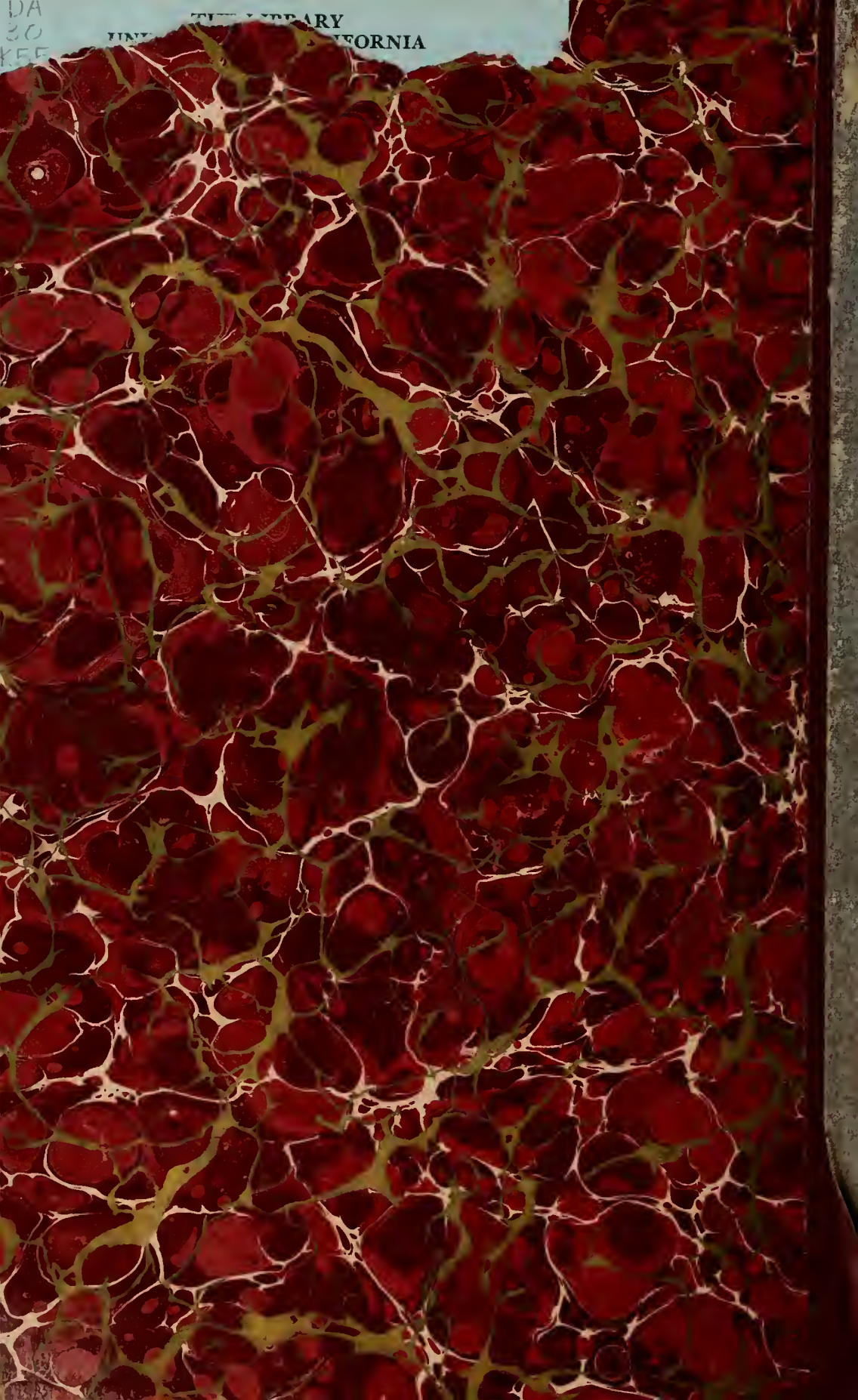
- the state and devotion to duty, *ib.*; his opinion of lord Palmerston, 119; lord Brougham's eulogy on, *ib.*; the Queen on the loss to herself and the Prince, *ib.*; the Queen's desire for a public funeral, 120; his funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral, 122.
- Wellington College for the orphan sons of officers, 123.
- Wensleydale, baron, created a life-peer, but not permitted to take his seat, 327.
- Wheatstone, sir Charles, his plan for a telegraph, 132.
- Wheeler, sir Hugh Massey, in command at Cawnpore, 345; invites the aid of Nana Sahib, *ib.*; death of, 346.
- Whewell, Dr., and the course of study at Cambridge University, 94.
- Widdin, Turkish army concentrated at, 223.
- William I. proclaimed Emperor of Germany, 399.
- William, Prince of Prussia, appointed Regent, 359; succeeds to the crown, 1861, *ib.*
- Williams, sir William Fenwick, at Kars, 315.
- Willoughby, lieutenant, at Delhi, 343.
- Wilson, general, with Nicholson at Delhi, 347.
- Window Tax, lord Duncan's motion for repealing, defeated, 54; proposition to repeal, 85; repealed, 87.
- Wiseman, Cardinal, appointed archbishop of Westminster, 78; issues a Pastoral, 79; demonstration against on Guy Fawkes' day, 50.
- Wolseley, colonel, puts down resistance of the Red River settlers, 397; conducts the Ashantee war, 405; in Zululand, 422.
- Wood, sir Charles, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Budget of 1849, 21; Budget of 1850, 53; disposition of surplus revenue, 54; unsatisfactory Budget, 1851, 84; introduces amended Budget, 87; repeals Window Tax and imposes House Duty, *ib.*; is made President of Board of Control by lord Aberdeen, 123; his opinion of France under Napoleon III., 134; moves for a renewal of the East India Company's charter, which is carried, 151; is made viscount Halifax, 379.
- Working classes, Prince Albert's interest in, 93.
- Wrangle, general, in command at Kertch, 310.
- Wyndham, general, defeated by intineers, 1857, 349.
- YEN, commissiuner, offers rewards for heads of the barbarians, 330; is taken prisoner at Canton, 334; and sent to Calcutta, where he dies, 335.
- ZOUAVES, description of, 244.
- Zulu war, the, 421.

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